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HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE MEMORIAL VOLUME

CONTAINING A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE, HIS SPEECHES, SELECT WRITINGS AND LETTERS REGARDING HIS ENDOWMENTS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

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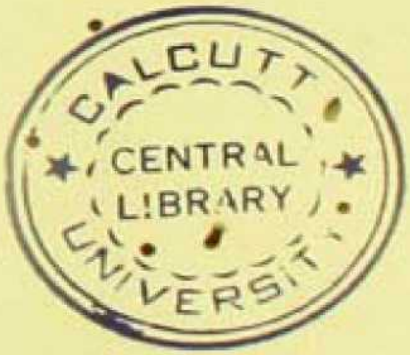

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Editor-in-Chief

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FOREWORD

I am really proud of the privilege of having to write a *foreword* to the Volume which the University is publishing in memory of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, one of her greatest and noblest sons. Great indeed he was—great as a scholar, great as a teacher, great as an educationist, great in deeds and great in thoughts. But the most outstanding feature of his character was his humility. This was not with him a behaviouristic attitude, nor a mode of conduct in life, but was based upon a deep spiritual realisation,—which grows and thrives where the self and its interests are subordinated to a higher call, the call of duty towards the motherland, or the call of humanity. It was because of this self-abnegating humility that he possessed so much strength in his character. From the speeches, writings and letters which have been published in this Volume, and from the brief sketch of his life that is given in its Introduction, it will appear how forcefully he could uphold what he considered to be true in the face of the strongest and almost overwhelming opposition and how he would humbly submit himself to the admonitions of his revered teacher but would not yet swerve an inch from what he considered his essential duty. It was because of this humility that he could deny himself the ordinary comforts of life in order to lay by and accumulate as a humble schoolmaster, a sum of which a millionaire could legitimately feel proud—only to offer it to his *Alma Mater* for the benefit of needy students. The University has done a great service to itself by publishing in a befitting manner

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a Volume in commemoration of the memory of one of her noblest sons. I offer my congratulations to all who were associated with the project and helped in the publication of this Volume.

S. C. Sahai

INTRODUCTION

HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE

Harendra Coomar Mookerjee was born in Calcutta on 3rd October, 1877. His ancestral home was at village Birnagar (*Ula*) in the District of Nadia in Bengal. It was once a prosperous village before the ravages of malaria almost depopulated it. His family is believed to have come from the famous Mookerjee stock of Phulia. One of his ancestors migrated from Phulia to permanently settle at Birnagar. It is said that Krittibas Ojha —whose musical composition has rolled from soul to soul in Bengal all these five hundred years—belonged to this Mookerjee stock. Harendra Coomar thus spoke about his ancestry: "I come from a very orthodox and if I may say so, a blue-blooded Brahmin family. From one side I belong to a *Shakta* branch, worshippers of the Goddess Kali, and from another side, from a *Vaishnav* branch who believes that life should not be destroyed. According to a tradition in our family, one of my ancestors was a disciple of Sri Chaitanya regarded as an incarnation of Lord Krishna." (Speech—Governor's Welfare and Benevolent Fund, Darjeeling—3rd June, 1952).

Harendra Coomar's grandfather, Bhairabchandra Mookerjee, was a great Sanskrit scholar. Not content with spending his life within the limited sphere of a village he left home to seek a job in Calcutta. On his way to Calcutta when night fell near Serampore, the weary traveller was obliged to take shelter in a house which happened to be very close to the house of the Serampore Missionaries. There they were carrying on beneficient activities to the lasting glory of Bengal under Dr. William Carey of hallowed memory. That night Bhairabchandra accidentally fell into a ditch nearby, and was seriously injured. Next morning he was taken by the owner of the house to the Missionaries for treatment. After a careful treatment for some time Bhairabchandra was cured. He was so much charmed with the kind and generous treatment of the Missionaries, their faith in religion and above all with the life-story of Jesus Christ,

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that he voluntarily resolved to adopt Christianity. It is said that he was the first Brahmin to be converted by the Serampore Missionaries. In his Convocation address to the Serampore College (19th January, 1952) Harendra Coomar said: "My grandfather, a descendant of the well-known founder of Indian Logic known as *Nyaya* was, I understand, the first Brahmin convert of the Serampore Missionaries, which resulted in the forfeiture of all his claims to his vast ancestral property. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit was utilized in the literary work done by them at this place. After his death, his widow, my grandmother, was given a small pension with the help of which she brought up my father." Bhairabchandra was baptised with his eldest son, Ramdhan Mookerjee. Harendra Coomar's father, Lalchand Mookerjee was not then born. Bhairabchandra died in 1831 when Lalchand Mookerjee was only three years old.

Lalchand was brought up by his mother under great financial stringency. She died soon and Lalchand had to depend chiefly upon the kindness of the Missionaries for his education. As he grew up he felt increasingly grateful for what they had done and were still doing for him. He became anxious to relieve them of his burden as early as possible. Soon after he had finished his studies for the 'Senior Course' he set out in search of an employment. His handwriting was very good and as in those days a good handwriting had a better claim than scholarship in securing a job, he got an appointment, soon afterwards, as a *duftry* (in the menial staff) in the Record Section of the Finance Department of the Government of India. He soon attracted the attention of his superiors in office by his efficient work and he was taken to the ministerial staff of the Department, of which he ultimately became the Chief Record-keeper. The central offices of the Government of India in those days moved with the Viceroy and Governor General in his exodus to the Simla Hills for seven months. Lalchand Mookerjee had, therefore, to spend seven months in Simla and five months in Calcutta. At the time of his retirement in 1885, his salary was about Rs. 400 a month—a fair amount of income according to the standard of those days.

About his father Harendra Coomar said in his address to

the Serampore College referred to above—"Left motherless at an early age, my father commenced his studies at a free school run by the London Missionary Society at Berhampore, whence he went to Serampore when he was about sixteen years old. Within two years he finished what were then known as the Junior and Senior Courses, for he was not only a very hard-working but also a very brilliant young man. During this period he was as the son of my grandfather given a stipend of Rs. 5 per month. After finishing his studies he came to Calcutta and retired in 1885 as the Head of the Department he had originally joined as a *duftry* or *chaprasi*. He told me more than once that the Missionaries were quite willing to continue this help till such time as he could find a suitable opening ; he preferred to earn his living as a menial rather than be a burden on them."

A few years before his retirement, Lalchand Mookerjee purchased a house at Baitakhana near Sealdah (No. 22 Baitakhana Second Lane), where his youngest son, Harendra Coomar, was born. Lalchand purchased another house at Dehi Serampore which was then in the outskirts of the city and here both the father and the son Harendra Coomar, resided till their death. He also purchased some lands adjoining this house in the name of his wife, Prasannamoyee. Harendra Coomar's mother Prasannamoyee died in November, 1896 when Lalchand Mookerjee was 68 years old. Harendra Coomar then was only 19, preparing for his final B.A. examination.

In one of his speeches in the Constituent Assembly, Harendra Coomar spoke about his mother thus—"It was the dream of my life ever since my mother made it clear to me that I had two duties to perform. These two duties I promised to perform after touching her feet. One was to carry on the campaign against drink and drugs so long as there was life in me, and the other was to see the end of communal business . . . . . She made me promise that if I ever entered a public or political life I should devote myself heart and soul to the abolition of this communal electorate business."

Harendra Coomar was admitted to the Ripon Collegiate School, Calcutta, near about 1885. This institution was started

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only five or six years ago by that great man—one of the greatest of the age, Father of Indian Nationalism, Surendranath Banerjee. Most probably Lalchand Mookerjee had then just retired from his long service under Government. It must be a matter of surmise as to what precisely led the father who was a dovout Christian and a Government servant to place his young son for education in an institution which certainly had nothing of Christian tradition and training and was not a congenial field for fostering loyalty to the then Government. Possibly the father nourished within himself a deep admiration and respect for the great man and wanted his son's career to be moulded under his influence—his burning patriotism and love of liberty. Harendra Coomar had the opportunity of imbibing them in full inasmuch as he practically spent the whole of his student life in this institution barring one year only during 1897-1898, when he read in the Presidency College for his M.A. degree. Surendranath was then in the prime of his power and glory. He not only looked after the management of his institution but actually took part in teaching in the college department and would even occasionally take classes in the school section also. Every one belonging to the institution, teacher and student—young and old, every one of them felt the impact of this great personality.

Harendra Coomar passed the Entrance examination from this institution in 1893 in the first division and continued his studies there for the First Examination in Arts (F.A.) and also for the B.A. examination. The great savant Krishna Kamal Bhattacharyya was then the Principal of the College. During his college years Harendra Coomar came into a close touch with Sufendranath Banerjee. He listened to his lectures with religious attention and reverent admiration. While in the First Arts class he extensively read English literature, perhaps neglecting his other subjects. So he passed the examination in the second division. He took up Honours in English for the B.A. examination. When his college test was going to be held his mother, Prasannamoyee died, on 26th November, 1896, and in grief Harendra Coomar gave up Honours at the college test and appeared at the University examination in the Pass Course only. So when he entered the Presidency College in 1897 for

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the M.A. course in English without any kind of academic distinction to his credit, he was looked upon as a student of ordinary merit. It was therefore a great surprise to his fellow-students when he topped the list of successful candidates at the M.A. examination in English in 1898 standing first in the first class. Hemendraprasad Ghosh, the doyen of journalism, who was one of his class-mates in the Presidency College wrote about him thus: "Harendra Coomar was a student of ordinary merit till he passed the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University and entered the Presidency College to study for the M.A. degree in English. He was studious and when the result of the examination was out, to the surprise of his fellow-students as also to his own surprise, he was found to have stood first among the successful examinees". Harendra Coomar was very shy in nature. He wrote in the Presidency College Centenary Magazine that he entered the college "as an obscure and a very shy youth who always deliberately refrained from availing himself of such facilities as existed in those days of coming in contact with his teachers".

After he had finished his studies, his father desired that he should join the Church. But he was reluctant to follow this career, though in later years he once expressed a regret that it would have been more wise of him to follow his father's counsel. By this time he was offered a State scholarship by Government, enabling him to proceed to England for further studies. This scholarship was then usually utilised for preparing oneself for the Indian Civil Service examination or in the alternative, for the Bar. Harendra Coomar declined this offer, knowing fully well what he was going to lose by this refusal. He refused the offer under a sense of duty to his father who was then seventy years old and was weighed down by bereavement on the death of his wife, Prasannamoyee. Harendra Coomar did not want to leave behind in India, his old father alone. In his address to the Serampore College already quoted, he said—"The call to serve the Church came to me through my father after I had finished my University career. I cannot honestly say that, in spite of the intense religious atmosphere of our home this had any special appeal for me. I was ambitious. I had obtained a first class

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first and secured that most coveted prize, the University Gold medal. In addition, I had been offered a State scholarship which in those days meant that I could make an attempt to enter the Indian Civil Service. . . . . I was aware that, at the worst, I could get myself called to the English Bar, which would ultimately lead to wealth and position. . . . . I refused the State scholarship from a sense of duty. I had lost my mother about this time and my father was feeling very lonely. But then, I thought that by giving up this seemingly great opportunity of getting on in life, I had done enough. Why should I court poverty and, as I thought, insignificance by becoming a *Padre*".

After refusing the State scholarship Harendra Coomar accepted the post of a teacher in the City Collegiate School, Calcutta, on a very small salary. In his letter to the Principal, Presidency College, he wrote—"Circumstances beyond my control prevented me from taking advantage of the State scholarship offered me by Government, and I started life as a teacher in the City Collegiate School with some little work in the F.A. classes. The salary I received was very small and I had to do what is now known as 'private tuition' to supplement my earnings." Thus began the life of the 'schoolmaster'—by which term he always described himself with great pride as long as he lived. That life continued for forty-two years, till 31st December, 1940 when he retired from the teaching profession as Professor of English Literature of the University of Calcutta.

In 1898 he married Chinmoyee Goswami, his first wife. The marriage was solemnised in the Serampore Church where his grandfather Bhairabchandra was baptised. While in the Presidency College Harendra Coomar read under F. J. Rowe, J. Mann, H. M. Percival, C. J. Hill and others. Percival was held in high esteem by the students on account of his vast erudition and his marvellous way of exposition of the beauties of English literature particularly in the field of drama and poetry, and also because of the fact that he took a keen interest in his students, though outwardly he was of a stern temperament. The following incident narrated by Harendra Coomar shows characteristically enough how the teacher was ever watchful about the welfare of his former pupil and how, on the other

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hand, the pupil was steadfast in his sense of duty towards his old father.

Harendra Coomar writes thus:

> On a memorable day I received a letter from Percival asking me to call on him at his residence in Park Street. He explained to me that he had been asked to recommend a teacher of English for the newly started Government College at Rangoon. The initial salary was, so far as I remember, Rs. 500 gradually rising to Rs. 750 per month. I told him that I could not accept the post without consulting my father who was then over 70 years old. My father, now in heaven, wanted me to go to Rangoon, but I felt that it was my inescapable duty to stay with him and look after him as long as he lived especially because my mother had died not many years before.
>
> On my second visit I explained this difficulty and told Mr. Percival that I would be greatly obliged if he could see his way to recommend me as a 'private tutor' to rich people whose sons were studying in the Presidency College and who wanted the services of a qualified and a conscientious tutor.
>
> Percival told me it was utterly wrong to waste my time in doing this kind of work instead of spending it on study and then asked me to leave his house. Then I tried to make him change his mind, he shouted at me and practically chased me out of his study, the varandah of his house and compound, waiting at the gate till I had gone out of the house. (Presidency College Magazine, Centenary Vol.)

Still the teacher remembered him and not long afterwards it was on his recommendation that Harendra Coomar was appointed an Examiner of the University of Calcutta.

The post of a Lecturer in English fell vacant in the Rajchandra College, Barisal, then an affiliated college under the University of Calcutta. Harendra Coomar was appointed to this post on a salary of Rs. 75 per month. This was in 1899 and he had often had to come home during holidays to see his old father in Calcutta. Soon after this appointment he acted for

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some time as the Principal of that College with great efficiency. After he had worked there for some time he was invited by Principal Umeshchandra Dutt of the City College, Calcutta, to accept the post of a Lecturer in English in that institution on a salary of Rs. 100 a month. Harendra Coomar returned to Calcutta to his great relief. He worked in this College first as a Lecturer in English and in Mental and Moral Philosophy and afterwards as a Professor of English, till 1913 when he was called upon by Asutosh Mookerjee to join the University as an Assistant Lecturer in English on a salary of Rs. 150 per month from 1st July of that year.

In 1917 Harendra Coomar presented a thesis on English Literature for admission to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.). This degree was introduced under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, in which provision was made for the first time for the 'promotion of study and research'. For admission to this degree it was required that the thesis of the candidate should embody the result of his research 'whether constituting an exhaustive study and criticism of the published work of others, or otherwise forming a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject dealt with or tending generally to the advancement of knowledge'. Harendra Coomar's was the first research work done on English Literature in the University. The subject of his thesis was 'English Novels', which was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Professor Brojendranath Seal, Principal J. R. Barrow and Professor T. S. Sterling. The Board was unanimous in opinion that the thesis was of sufficiently high merit to deserve the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Harendra Coomar was admitted to the degree in 1918. In the mean time the scheme of Post-graduate studies in the Departments of Arts and Science was inaugurated by Asutosh Mookerjee in the University of Calcutta with effect from the session 1917-18. Harendra Coomar became the first Secretary to the Council of the Post-graduate Department in Arts. In 1920, the post of the University Inspector of Colleges having fallen vacant he officiated as Inspector and to this post he was attached till 1936. In 1936 he was invited to accept the University Chair of English (now designated Sir Gooroodas

Banerjee Professor of English) for five years, i.e. up to 31st December, 1940. He then retired from the profession of teaching, thus ending his service to the country as a 'schoolmaster' for a period of forty-two years.

His first and only child, a son, Sudhir Coomar, was born of his first wife Chinmoyee, in 1904. When the boy was reading in the Intermediate classes,—at the age of seventeen, he was attacked with a bad type of enteric fever. In spite of great care and the best medical advice available, the young man passed away in February, 1921. The mother, Chinmoyee, did not survive the bereavement and in the following September she died. Harendra Coomar and his father who was then 92 years old were enveloped in dark gloom. Harendra Coomar had no intention of marrying again. He had however to reconsider his decision at the repeated request of his father, and in view of the father's decrepit old age he married Bangabala, a highly educated lady, who was then in the Educational Service under the Government of Bengal. Lalchand Mookerjee died in 1927 at the age of 99. Bangabala Mookerjee is alive.

Harendra Coomar entered politics in 1937. He sought election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly under the Government of India Act, 1935, as representative of the Indian Christian Community. He was then holding the Chair of English in this University. In the course of his reply to the congratulations offered by the members of the Constituent Assembly on his being elected Vice-President of that august body, Harendra Coomar said on 25th January, 1947—"It was an accident that brought me into politics. It was a case of *zid* and nothing else. Some people had egged me to seek election but at the last moment deserted me and I was determined to show that though I have been a 'schoolmaster' all through my life, it was possible for a schoolmaster to be a better man than the blackmailing voter." He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly till it was finally dissolved in 1947 on the attainment of India's independence. From the Bengal Legislative Assembly he was elected to the Constituent Assembly of which he became the Vice-President on 25th January, 1947. He became the Governor of West Bengal under the new Constitution on 1st November,

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1951, and died on 7th August, 1956, a few months before the termination of his term of office as Governor. The active political life of Harendra Coomar thus lasted thirteen years.

From the speeches that he delivered as a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and of the Constituent Assembly three things emerge. Firstly, he persistently spoke against communalism ; secondly, he always fought for prohibition ; and thirdly he felt sorely at the poverty and distress of the general masses of the people of his mother-land. He was a thorough nationalist. As President of the All-India Council of Indian Christians he went round the country to gain first hand knowledge about the condition of poor Indian Christians, and he realised then in his heart that "the cause of the poor Christian Indian was no better than the cause of a poor Hindu Indian and the equally poor Mussalman Indian".

During this period he wrote frequently on these subjects, in their various aspects, in periodicals and dailies. The majority of these writings appeared in the "Modern Review" and the "Calcutta Review"—other articles appeared in the "Hindusthan Review", "Indian Christian Herald", "Forward", "Hindusthan Standard", "Searchlight". It will be worth while to make an attempt to collect all these writings together and publish them, and when published they will be found to cover large volumes. Some of these topics were later re-written and enlarged specifically for the purpose of publication in book form, with the result that the following books were published between 1944 and 1948:— *"Congress and the Masses", "Our Hemp Drug Policy", "Why Prohibition?"*

A devout Christian he was easily drawn to the Gandhian principles of non-violence and service to his fellow-beings. He found himself in agreement with the activities of that organisation of which Gandhiji was the soul and spirit. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly Harendra Coomar supported the Congress point of view and sided with the Congress party when voting. He was however not a member of that party.

The first speech which he made in the Bengal Assembly was on the occasion of a cut motion which the Congress party decided to move in connection with the grant allotted in the first Budget

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of the Assembly under 'Education'. The motion was to have been moved by Rai Harendranath Chaudhury but as the Congress group withdrew from the Assembly *en bloc* as a protest against the attitude of Government towards the Andaman prisoners—one of whom died on hunger strike, Harendra Coomar moved the motion. In his speech he dealt exhaustively with the action taken by Government in regard to agricultural education in Secondary Schools. His speech reveals how thoroughly he equipped himself with all the information on the question on which he spoke. In concluding his speech he said—"I am certain that if he (the Hon'ble Premier) looks into the matter himself carefully he will see that the criticisms which I have made are not one-sided, they are not ungenerous. These schools have twofold values, which, if carried out, will be of immense benefit to the country ; first of all they would give education in the rural areas, and if they were properly implemented, they will give training in improved agricultural methods which is so crying a need in this province".

He was deeply convinced about the necessity of these institutions in the country. He, therefore, made a thorough study of the question—from historical, educational and economic points of view—and the results of his study were published in a series of articles in the Calcutta Review in 1937 and 1938.

Harendra Coomar made a special study of the problems connected with prohibition and temperance. He studied the subject from the social as also from the physiological and the medical points of view. In 1941 he went to Ahmedabad to spend a few days with the late Mahadev Desai. While staying there he often talked to a large audience of industrial workers and students about the evil effects of drugs and drinks. These talks were explained to the audience through interpreters. They were so informative and so illuminating that Mahadev Desai advised Harendra Coomar to write a book on Prohibition which "should be of a factual and authoritative character, and should supply the kind of information required by a general reader as well as by the Temperance Social Service, and Congress workers." He then wrote the book "Why Prohibition?" which was published in 1948,

when Harendra Coomar was the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., moved on behalf of the Congress group on 4th September, 1937, a cut motion on the proposed grant in the Provincial Budget for expenditure under head—"Provincial Excise". In support of that cut motion Harendra Coomar spoke as follows: "It is possible to introduce prohibition by adopting certain steps. It would be quite easy to reduce the number of licensed shops ; it would be quite easy to reduce the amount that a vendor would be allowed to sell ; it would be easy also to reduce the hours during which only the sale of liquor etc. will be permitted ; it would also be easy to reduce the consumption of liquor and drugs by raising the duty. There is only one question left before the House and that is that if prohibition is adopted how can we meet the deficit? . . . The Bible says that there was a lion in the way of a lazy man. I say that for the man who does not possess sufficient courage to touch the pockets of the rich and the powerful for the benefit of the poor there is a lion in the way. I shall not refer to what other provinces of India and other countries have done to balance their budgets. We could introduce death duties. . . . Then Sir, there is the jute duty. I contend that we ought to try our best to get more than what we have already got . . . and . . . if we have sufficient courage, we can impose a tax on the processed jute on the basis of the Canada tax on 'processed wheat' ".

During the Budget Session of the following year (1938) in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Minister in charge of Excise announced that all the excise shops in the District of Noakhali had been closed. Harendra Coomar said—"I cannot tell the House how I felt when I heard from the lips of the Hon'ble the Excise Minister that he has closed all the 36 excise shops in Noakhali. . . . During my stay in Madras I had the honour to call upon the Premier of Madras. I asked him why he had chosen Salem for prohibition. He said, because it was the most drunken district in the whole of the Presidency. I have heard one member of the Cabinet say that long and careful preparation is necessary before prohibition can be introduced. It took the Cabinet 7 months

from September 1937 to 31st March, 1938 and after seven months of long and careful deliberation they selected Noakhali in which there is the lowest consumption of excise articles. Looking at it from still another point of view, I would merely suggest that (that is what others say) provided there is no further increase in the consumption and if prohibition goes on at the pace set by the present Excise Minister, it will take about 4,000 years before Bengal goes dry."

As Vice-President of the Bengal Temperance Association, as President of the Baptist Lay Association and as President of the All-India Council of Indian Christians, Harendra Coomar came in close contact with the masses and had first hand knowledge of the untold miseries which drugs and drinks brought about in poor Indian families. He never ceased to take interest in the matter and he wrote incessantly on the subject till he assumed the office of the Governor of West Bengal. In his book on "Why Prohibition?", he dwelt on the subject in its various aspects, e.g. Alcohol and the Vital organs, Alcohol and the Nervous System, Alcohol and the Blood, Alcohol and Work, Alcohol and Athletics, Alcohol and Intellectual Efficiency, Alcohol and Longevity, etc.

Harendracoomar was not a frequent speaker in the Legislature and from the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly it appears that if he was present at the Assembly meeting he would vote with the Congress whenever a division was called for. He did not attend Assembly meetings except on important occasions. On the 24th August, 1938, a Muslim member of the Bengal Assembly moved a resolution proposing to fix the following percentages of appointments on communal basis in the Public Services of the province of Bengal: Muslim—60%, Scheduled Castes—20%, Rest—20%. The Muslim League Ministry was then in power in Bengal. It was supported by a large number of Muslim members. On the 25th August, Harendra Coomar spoke against this resolution. He said in the course of his speech: "I feel inclined to call to the memory of my friends on the other side, the proverb that it is good to have a giant's strength, but it is not wise to use it like a giant. This resolution if carried will be in the language of Victor Hugo something worse then a crime, it will be a blunder . . . I ask my friends opposite to have

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generosity and to imitate the example of the Bihar Congress ministry, on the principles of recruitment to Public Service in that province: I would appeal to them not because I am an admirer of the Congress, but because I want that my countrymen should be united and should work in such a way that we can all come together as brothers and not as tigers fighting for a piece of flesh."

Harendra Coomar's fervent desire was that his countrymen should be united to create a united India, forgetting all communal, religious, provincial or sectional interests. When the League ministry of Bengal introduced a bill to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act with a view to giving the Muslims greater power to control the administration of the city, Harendra Coomar said: "I am one of those dreamers, Sir, who look forward to seeing a great and united India, and I look with horror upon every measure which is calculated to create further cleavages which are already dividing us. This is my principal objection to the Bill."

Harendra Coomar was against granting any special privilege of any kind to any of the minority groups in the body politic of India after Independence. In May, 1949, when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel placed before the Constituent Assembly the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities, Harendra Coomar spoke as follows: "But when we have passed the different Fundamental Rights which guarantee religious, cultural, and educational safeguards, safeguards which are justifiable, safeguards which can be decided in a court of law, I feel that the presence of people belonging to certain groups is not necessary. Then again, when I think of the directive principles, that justice should be done to the classes which are backward socially and economically, I feel that I have every confidence that justice will be done to them. In my view the Scheduled castes again do not require representatives. But, as I have said, I bow to the wisdom of my leaders and I am, therefore, prepared to support their motion."

At a time when India was reeking with rank communalism and each group was trying to take advantage of the political situation in the country and was advancing its own group or communal interests at the cost of India's nationhood, Harendra Coomar spoke

as follows in his address to the students of Forhan Christian College, Lahore, in 1939: —

> In conclusion let me remind you that though our faith is not the same as that of the majority among you, nevertheless we are one flesh and blood ; we derive our ancestry from the same stock as you. Your way of looking at things is our way of looking at things. If we have our weakness and frailties we also have your strength. Regard us then as really your brothers and permit us to serve you through all different institutions which have been brought into existence by some of our best friends who accidentally happen to carry foreign blood in their veins. Overlook our frailties if you can, assist us when we seek your assistance, and above all do not regard us as aliens in the land of our birth and never think even for a moment, that our interests lie beyond the bounds of our motherland.

Harendra Coomar was the President of the All-India Indian Christian Conference in 1939. Under his leadership the Christian community of India, one of the smallest minorities in India, had the patriotism and the courage to declare "that Indian Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are now united in their condemnation of the communal award". In his article on "Communal Award and Indian Nationalism", published in the Calcutta Review in September, 1939, Harendra Coomar wrote: —"This most objectionable of measures, if retained permanently, is bound to have the following mischievous consequences. As the result of the disruption in our political life which must follow disintegration among the different religious and social groups, it may indefinitely prolong our political servitude to the British Government. The presence of the British Government will be absolutely necessary in order to preserve an even balance between the rival claims of contending groups. This again will have the effect of perpetuating our economic servitude. . . . Lastly, with every group becoming communally-minded, there will be a constant struggle between the groups for as large a share as possible of immediate advantages and so their fusion into a United Indian Nation may be indefinitely postponed."

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In the circumstances of those days when every community was seeking its own advantages, at the cost of other groups, the Indian Christian community had no other alternative but to guard itself against the possibility of being passed into nonentity in this clash of interests. The All-India Council of Indian Christians, therefore, said at its annual conference in Madras in 1939, under the presidency of Harendra Coomar that: —

> (1) In principle we are against communal representation in any form and we would always therefore be influenced on the side of such forces as work towards its abolition.
>
> (2) In case communal representation by reservation of seats through general electorates is accepted by major communities as a compromise, we shall gladly support this view.
>
> (3) If separate electorates, however, are visited upon and introduced, we expect that the claims of our community should be recognised.

The communal award was made in August, 1932. And the apprehension that his community or rather brothers of his faith might in future be put in a dangerously disadvantageous position, being one of the smallest minority groups in Indian polity had perhaps been working in his mind for some time. When therefore he made his first endowment to the University of Calcutta in memory of his father, Lalchand Mookerjee, in December, 1932, he restricted the benefits of the endowment only to the Protestant Bengalee Christians born of Bengalee parents. He was keenly conscious of what he was doing and therefore when he made his second endowment to the University in December 1933, after his mother, Prasannamoyee, he wrote as follows: —

> It would defeat my object if on account of the fact that the first and the present endowments are for Protestant Bengalee Christians only, scholarship-holders are led to think that I believe in what is now being characterised as "communalism". My community has not made as much progress as I would like to see and this is the only reason for limiting the sphere of those humble and inadequate attempts to be of use to my country. I would ask all my young friends to bear in mind that after all India is greater than her children,

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that Christians and non-Christians all belong to her and not to us, and that God's Kingdom will not come with peace on earth and good-will towards men until and unless we learn to live in peace and amity with all.

When India acquired independence and communalism was given a decent burial, these limitations and restrictions disappeared from the mind of Harendra Coomar. In September 1954 he wrote a letter to the Registrar of this University asking him to remove all these restrictive clauses wherever they occurred in the terms of his endowments to the University, and replace them by the words—"He shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India, with Bengali as his mother tongue and born of Bengalee parents."

A great patriot as he was, Harendra Coomar was nontheless a profound Christian. He loved in deep adoration his Lord Jesus Christ. Whenever he had occasion to mention Him or refer to His sayings, he referred to Him in deepest veneration. He knew Him only as "my Master", "my Lord". It was because of this love for his Lord that Harendra Coomar could rise above all shades of communalism and could love his fellow-beings as brothers, instead of counting them as belonging to a community or a group.

He loved Christ and he firmly believed in the articles of His faith. He was indeed a Christian of Christians. His father wished him to join the Church but after finishing his academic career brilliantly he thought it would not be worth while to become a *padre*. He said in one of his addresses to the Serampore College: "It was thus that I failed to carry out the dearest wish of my father, and I feel deeply grieved whenever I recall it. While it is true that I have, in a humble way, tried, I suppose, with some measure of success, to serve my community and my country, I do not know whether it would not, on the whole, have been wiser for me to obey my father."

His first Christmas message broadcast from All-India Radio, Calcutta, after his assumption of office as Governor of West Bengal, began thus: —

> Nineteen Hundred fifty-one years ago an event of what I would call grave significance to humanity occurred on this

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day. A small and beautiful child was born in Jerusalem. Later a faith was founded by him and, it so happens, that I am a humble follower of that great faith. I have said 'it so happens' advisedly, not to indicate that I am in any way casual in my faith, for I am not, as is well-known. I have said 'it so happens' to suggest that even if I were not a Christian, I would have cared to come here today to remember with you the message of Christ, for this message is of moment not merely to Christians but to all men on earth.

He was a firm believer in his faith. Once he said—"We feel that the faith we profess has a deeper significance in religious life and experience and has more effect in radically changing man's character for the better than any other prevailing religion and this we regard as our only justification for attempting to place our point of view before our non-Christian brethren. As Christians we claim the same right to preach our faith, which is enjoyed by the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Arya Samaj, and sponsors of the *Sangathan* and *Suddhi* movements."

Nevertheless he studied the history and the principles of other religions. He studied particularly the sacred books of the Hindus. He was always proud of referring to them as his "ancestors". He made profound study of the *Upanishads*, the *Vedas*, the *Srimadvagabadgita*. He read the commentaries and understood their deeper and esoteric significances. Once referring to the first two words with which the *Srimadvagabadgita* begins, viz. *Dharmakshetre Kurukshetre*, he said in his address to the students of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling:—"One commentator says that in its context this particular word (*Dharmakshetra*) carries the implications that life is a *Kshetra*, a field of *Dharma*—a battle-field where good is arrayed against evil with victory for the former at the end of a long drawn out struggle. And Srikrishna, the adviser of the Pandavas, who were fighting a righteous battle, he said—'*Uttishtha Parantapa*'—'Stand up O Aryuna'. The *Gita* teaches not escapism nor quietism, but the gospel of work which, told them the secret of success. Addressing their foremost warrior we should remember is the message of every vital creed."

He was, however, more particularly interested in the Yoga

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philosophy and yogic practices. He made a thorough study of the subject, as thoroughly as was characteristic of him, and he himself practised yogic processes and went through the parapharnalia that were required for these practices. He would sometimes wear no other dress than that made of pure *tassar* silk, and even submit himself to hard disciplinary enjoinments pertaining to these practices. It is said that the results of his vast study on Indian Yoga were put in a book form which he proposed to publish, but unfortunately after being typed it got somehow mislaid and never saw the light of the day.

Harendra Coomar always lived in plain and homely Indian style of living. He would, however, occasionally wear European dress. In his letter dated 23rd February, 1935, which he addressed to Syamaprasad Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, proposing to create a further endowment in memory of his father, for the benefit of the young men of his community, he wrote as follows: "To my young friends destined to inherit the earth in the coming years which I shall not live to see, my advice is—'Live even as your sires lived in homely simplicity. It will make you happy with the modest income that your work will fetch you and it will make you, with your unostentatious mode of living, to spare part of your earnings to set up in the world a poor brother with a sympathetic heart and kindly feelings.'" Harendra Coomar followed this advice himself to the letter. With his Indian heritage of plain living and high thinking he combined in himself the most elegant of Christian virtues, namely, a heart full of piety and high moral sense, throbbing with sympathy and kindly feelings for his fellow-beings—his 'neighbours'—particularly for those who were poorer than himself. In the same letter, while defining his ideal in making the endowment he said—"Their (of the *scholarship-holders* under the endowment) academic qualifications supplemented by thorough practical experience will enable them to stand midway between the experts and the working men . . . .to bring into play those qualities of foresight, forbearance and sympathy which find little place in modern industrial organisation."

Forbearance and sympathy—these are the essential virtues which he derived from his faith in his religion. Everyone who

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came in contact with him was immediately struck with the 'forbearance and sympathy' with which he approached every question—the virtues of a perfect gentleman. He had always a sense of wit and humour, and these mingled with his gentlemanliness made him approachable by everyone and loveable to all. Even when he held the position of the Governor of the State of West Bengal, his talks given to the public and his speeches were often punctuated by kindly wit and humour. In his address to the Working Journalists on 12th April 1952, he found himself as Governor in close affinity with them ; he said—"I accepted the invitation. . . . . as a member of the profession of journalism which I practised all my life. . . . . and which I have been practising, I think, with vengeance, since the assumption of the office of Governor, in the sense that I have now to prepare and deliver discourses almost daily on subjects about which I know little and occasionally practically nothing. Any way I accepted the invitation because I felt I would find myself among kindred spirits." Again in his speech on the occasion of the Speech Day of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling he said to the boys—"Going through a list of articles that a young boy should bring to a special school like yours I find to my astonishment that it reads like a bride's trousseau: a special trunk has to be brought to put all the articles of clothing into it with the owner's name painted on top, and every quarter the parents have to foot a bill which would break the back of an average citizen of this country. I am not saying that all this is unnecessary or that it is extravagant. I am only pointing out to you the great advantages that you have over thousands of other boys of similar age."

He never felt any pride of self-importance in noble deeds done by him. He judged things in their proper perspective and took a detached view of them. He minimised the value of his own contribution. In an interview to a noted literary man of Bengal, an account of which appeared in the Bengali magazine *Prabasi*, after his death, he frankly told him how the cross-currents of political forces made him the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly of India and subsequently the Governor of this State. He declined the offer to accept the Governorship of the Uttar Pradesh. He was anxious to step aside from the

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Government House, Calcutta, and go back to his humble cottage at Dihi Serampore with his small belongings. He longed for his log cabin from the White House.

Above all that he was—a devout Christian, a patriot to the core, a thorough gentleman, a kindly human being full of sympathy for his fellow-beings, a profound scholar—he was essentially a teacher and an educationist. He began his life as a 'school master' in the City Collegiate School, Calcutta, and after serving there for a little time he became a Lecturer in the Rajchandra College, Barisal. He then came to the City College, Calcutta where he served for about fourteen years as a Lecturer. He then joined the University of Calcutta as a University Lecturer and, on the organisation of the Post-graduate teaching in the University, he became the Secretary to the Council of the Post-graduate Teaching in Arts. He then became the University Inspector of Colleges, which post he held for about seventeen years. He held the position of the University Professor of English for five years. He ended his life as the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

For forty-two years of his life from 1898 when he accepted the appointment as a school teacher in the City Collegiate School, Calcutta, to the end of 1940 when he retired as University Professor of English he came in close touch with the students, and for seventeen years he toured as University Inspector of Colleges, extensively through the districts of Bengal (undivided) and Assam and the states of Cooch Behar, Tripura and Manipur, then within the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta—in connection with the inspection of colleges and occasionally of schools. He acquainted himself thoroughly with the educational problems of these provinces, district by district, in relation to their economic and social needs and conditions. He was not a believer in the ostentatious mode of college life with big halls and splendid and rich paraphernalia in a poor country like India. These according to him might have an idealistic value but he preferred to see educational institutions—secondary as well as higher—growing up in every part of the country, run and conducted in a modest and simple way steeped with the Indian tradition of imparting highest learning in humble surroundings.

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In addressing the students of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling, he was instantly reminded of thousands of other boys in the country who were getting education in humbler circumstances. He said—"I am not quite sure whether you boys I see sitting in front of me, realize fully and clearly what the privilege of coming to a school like St. Paul's with its conscientious and qualified staff and its limited roll strength really implies. Ours is a poor country and there are thousands of children of your age who do not have a chance to get educated at all. There are thousands more who go to schools of sorts which cannot bear comparison whatever with the school that you belong to. Not many young lives are shaped in the shadow of the majestic mountains and in a climate which makes you feel that it is good to be alive and kicking.

"I remember that going to school when I was a boy meant nothing more than a slate and a pencil or, if a little older, a note-book and a few well-worn text books. Our clothes would be what one could get cheaply and each one of us looked a true son of Mother India in our bareness and lack of equipment."

This picture of "a true son of Mother India in his bareness and lack of equipment" followed him in his dreams about the glory and the splendour of India that were to be. The immediate object of education was, according to him, to make a boy or a girl a fit and useful citizen of India. In none of the endowments he made to the University did he provide for scholarship for higher researches.

In his first endowment to the University, which he made on 14th November, 1932 after his father, Lalchand Mookerjee, he created certain foreign scholarships. The object of these scholarships was defined thus: "to encourage the proper type of young men of his community, who may not be in affluent circumstances to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered to acquire up-to-date scientific training and be in a position thereby to serve their community and their country as leaders of industry". The subject or subjects to be chosen for these scholarships should be from the following technical subjects:—"Spinning, weaving, dye-making, mechanical and electrical engineering, aviation and applied aeronautics, film-making, manufacture of

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photographic plates and materials, mining and colliery work, soap-making, pottery, enamel, glassware, leather and leather-goods, celluloid work, fruit-preserving, basket-making, sugar-refining, manufacture of drugs and medicine from indigenous plants, manufacture of cheap building-materials, motor car parts, carpet-making, hosiery, scientific agriculture, scientific horti-culture or floriculture, cultivation of medicinal plants, dairy and poultry-farming".

His second endowment to the University which he made in December, 1933 after his mother Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee was complementary to the first one. In his letter addressed to this University in this connection he wrote—"it is not enough to offer stipends for vocational training, for the field thereby created may still remain unfruitful in the absence of another class of workers equipped with knowledge of market organisation, commercial economics and practical business finance. If, therefore, my first endowment seeks to provide a band of well-trained Indian youths who can develop the indus-trial and agricultural resources of our country, it is the object of the proposed second endowment to have side by side with them another band equally well-qualified to take charge of the outturn of the former's labour and dispose of them with efficiency and profit".

His first and second endowments were for scholarships for training outside India, whereas his third and fourth endowments which were also named after his parents were for training in the same subjects in India.

The object of his next endowment which he made after his wife, Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee, was "to afford financial assistance to poor and deserving female graduates in Medicine . . . . . to enable them to acquire further training in the science and arts of healing in all their branches." This assistance was to be given outside India.

He made three endowments in the name of his son Sudhir Coomar Mookerjee. In the first of these endowments he pro-vided scholarships "for the promotion of military education among the youths of West Bengal".

He made a further endowment in the name of his wife Sm. Bangabala for higher training of nurses.

The value of all these endowments amounted to nearly fourteen lacs of rupees (=£100,000).

In his last Will and Testament—an extract from which is published in the Appendix of this Volume, he has bequeathed to the University his Calcutta properties at Dehi Serampore Road, to supplement the value of these endowments. He has also made over to the University his property at Madhupur (S.P. —Bihar), named 'Swastika', for the benefit of the ministerial staff of the University. He has made a gift of his entire library to the University Central Library. The value of all these bequests is estimated to be not less than eight lakhs of rupees, at their present valuation. The total value, therefore, of all his endowments to the University will amount to 22 lakhs of rupees, if not more.

The main purpose behind these endowments, as stated before, is to give to India good and useful citizens, and he considered all educational problems from this point of view in consideration of the prevailing conditions of his mother-land. The proud motto of his *Alma Mater*, 'Advancement of Learning', he followed with an uncommon zeal to the last day of his life, but perhaps he valued it more in its effect upon the creation of worthy citizens than for anything else. In his Convocation address to the Nagpur University on 26th November, 1951 he said—"The pursuit of pure knowledge is not the only task before a University. Even more important especially today, is the task of training in citizenship and in leadership. Perhaps in the past sufficient emphasis had not been placed on this function of the University. We have therefore to give much more emphasis on this aspect of University training in citizenship and in leadership."

Harendra Coomar's views on some of the educational problems which are agitating the minds of the present day will amply repay perusal. Regarding retaining of English in School and University education he spoke as follows in his address to the Utkal University—"Personally, as an Indian nationalist who, at the same time, is a believer in one Humanity, I think an inter-

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national language like English, which is also in the present day the most effective vehicle of the highest science and the most comprehensive literature (whether of information or of power), need not and should not be eschewed by us simply because it is the language of our erstwhile rulers. They have gone, but I venture to think that the English language is one of the most valuable legacies they have left behind for us. To seek to discard this language simply because it is the mother tongue of Britons whose ways we did not like, instead of relating it to Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Browning, Gibbon and Macaulay, Burke and John Stuart Mill by the study of whose works we have admittedly profited so largely, appears like psychological prejudice." And again—"I think all boys and girls should, from the High School stage, be given the option to choose either what may be described as an English course or a purely Indian language course, according to their capacities, future plans and tastes. At the same time, we must concede to all our Indian citizens the right given to them under the Constitution to have their education through the medium of the mother tongue. In practice this would mean the study and use, according to convenience, of two languages from the High School to the final University standards—the mother-tongue and English."

Harendra Coomar's Convocation address at the University of Calcutta in 1953 dealt with Adult Education as the bastion of democracy in India. He said as follows: —

> The part played by the British Universities through the Extra-Mural Departments in adult education has been remarkable and it constitutes a glorious chapter in the history of that country. The tutorial class movement set a pattern to all adult education efforts in Britain and provided for them high standards of achievement. This pattern and these standards have influenced the social, cultural and political life of the country to a great extent . . . . . Today our needs are almost precisely those which the tutorial class movement sought to fulfil and fulfilled in the social, cultural and political life of England in the second half of the nineteenth century . . . . . The general

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level of education and culture among our masses is so low that democracy cannot function effectively in the mind of rarefied atmosphere. Indeed today we badly need a leaven and a cementing force, a leaven to raise the intellectual standards of our people . . . . . That leaven, that force, I submit, should come from our Universities in the form of tutorial class and University Extension movement . . . . Even as things are today, I do not see why, under certain conditions, particular types of tutorial course should not lead to University degrees. Possession of knowledge as shown by the possession of degree is an accepted avenue of social advancement and there is no reason why the avenue of extra-mural tutorial courses should be closed for such advancement to those who could not or who normally would not go to the Universities. . . . . I am sure that it is possible for our Universities to safeguard the interests of higher education and yet offer adequate facilities for such education outside their walls through their extra-mural departments providing various types of tutorial classes and courses. May I then conclude this part of my address by calling upon our Universities in general and our *Alma Mater* in particular, to take up this challenge of our times, to extend their bounds beyond their walls so as to bestow the advantages of higher education to a much larger portion of our people than they do at present and thus help to lay a broad, strong and abiding foundation for this young democracy of ours?

There is a growing tendency now among the well-placed in the society to send their boys and girls for education to costly "exclusive" schools. Harendra Coomar's observations against the weak points of such education is worth consideration. He spoke to the boys of St. Paul's School, Darjeeling thus—"There is one great pitfall that you boys educated in an expensive school like St. Paul's are likely to fall into and that is to grow up thinking that the other boys who do not have your advantage are not so good as you are. They use a big word to describe this feeling. They say that boys educated in this fashion tend

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to grow up 'exclusive'. There is nothing wrong in being exclusive, if it means that a special discipline makes you wide awake and shoulder responsibility—without allowing yourselves to be diverted by the unimportant things of life. But if 'exclusive' means that you are growing up like 'pansy boys' as the expression goes, like some hot-house orchids, beautiful to look at but unable to stand the rigours of life, then it is undoubtedly bad . . . . . You must know very well that most things start well and then come to grief. The products of the famous schools of England very soon suffered from snobbery. Mind you, I am not suggesting that all but a few public school boys become snobs, the snob being a person who turns his nose up at other human beings because of some privileges of birth, education and wealth that he enjoys. What I want to emphasise is that the boy enjoying the special advantages associated with education in an expensive school is more open to the risk of becoming a snob than others studying in ordinary schools. I sincerely trust that . . . . . every one of you will be able to avert this particular danger."

Regarding Basic Education which has been introduced widely into this country, mainly on the principles of the Wardha Scheme, Harendra Coomar gave a warning by saying—"I am conscious that the courses of training based on these principles may admit of wide variations, and it would be unsound to think that there could be no alternative course of instruction which would not ensure equally sound training, that is, the minimum requisite education for the future citizens of free India."

Harendra Coomar was against every kind of dogmatism especially in the field of education, and therefore, even where educational schemes were sponsored by Government after a good deal of deliberation on the recommendations of highly constituted commissions and committees he was in favour of free variations and advised setting up of independent institutions to experiment on new courses of training and curricula. In his address to the Raj Kumar College, Raipur, in February, 1955, he advocated establishment of public schools, in the sense of independent schools, which would not owe their existence or maintenance to Government grant or help.

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He said that such institutions were necessary because "they are free to make experiments in their curricula and in their methods and teachings for the training of students in academic studies and extra-curricular activities. . . . . No country can make progress unless risks are taken even if some only among them yield satisfactory results because when this happens, educational institutions controlled by Government. . . . . always profit by experience and knowledge thus acquired".

So Harendra Coomar lived and died. He lived an ardent patriot, a devout Christian, a true teacher in every sense of the term. He died a painless death. His life indeed points a moral ; it adorns a tale. In the century old history of his *Alma Mater*, the Calcutta University, Harendra Coomar's contribution was the greatest. From the position of an humble teacher with limited means to have made endowments to the value of more than twenty-two lacs of rupees is a tale which will echo from soul to soul, in years yet unborn. He possessed a noble soul. He helped others to ennoble themselves. His grateful *Alma Mater* conferred on him the much valued honorary degree of Doctorate of Letters. The present volume contains only some of the speeches, writings and letters of Harendra Coomar, representing his views and attitude towards the problems of India, social, political, economic and educational. These along with his other writings, speeches and letters which would indeed cover many volumes, will benefit a careful study even in the years to come.

Gramatha Nath Banerjee

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SPEECHES

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BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATE

27th August, 1937

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee begged permission to move the following Short-notice amendment: "That the sum of Rs. 1,17,40,000 for expenditure under head 37—Education—General be reduced by Rs. 100".

A few minutes ago the Congress party under the leadership of Mr. Saratchandra Bose withdrew from the Assembly Chamber on the news of the death of Sudhendu Dam, one of the Andaman prisoners on hunger-strike, as a protest against the attitude of the Government of Bengal towards what the Congress Party thought to be the reasonable demands of these prisoners.

The above motion which Dr. Mookerjee wanted to move, stood in the name of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, and Dr. Mookerjee begged leave to move the amendment in the absence of the Congress group.

The Speaker (Khan Bahadur Azizul Huque) allowed Dr. Mookerjee to move the amendment standing in the name of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri in view of the special circumstances of the day.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said:—The question of Secondary Education is a very wide one. My only intention is to draw the attention of the Ministry to a particular aspect, namely, the aspect of agricultural education as imparted in secondary schools. We as a community are greatly interested in the question because the majority of us live in rural areas.

The Catholic and Protestant denominations maintain 95 Secondary schools of which 33 are High schools and 62 Middle English schools. In accordance with the scheme enunciated by the Education Department, we have agriculture in about half a dozen of the institutions. We are encountering certain difficulties, and I am absolutely certain that similar difficulties are being encountered by other non-Christian Secondary schools. My only intention in initiating this discussion is to induce the Minister for Education to appoint a committee to consider the whole matter. With your permission, Sir, I shall try to place before the House, a brief account of the way in which this scheme originated. There was in December, 1924, a Conference on agricultural education in which among other things the following resolution was passed:

> That it is desirable to reconsider the present curricula of country's schools above the primary standard, in Bengal, so as to introduce the experiment of teaching elementary agriculture combined with practical work in the fields.

Immediately after this Conference, a Committee was appointed of which my friend, Mr. Stapleton, the then Principal of the Presidency College, was the President. The Committee visited the Punjab and paid special attention to the scheme of Mr. Brayne than whom Punjab had no better friend, and the Committee submitted a report which was accepted with certain minor modifications in 1927. These minor modifications, in my opinion, took away from the scheme much of the virtues it had. The Government resolution said that it had a two-fold aim: first of all to check the rush of students to qualify for higher education from colleges and so forth, and second, it was expected that many of the students after having gained the requisite training would adopt agriculture as their profession. Among the provisions which were arranged were the following: 60 teachers were selected from special schools and they had to undergo a two-years training at the secondary school of agriculture at Ramna, Dacca. As there was not sufficient accommodation for 60 teachers, they were sent in 4 batches of 15 each. Each teacher was getting Rs. 10 per month during the period of training and also Rs. 10 per month so long as he was teaching agriculture. The first batch after obtaining the requisite training started teaching agriculture in certain schools from January 1930, and the fourth batch from 1933. It, therefore, follows that in December 1933, there were 60 teachers teaching agriculture in the selected secondary schools.

I shall now examine the operation of the scheme. I tried my best to get this information officially from my old friend the Hon'ble Premier. But I must confess my questions were parried with the legal acumen for which he is so celebrated. The information which I place before the House is drawn from the report of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal and the successive reports of the Director of Agriculture. I guarantee the accuracy. First of all I find that instead of 60 schools, in 1934 there were 56 schools, in 1935 there were 51 schools and in 1936 there were 49. I am quoting these figures merely to prove that the scheme was not the unqualified success it was expected to be. Under the original scheme, it was understood that out of the 60 teachers who would be sent for training, 10 out of each 15 would be from Middle English schools and 5 from High English schools. It, therefore, follows that when the scheme was in operation, it was expected that 60 to 66 per cent would be Middle English schools and 34 to 40 per cent would be High English schools teaching agriculture. Actually what do we find? In 1934, out of 56, there were 30 High English schools and out of 51 schools in 1935 there were 25 High schools, and out of 49 schools teaching agri-

culture 26 were High schools. That is to say, the percentage of High schools was more than 50 per cent. Here also I submit that the scheme was not an unqualified success.

I shall place before the House another set of facts collected by me regarding the schools teaching agriculture which had either a garden or a farm attached to them. In 1934, according to the report of the Director of Agriculture the total area of garden and farm was 219'4 per acre; in 1935 the acreage came down to 216 and in 1936 the acreage came down to 141'8.

The next thing which I have to place before the House is the appreciation of the progress which had been made by these schools. I find from the Report of the Director of Agriculture that in 1934, 25 per cent of these schools were working very satisfactorily ; 50 per cent were working satisfactorily, and 25 per cent were working unsatisfactorily. In 1935 the Director of Agriculture says about 31 per cent were doing excellent work, 25 per cent were doing good work, and about 44 per cent were doing fair or indifferent work. I come to the next year, Sir, that is to the year 1936. In Part I of the Report of the Director of Agriculture, there is no definite pronouncement but there is one very significant admission to which I draw the attention of the House. There the Director says that in 6 out of 49 schools, that is approximately 12'5 per cent, there was some profit made by working these gardens and farms.

The original estimated recurring expenditure per year was Rs. 27,000. I know, Sir, that this amount is not a very large sum when compared with the total amount spent on education, but I contend that in a poor country like ours we should not allow the waste of a single pie. I think the scheme as originally framed by Mr. Stapleton was a good scheme, but I also hold that the scheme which is operating at present is badly planned and that the fullest possible advantage is not being taken of it.

Again, Sir, I want to place before the House certain criticisms passed against these schools, everyone of which is drawn from Government publications—either the Report of the Director of Public Instruction or the Report of the Director of Agriculture. In one place, it is mentioned that these schools are not doing satisfactory work because the field work has to be done by the students after school hours. They are tired out and probably do not feel strongly the call of the plough. Then, Sir, we are also told that holidays generally coincide with the period when field work has to be done. No attempt has been made to adjust these working days with the holidays. Then again in certain schools when there are vacancies for agricultural teachers, they cannot be promptly filled on account of the insufficient number of people who are or

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have been trained in the Dacca Farm. These teachers are not the proper type of men. They rarely take part personally but expect their students to do the work in the fields. I have been to the Kowrapukur Agricultural school and have seen with my own eyes the Headmaster, Mr. Miller go into knee-deep mud transplanting paddy side by side with his students. Unless we can get hold of this kind of agricultural teachers I contend, Sir, that this scheme can never be a success. The selection of teachers which has been made, I submit, has not been a right selection. Lastly, these teachers are regarded more as teachers of ordinary school subjects, such as English, Mathematics, Geography but never as teachers of Agriculture. If the aim of these schools is primarily to give training in agriculture then emphasis should be given to the teaching of agriculture and not to that of ordinary school subjects.

I contend, Sir, that teaching agriculture and farming in school gardens is a mistake. According to the scheme every school which desires to teach agriculture gets a capital grant of Rs. 2,000 provided it has a farm which is 5 acres in area. On the other hand, if it has a garden it gets Rs. 500 as capital grant. The garden is half an acre in area. The school with a farm gets a recurring grant of 100 rupees a year for meeting deficits while the school with a garden gets Rs. 20/- a year. It necessarily follows that a school with a farm would be more costly to Government than a school with a garden. In reply to one of my unstarred questions the other day the Premier stated that to collect this information would be expensive so far as money and time are concerned. I shall now give him the information which I have gathered. After 39 years' experience as a teacher, I am proud of being not only the teacher of people who now occupy very high positions but also of being the teacher of about 30,000 school masters—I believe information gathered from these sources is reliable. My information is that though this scheme has been in operation for more than six years, not more than 50 students per year as a result of getting this agricultural training stick to the soil and that those who stick to the soil, do it because they cannot help it.

Now, Sir, I appeal to the Hon'ble Premier to appoint a Committee to go into the whole question. I am certain that if he looks into the matter himself carefully, he will see that that the criticisms which I have made are not one-sided, that they are not ungenerous. These schools have a two-fold value, which, if carried out, will be of immense benefit to the country ; first of all they would give education in the rural areas, and if they are properly implemented, they will give training in improved agricultural methods which is so crying a need in this province. I make an

appeal to the Premier to agree to my suggestion that he should look into the matter himself and if possible, try to have the whole scheme reviewed in the light of experience already gathered.

4th September, 1937

The Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb-Raikat moved that a sum of Rs. 17,77,000 be granted for expenditure under the head 8—Provincial Excise. After some members had spoken on this matter, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee moved that the demand under the head "Provincial Excise" be reduced by Rs. 100/- to raise the question of total prohibition in the Province.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke on this matter.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said:—Mr. Speaker, Sir, one of the honourable members who preceded me said that before introducing prohibition, it is necessary that the public conscience should be roused. This morning I received a copy of the "Indian Temperance News" according to which the Indian Temperance Association was founded on the 10th September 1887 and its 50th anniversary will be held on the 10th of September this year. This Association is an All-India concern, which has been trying its best to make the people understand the evil effects of drink and drugs. Fifty years, Sir, have not produced the desired results. I say, Sir, that the time has come when prohibition in some form or other must be introduced. Last year, according to the latest report of the Excise Commissioner, there was an increase in the quantity of country wine consumed, only because there was a reduction in the duty with effect from the 1st July 1934. This Sir, I consider, as a Christian, to be positively sinful. I think that no civilized Government ought to encourage the poor people whom they control and govern, to consume more liquor by reducing the rate of duty which implies a reduction in its price.

Turning to the same report, Sir, I find that the consumption of hemp diminished on account of a fall in the price of agricultural products. But there were two districts, viz. Faridpur and Mymensingh, where there was an appreciable increase in consumption because there was a rise in the price of two agricultural products, namely, paddy and jute. These things are stated in Government Reports. From this one can easily infer that there is some connection between increase in consumption and increase in income, between diminution in consumption and diminution in income, and that this diminution is not due to any improvement in the ethical standards of the consumers.

It is possible to introduce prohibition by adopting certain steps. It would be quite easy to reduce the number of licensed shops ; it would be quite easy to reduce the amount that a vendor would be allowed to sell ; it would be easy also to reduce the hours during which only the sale of liquor, etc., will be permitted ; it would also be easy to reduce the consumption of liquor and drugs by raising the duty. There is only one question left before the House and that is that if prohibition is adopted how can we meet the deficit? I am not a business-man, nor am I an economist, but even then I think it is not difficult to find a solution. The Bible says that there is a lion in the way of the lazy man. I say that for the man who does not possess sufficient courage to touch the pockets of the rich and the powerful for the benefit of the poor there is a lion in the way. I shall not refer to what other provinces of India and other countries have done to balance their budgets. We could introduce death duties here. Even in England, which is a comparatively wealthy country, various ingenious devices have been utilized for avoiding the payment of death duties. But even then the amount realised has been characterised as handsome.

Then, Sir, there is the jute duty. I contend that we ought to try our best to get more than what we have already got. And, lastly, Sir, I would also point out that Bengal contributes 36 per cent to the income-tax revenue of India as a whole. It is the duty of our Ministers to see whether they cannot get a part of the tax. And very last of all, I would point out that in Canada they have a tax called the wheat 'process' tax. Last year in Bengal, our 92 jute mills produced jute-fabrics worth more than 23 crores of rupees. If we have sufficient courage, we can impose a tax on the processed jute on the basis of the Canada tax on 'process' wheat (*Cheers*).

(At this stage the member, having reached the time-limit resumed his seat).

25th August, 1938

On the 24th August, Mr. Mia Md. Abdul Hafiz moved a resolution fixing the following percentages of appointment on communal basis in the Public Service of the Province of Bengal:

Muslims	60%
Scheduled Castes	20%
Rest	20%

There were several amendments to the resolution. On the 25th August Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke on the matter.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said: —Mr. Speaker, Sir, as a Bengalee, I feel I must oppose this resolution, because the claims of the caste Hindus have been overlooked. When I look round my country I find that the majority of the schools, colleges, dispensaries, roads, and hospitals have been erected out of their money and with their efforts. I see before me Sir Bejoy Prosad Singh Roy whose family has been maintaining a free High School, Hospital and Dispensary and the needs of all communities have been met. It is this, Sir, which makes me oppose the resolution. As an Indian Christian, I feel that if this resolution is accepted and given effect to, we shall be nowhere. I shall not take up much time of the House. I feel inclined to call to the memory of my friends on the other side the proverb that it is good to have a giant's strength, but it is not wise to use it like a giant. This resolution if carried will be, in the language of Victor Hugo, something worse than a crime, it will be a blunder. If this is discussed on the floor of the House, there will be such feelings of bitterness raised, that we shall never be able to come together. I have been filled with pain to see how within the course of a single year, these feelings of bitterness to which I have just referred, have been increasing, I might say, almost from day to day. I shall just say one word more and I shall sit down. I am not a Congress man, as Sir, the House will know from the seat I occupy. On the 17th August last, there was a welcome given to the Congress Cabinet at the Wheeler Senate Hall where the Hon'ble the Premier of Bihar made an official announcement. I shall read just a few lines of it—

> In the matter of making appointments to the Provincial Civil Service (Executive Branch), we have appointed Muslims either by promotion or direct recruitment, the percentage of such appointments ranging from 25 to 50 per cent in various departments, which is appreciably higher than would be the case on a mere consideration of the numerical strength of the Muslims in this Province, which is not more than 12 to 13 per cent of its total population.
>
> Last year it may be recalled that out of 41 seats filled by the Government by means of nomination in the municipalities of the province no less than 12 have been allotted to the members of the Muslim community.

There are other things to which I do not intend to refer for want of time but I ask my friends opposite to have generosity and to imitate the example just quoted. I would appeal to them not because I am an admirer of the Congress, but because I want that

my countrymen should be united and should work in such a way that we can all come together as brothers and not as tigers fighting for a piece of flesh.

27th February, 1939

Speech of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee on the motion of the Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Habibulla Bahadur for referring the *Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1939*, to a Select Committee.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said:—Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion for circulation. Belonging as I do to neither of the two contending communities, I hold that I might be able to make a suggestion which might be acceptable to both. I hold no particular brief for neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans.—(*At this stage there was some interruption from the Coalition benches*).—Apparently, some of my friends who are interrupting me want me to sit down. Shall I sit down, Sir, or may I go on?—(*Dr. Mookerjee goes on*)—Sir, I hold no particular brief for the Hindus because I am not a Hindu and some of my best friends are Muhammadans. Holding this view, I feel that the proposal put forward by the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Local Self-Government ignores the claims of the land-owning and propertied classes in the city of Calcutta. If I am not mistaken, Sir, these gentlemen hold 75 per cent of the properties in Calcutta. I have no grievance against the Europeans who have a large stake in the city of Calcutta, and I maintain that if their right to disproportionate representation is recognised, then there is no reason why the same sort of right should not be accorded to those people who hold the majority of the properties in Calcutta.

Personally, Sir, I have no objection to my Muslim brethren getting 25, 28, or even 30 seats, but I do feel that the seats ought to be distributed in such a manner that all future causes of disruption or enmity may be avoided.

I do not agree, Sir, with those who have preceded me when they said that in actual working the system of joint-electorate has been a failure. I am one of those dreamers, Sir, who look forward to seeing a great and united India, and I look with horror upon every measure which is calculated to create further cleavages which are already dividing us. That is my principal objection to this Bill.

So far as the recognition given to the claims of the Anglo-Indian community is concerned, I fully agree that they ought to be well represented, but I object to the way in which this representation has been given. I believe that there is no possibility of their interests being overlooked if their representatives are elected through joint electorates.

So far as my own small community is concerned, I feel that our claims have been neglected. Here, Sir, I do not voice my own personal views; because I hold that all minority communities should merge themselves into the majority community. When I refer to the claims of our community, I simply voice the view of those of my brothers and sisters, who have not yet reached that level which I hope they will reach in the near future. They hold that their claims have been overlooked deliberately on account of the attitude taken up by representatives in this House. I shall be prepared to know from the Hon'ble Minister in charge whether it is true or not, Sir, their representatives have not even been given an opportunity of serving on the Select Committee.

For all these reasons, Sir, I support the motion for circulation and I say that I want to lay the claims of my community not before this Cabinet which has been systematically hostile to it: I want to lay our grievances before the whole province of Bengal. (*Applause from Congress Members.*)

24th March, 1939

Speech of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee in connection with the demand for grant under head 'Provincial Excise' moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikut.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said:—I cannot tell the House how glad I felt when I heard from the lips of the Hon'ble Excise Minister that he has closed all the 36 excise shops in Noakhali. I do not know what the present condition is, but I happen to be the Vice-President of the Bengal Temperance Association and up to the 31st December, I know, only six shops were closed and the other 30 shops were merrily selling *ganja*, opium and *bhang*. I am also the President of the Baptist Lay Association which has got work at Feni and Noakhali. So I am in intimate contact with the inhabitants of those two places, and can say that up to the 31st December, *ganja*, opium and *bhang* shops were working

actively there. If these shops have been closed, I would ask what arrangements the Hon'ble the Excise Minister has made for supplying these drugs to those people who have been habitually accustomed to their use.

Well, Sir, I shall very carefully listen to his answer to my queries. I have also been told that Government is carefully studying the results and proposes utilising the experience gathered from Noakhali. The gentleman who preceded me pointed out that there are two foreign liquor and four country liquor shops at Noakhali. He also said that the total amount of revenue sacrificed annually was a little over Rs. 4,000. I shall go further into the matter and inform the House that according to the latest excise report these four shops have been selling 273 London proof gallons of country spirit. For the information of the House, I may say that these 273 London proof gallons represent about 4½ lakh qart bottles of ordinary country spirit per day. There are thus 4 bottles of country liquor per shop sold daily in the whole district of Noakhali. I have also been told by those who have more experience than I in this matter that four quart bottles of country liquor are sufficient to make 16 men drunk. I have no personal experience. So, I say that the closing of these 4 country liquor shops has benefitted 16 chronic alcoholics.

Well, Sir, I know one thing more. In the district of Noakhali there is not a single *toddy* shop. I know there is not a single licence which has been issued for tapping trees. I know that the incidence of taxation per head of population per year is one pice only, which shows that Noakhali for all practical purposes is dry. During my stay in Madras, I had the honour to call upon the Premier of Madras. I asked him why he had chosen Salem for prohibition. He said, because it was the most drunken district in the whole of the Presidency. I have heard one of the Members of the Cabinet saying that long and careful preparation is necessary before prohibition can be introduced. It took the Cabinet 7 months from September 1937 to 31st March, 1938, and after seven months of long and careful deliberation they selected Noakhali in which there is the lowest consumption of excise articles. (*Cheers from the Congress Bench*). Looking at it from still another point of view, I would merely suggest that (that is what others say) provided there is no further increase in the consumption of excise articles and if prohibition goes on at the pace set by the present Excise Minister, it will take about 4,000 years before Bengal goes dry. It has also been said that the amount sacrificed every year by the introduction of prohibi-

tion at Noakhali is less than the amount drawn by a particular Member of the Cabinet per month.

There was a time when Bengal was regarded as the leader of India. It was Gokhale who said, 'What Bengal thinks today India thinks to-morrow'. When I was in Madras and United Provinces I felt ashamed so much that I almost hung down my head in shame for the poor show that we are making here in the matter of prohibition. During my stay in the Punjab, I had the honour to inetrview two members of the Cabinet and I asked them what they proposed doing in this direction. One of them said that the Punjab Government had accepted a resolution, carried on in the Lower House of Punjab to introduce prohibition, but, Sir, if I am using a word which is not parliamentary, I am prepared to withdraw it. They were more sincere because they said they were not going to introduce prohibition till they were able to find out ways and means to compensate the loss that would be incurred. I would most earnestly request the Bengal Government to adopt that straightforward policy and say, "We are not in a position to sacrifice the revenue ; therefore we shall not introduce prohibition." That would be, I think, a much better way.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to still another point. It has been said that the consumption of liquor is going down. I find that in 1933-34, 2,46 lakh London proof gallons were consumed, the next year 2,94 lakh gallons. At that time our country was governed by what was called the bureaucracy. With effect from the 1st of July, 1934, there was a reduction in the duty and the retail price of country liquor went down to the extent of 12½ to 25 per cent. Immediately the consumption of liquor went up to the extent of about 48,000 L.P. gallons, that is to say, I am told (I am open to correction) 4½ lakh quart bottles. It may be said that this was due to the machinations of those whom we always do not regard as our friends. Why did not the Bengal Cabinet raise the duty to its former level when it came into power? In 1936-37 they introduced a new kind of liquor of 75 L.P. by which the consumption has gone up to 68,000 L.P. which amounts to 5½ lakh quart bottles: Again I am speaking subject to correction. I say it is only a new device. In 1825, the Duke of Wellington reduced the duty on beer. Hansard says, "He was sure that the measure would be attended with the most beneficial consequences." He thought that it would be a greater achievement than the battle of Waterloo which he won. There was such an increase of drunkenness and debauchery that the Lower House of Canterbury was compelled

to appoint a Committee in 1830. If there is an Anglican here he will understand what I mean. That is what the Committee said: —

> This measure though introduced for the avowed purpose of repressing intemperence, by counteracting the temptation to excessive drinking of ardent spirits has been abundantly proved not only to have failed in its benevolent purpose but to have served throughout the country to multiply and intensify the very evils it was intended to remove.

Sydney Smith writing at that time observed as follows: —

> The new bill (I would like to add the 75 L.P.) has begun its operation. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling.

Let somebody come with me to Baranagar where we have a social service centre, which I have been compelled to visit on Sunday in order that we may try to protect our brothers-in-faith from the evil influence of that 75 L.P. and after that let him say whether the introduction of this new 'beverage'—whether the introduction of this new species of liquor has been of benefit to the country. I shall close with a passage across which I came this morning when I was preparing my lecture for the University classes. This is what a great Free-thinker has said: —

> The greatness of men is to be judged not so much by their ability to acquire political power but by the use of that power when it has once been secured. For power corrupts and as a class politicians are exposed to more temptations than people occupying humbler positions. Power is a great trust placed by a democracy in the hands of its leaders and it must be used with wisdom and discretion and for the benefit of all and not for the benefit for some among the citizens.

I say, that the present Bengal Cabinet has been entrusted with power by Providence. Let them use their power not for the benefit of the rich people but for the benefit of those who are of weak moral fibre and who are easily led away into the use of drinks and drugs.

27th August, 1940

Speech delivered by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee on the *Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1940.*

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee said:—Those who have studied the history of education in Bengal cannot but be aware of the valuable work done in the sphere of primary, secondary and collegiate education by the schools and colleges under missionary control situated in different parts of our province. If education has spread in Bengal, it is largely because it was encouraged and educational facilities of different types provided by European missionaries. I need hardly draw your attention to the fact that today many of the teachers of educational institutions controlled by the different missionary organisations are largely staffed by men and women of our community and to this extent we are vitally interested in the Secondary Education Bill.

We have in India today an organisation known as the National Christian Council which has its jurisdiction all over India, Burma and Ceylon. This body has branches in every province of India including Bengal. The National Christian Council publishes a directory every year in which, among other things, it gives information about the various beneficent institutions controlled by the different missionary organisations. The National Christian Council is what we call a union of all the Protestant organisations. The Roman Catholic Church also publishes a directory on similar lines and they too give the above kind of information. According to the latest editions of these two directories, the different Protestant denominations as well as the various religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church are maintaining 51 High English and 86 Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools. These include schools for boys and girls. 102 hostels are attached to these 137 secondary schools. About 12½ per cent of the students are Christians and 87½ per cent non-Christians. The total number of students in these schools has, for the last few years, varied between 28,500 to 30,000 of whom Indian Christian students have never been more than 3,000. It is therefore evident that these educational institutions are benefiting non-Christians more than Christians and they have succeeded in attracting such large numbers of non-Christian students only on account of their superior efficiency as centres of teaching, for their superior discipline and their general superior atmosphere. While a majority among the teachers are Indians, Christian and non-Christian, the men and women in charge are nearly always non-Indians. I admit

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that in the past any European was regarded as sufficiently qualified to act as the head of these educational institutions. But it is not so now. In the Protestant schools today under British control, we find M.A.'s of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. And, what is more, a majority of these gentlemen and lady missionaries hold teaching diplomas. So far as the Roman Catholic educational institutions are concerned, it is perhaps known to many that, under the rules of the religious orders to which priests and nuns belong, they are given their education in their own colleges in Europe. Any one who has taken the trouble to familiarise himself with the courses of study imposed on the students of these Catholic Colleges and knows something about the intensive training, theoretical and practical, they have to undergo, must admit that the educational standards maintained in these special institutions are in no way inferior to those maintained in secular universities.

In my own mind I always classify non-Indians who come into our country under two categories—those who come to India to earn and those who come here to give us the best of what they have. Among the former are included non-Indians who come here as Government servants as well those others who come here as businessmen. I am not one of those who envy the money earned in India by non-Indians, for I recognise the undeniable fact that this is due to our own unfitness which has rendered possible what some call the "economic exploitation" of India. As an Indian, I would of course like to see the money earned here by non-Indians retained in our motherland, and I feel happy when I remember that we are gradually learning how to fend for ourselves. While every fair-minded Indian must feel grateful for the services, direct and indirect, rendered by non-Indians of this category, he cannot forget the equally important fact that India has to pay and to pay rather heavily for the services rendered to her. In my view, those non-Indians who come here not to take but to give stand in a class by themselves and that is why India ought to feel grateful to them. It is not perhaps known to many that very highly qualified Protestant missionaries, male and female, draw not what I would call salaries but subsistence wages all through their lives. I occupy something of a position in the Baptist denomination and have non-Indian Missionary friends belonging to practically every Protestant denomination, and I know that what I have just said is a fact. Then, again these allowances as I prefer to call them, are not met out of funds collected or raised in India. They are all met from the resources of the various European and American Boards of Management all located abroad. The result of this arrangement

is that India is today getting the services of about 10,000 highly educated and properly qualified non-Indian people without having to spend a single pice for them. Of these about 850 are with us in Bengal today, fully a fourth of whom are connected with some form or other of teaching.

The services rendered by these unselfish Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries do not end here. For whenever capital expenditure has to be incurred for erecting buildings and providing equipment, no matter whether it be a school, a college, a dispensary, a hospital, an agricultural, an industrial or a technical school, a house for the blind or one for lepers, practically the whole of it is collected abroad and spent in India. It would perhaps surprise many to learn that today the Protestant denominations alone are maintaining about 17,000 beneficent institutions of various types including educational institutions at an annual recurring cost of over 2 crores 90 lakhs, and that merely one crore and a half of this annual recurring cost is being contributed by England and America and other non-Indian countries.

So far as the Roman Catholic institutions are concerned, I have been assured by one occupying a very high position in the Catholic hierarchy that the Catholic Church is maintaining nearly an equal number of institutions at nearly the same annual recurring cost. It is only fair that I should add that, as unlike Protestant missionaries Roman Catholic priests and nuns have no families to support, they draw only their actual expenses and any one who, like myself, has seen the humble standard of living maintained, for instance by the Jesuit and the Salesian fathers of Calcutta, the priests of the Order of the Holy Cross at Dacca and of the secular fathers of St. Anthony's School, of the Loreto nuns of Calcutta and of the Daughters of the Cross at Kurseong must admit that in them Providence has given us a set of unselfish men and women eager to serve us and that without any expense to us.

Such men and women, Protestant and Catholic, are in charge of the 137 secondary schools already referred to by me. After careful calculation I find that, taking all of them together, out of every 10 rupees spent on the maintenance of these institutions, Government contributes about Rs. 1-12 to Rs. 2; fees realised from students are responsible for about Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4, and the balance comes from the funds provided by the different Protestant missionary societies and Roman Catholic orders. These figures, let me repeat again, take no account of the capital expenditure.

I have also to remind you that while about 12½ per cent of the students are Christians, the rest never less than 87½ per cent are non-Christians. I know as a matter of fact, that many non-

Christians, Hindus and Mussalmans, occupying high and fairly high positions to-day owe the education which has enabled them to acquire these positions to the concessions enjoyed by them as students in one or other of the educational institutions under missionary control. Nor would it be correct to assume that these institutions are being maintained as a means of direct Christian propaganda for the purpose of encouraging change of faith among their students. Some of these institutions have been in existence for half a century and more and tangible results, in the shape of open conversion to Christianity for which figures are available for successive years, are far from encouraging. And yet these institutions are being liberally financed because those who contribute the funds in countries outside India as well as those who work in our midst have felt the call to unselfish work.

I have said all this by way of proof of my contention that if it is the desire of those responsible for this Bill to have impartial opinion on its merits from a detached source which is above the slightest suspicion of partiality or prejudice we have, in these missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, highly educated non-Indian men and women actually engaged in the work of education and fully qualified to offer us invaluable assistance in making the Bill a piece of legislation which will serve the best interests of our province. Then, again in the Bengal Board of Christian Education affiliated to the National Christian Council, we have an organisation where educational experts can discuss the different clauses of the Bill and offer us their suggestions. This is a Protestant organisation, but I am almost certain that the Roman Catholics have their own organisation parallel to this.

This Bill has already provoked discussion and probably given rise to a certain amount of misunderstanding, if not downright ill-will. While some claim that it aims at providing a better machinery for the control of Secondary education, others are equally emphatic in maintaining that it has been framed with a mischievous purpose. I do not have any desire to say just now which of these two conflicting opinions is correct or even whether the truth lies somewhere between the two.

At a time when there is war and bloodshed, it does not behove those who love peace to say or to do anything calculated to add to the tremendous burden humanity is already carrying. It is therefore that I am pleading that in order to materially diminish, if not to abolish, that lack of harmony which has already manifested itself over this controversial piece of legislation, we should seek advice from qualified and impartial quarters and one such, I main-

tain, consists of non-Indian missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, engaged in education.

Let me, before I sit down, say that I was at Bankura last week in connection with educational work now being carried on by the Bankura Christian College and Collegiate School. I found that in the latter there are two Englishmen, both Oxford men, with teaching diplomas who have been teaching there for years. In the same town, there is a girls' middle school where the head is a lady missionary who is a graduate of another British university and also holds the Cambridge Diploma in Teaching. No one would ever dream that people such as these have any axe of their own to grind or that any suggestion they might offer, would be coloured by Hindu, Muslim or Indian Christian prejudice. From a talk with them I understand that all the knowledge they have about the present Bill is drawn from a summary of it which appeared recently in a local Anglo-Indian daily. Surely, if we have any desire to do things in the right spirit, we should take advantage of the presence of such men and women among us. I would therefore appeal to Government to circulate the Bill at least among the class to which I have referred and to proceed with the work we have in hand after they have been given an opportunity of helping us with their suggestions.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATE

20th January, 1947

On the 20th January, 1947, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee was formally enrolled as a member of the Constituent Assembly, on presentation of credentials and signing the Register.

On 21st January, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke as follows in connection with the resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru regarding Aims and Objects of the proposed Constitution.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee (Bengal, General):—Mr. President, so far as my own community is concerned, I have always tried to adhere to the principle contained in that English proverb, 'Little children should be seen and not heard'. On this particular occasion, I feel compelled to support the Resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru because I submit it is absolutely essential that the world should know that behind this Resolution we not only have the great Indian parties but also small, minute minorities, religious and social groups, to one of which I belong. That is the reason why I am standing here. Those who have preceded me have amplified in much detail everything that can be said upon the Resolution in question. What is of special interest to me, is to be found in the 5th and 6th paragraphs of the Resolution. These are the things which appeal to me, because I believe, that the leadership which has come hitherto from the Congress, will be retained by the Congress so long as it adheres to the principles laid down therein.

So far as other points are concerned, I am not immediately interested in them, but what strikes me with great grief is the fact that difficulty should have arisen amongst ourselves and inside India. I shall not specify the different parties but it seems to me that so far as the difficulties of minorities, whether major or minor, are concerned, the difficulties are to be found as regards enjoyment of civic and political rights. These rights are fundamental and would be applicable to every social and religious group. So far as religious rights are concerned we have freedom of worship. Every religion is militant today. Those days are gone when the Christian missionary, the Muslin Maulvi or the Sikh Guru could afford to make inroads upon the great Hindu majority community with impunity. Every religion is militant today and enjoys the power of converting people into its own fold. I do not see why we should

be doubtful in this matter—I am referring to the Christian group —about our rights in the matter of propaganda.

The Congress has been the spear-head of nationalism and so long as it looks to the progress of the country, I will not question it. It will not only gain the allegiance of the rest of India but also of the smallest of minorities including my own.

25th January, 1947

The motion for the election of a Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, moved by Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha on the 24th January, 1947, was adopted on that day, and nominations were received up to 5 P.M. on the same day, and the next day 25th January was fixed as the date for election (if necessary) between 11 A.M. and 12 noon.

As Dr. H. C. Mookerjee was the only candidate nominated for the election he was declared duly elected Vice-President of the Assembly on 25th January, 1947.

At the close of the business of the day the President (The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad) said—"This brings us close to our business. There is a suggestion made by some friends that we should give an opportunity to members to congratulate Dr. Mookerjee on his election as Vice-President. I desire to offer him my congratulations in the first place before any body else does. Does anyone wish to speak?"

Then Rev. Jerome D'Souza (Madras: General), Sri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General), Mr. H. J. Khandekar (C.P. & Berar: General), Dr. Joseph Alban D'Souza (Bombay: General) spoke congratulating Dr. Mookerjee. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee then spoke as follows:

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee (Bengal: General):—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I trust that you will accept in advance an apology because I am going to place before you a history of the way in which from a Christian communalist I became a Christian Indian Nationalist. It was merely an accident that brought me into politics. It was a case of *zid* and nothing else. Some people had egged me to seek election but at the last moment deserted me and I was determined to show that though I have been a school-master all through my life, it was possible for a school-master to be a better man than the black-mailing voter. It so happened that the gentleman against whom I was fighting was a more experienced man with a longer record of service to the community than myself. It also happened that in those days it was more profitable to appeal to communal than to national feelings. I admit with a sense of the deepest shame that I dabbled with the matter. He appealed to communalism. I appealed even more strongly to communalism and that is how I got into politics. But when as the President

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of the All-India Council of Indian Christians the members requested me that I should go and visit poor Christians, it was then and then only that I found out that the cause of the poor Christian Indian was no better than the cause of the equally poor Hindu Indian and the equally poor Mussalman Indian. It was then that from a communalist I became a nationalist and if today you have done me the honour of putting me into the position of the Vice-President, be sure that while I am there, I shall not act as a communalist, but I shall remember the duty which I owe to the poor masses of my country. I am not a lawyer, I am not even a politician. Forty-two years of my life have been passed as a teacher or as a student. I do not know whether I am qualified to discharge the duties with which you have entrusted me, but I do know one thing, that I shall try to do it honestly and thereby I hope to add to the dignity of the House and add to the reputation of my community which has hitherto had at least one thing in its favour, and that is, that it has never stood directly or indirectly against the political progress of my country (*Loud cheers*).

Speeches of members congratulating Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, on his election as the first Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly were as follows:—

Rev. Jerome D'Souza (*Madras : General*): Mr. President, I have very great pleasure in offering—I am sure in offering them I am also voicing the sentiments of this Honourable House—our sincere congratulations to Dr. H. C. Mookerjee on his election to the Vice-Presidentship of this august Assembly. Dr. Mookerjee is one who has gained the esteem of all the sections and communities of our land. He has been associated very closely with meritorious work as an educationist in Bengal. He belongs to a Christian body which has worked in close collaboration with other Christian bodies. His judgment, his patriotism, his amiable and attractive manners are known to all, and I am sure, Sir, that, if the occasion should come for him to direct the proceedings of this House, he will do it in a manner which you, Sir, have set up as a tradition. I do not wish to take the time of the House more on this matter. Once again, with our hearty congratulations to Dr. Mookerjee, I offer him our good wishes for his success in this work.

Sri Biswanath Das (*Orissa : General*): Sir, I offer my hearty congratulations to Dr. H. C. Mookerjee on his election to the Vice-Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly. Dr. Mookerjee richly deserves this place. His election goes to prove that the minorities need not have any apprehensions in their mind about the majority communities. His election is an honour done to the minorities as also to Bengal. As President of the All-India Christian Association, I know several attempts were made to drag him to the field of communalism. He has all along resisted those attempts and resisted them successfully. I have no hesitation in saying that he will carry out this tradition and make his office a success. We on our part, will give him full co-operation. I wish him godspeed.

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Mr. H. J. Khandekar (C.P. & Berar : General): Mr. President, I congratulate Dr. Mookerjee. I represent the community known today as Harijan. They are approximately ninety millions in India. On behalf of this community I offer my congratulations to Dr. Mookerjee. I hope he will render much help in the deliberation of the Assembly and tackle all problems that may arise. With these words, I conclude my speech (*English translation of Hindustani speech*).

Dr. Joseph Alban D'Souza (Bombay : General): Mr. President, I endorse every word that has fallen from my Hon'ble friend Reverend Jerome D'Souza, in what he expressed in connection with the appointment of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee as Vice-President, the first Vice-President amongst the five Vice-Presidents that would be appointed in the near future to this great Assembly. Sir, I may be pardoned if I connect Dr. H. C. Mookerjee particularly with the community to which I belong at present, the Indian Christian community of this great nation. I think and I feel, Sir, that the appointment of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee is really an honour conferred upon the Indian Christian community of India.

Sir, may I refer on this occasion to the Advisory Committee representation of the Indian Christians? We have adequate representation in that committee and I am looking forward to Dr. H. C. Mookerjee to grant to that section of the Advisory Committee every assistance and aid in order to put through the affairs of the Indian Christian community section to the best of his ability and to the satisfaction of the entire Indian Christian community of this great nation. As Father Jerome has already informed you, his acquirements have been very great indeed. In the Province of Bengal, he has shown that in matters of statesmanship and in every other direction he is a luminary in that section of India.

Sir, it is quite possible that he might have one day to preside over the deliberations of this House, and as Father Jerome has said it, I am sure, if it comes to that, he will do his duty as well, Sir, as you have had the honour of doing it during the time the Assembly has been in action. I congratulate Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, and in congratulating him, I say once again, that I congratulate the Indian Christian community for the honour that has been conferred upon it. Thanking you very much.

22nd July, 1947

On account of the partition of Bengal, all members of the Constituent Assembly from Bengal ceased to be members of the Assembly. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee accordingly ceased to be its member and also its Vice-President. Dr. Mookerjee was however re-elected to the Constituent Assembly from Bengal, and was re-elected also as its Vice-President on 16th July, 1947.

On the 22nd July, 1947, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke as follows on the motion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru regarding the Design of the National Flag.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee (West Bengal: General): Mr. President, ever since the Indian Christian community became conscious of the fact that it was fundamentally an Indian community,

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its great leaders in the past have always fully identified themselves with Indian Nationalism. I only need remind those, who do me the honour of listening to me, of the name of the late Kaka Baptist of Bombay, of the late K. C. Banerjee of Bengal, of the late Bishop Chidambaram of the United Provinces, and the late Dr. S. K. Dutta of the Punjab. These names are only a few out of the many I could quote to prove that we have all along identified ourselves fully with Indian Nationalism. From one point of view we have been misunderstood. It has been held that because we profess Christianity—essentially an Asiatic religion, and because we have certain contacts with foreign missions, therefore the Indian Christian community has what is known as Christian mentality. It is not so and I stand here to say that it is an incorrect idea. It is a misconception and I want it to be clearly understood that today I on behalf of my community am pleading our allegiance once more to the Flag.

To me it seems significant that some of the workers very closely associated with the Congress are Indian Christians and I am sure my friends will bear testimony to the fact that we too have produced leaders who have fully identified themselves with Indian Nationalism. We owe our allegiance to the Flag, not only because we are Indian Christians, but because we have been always well treated in the past by the Indian National Congress. In fact it would be no exaggeration to suggest that we have been better treated by the Indian National Congress than by those with whom we are affiliated from the standpoint of religion. I take this opportunity of reminding the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of an occasion which happened in 1938 when I had been called to the Punjab, by Dr. S. K. Dutta to do a little service in connection with a function at the Forman Christian College. At that time the University Union at Allahabad had arranged for an address by me on Prohibition and they insisted that I should speak on this subject because shortly before that I had visited Salem in Madras through the kind offices of Rajaji. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had agreed to preside over the function, but had forgotten the subject on which I was to speak. At his request, first of all I explained my ideas about the duties of minorities when asked by him to put before the audience our views regarding the minority question. He was to have left for Delhi within half an hour, but he forgot everything about it and in consequence missed the train. After I had spoken, Pandit Nehru told me that what the community had stood for would be remembered by the Indian National Congress when

it came to power. Within three or four days I received reports of a certain case of injustice suffered by Indian Christians in some villages. I went to the villages and found out that the charges were true. I placed before Pandit Nehru the information which I gathered and in seven days' time the whole matter was settled. In that way our religious liberties were restored.

May I in this connection mention another occasion when we received prompt help from the Congress? When I was in Madras, the Principal of the Physical Education College at Saidapet, Dr. Beck, told me that he had immense difficulties in getting land for the Madras College of Physical Education. As soon as Rajaji came to power he granted us even more land than we had wanted, within a short time. These are the services that we have received from the Congress. Thus not only because we are in sympathy with the objectives of the Congress but also because of good treatment we have identified ourselves with the Congress. Once more I repeat that the Indian Christians owe allegiance to the National Flag.

27th August, 1947

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke as follows on the motion of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for consideration of the Report on Minority Rights:

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee: Mr. President, I must say at the beginning that I am not one of those who believe that the greatness of a country is increased by increasing the greatness or the economic or political importance of a particular group which is inside it. On the other hand, I have always advocated the placing of national interests above group interests. At the same time, my experience as Chairman of the Minorities Sub-Committee, has convinced me that it was necessary for the sake of peace, for the sake of the future progress of our country, that every attempt should be made to meet the wishes of the minorities. I am a member of a minority community myself and I feel proud that the community of which I am a member has decided to give up all special privileges, and first of all I must thank my colleagues of my community who are members and who are present here today. Along with that it was realised that the several groups had distrust of the majority. Of course personally speaking, I noticed that this was true of a majority among them and I have exhorted them and I am still exhorting

them, again and again, to have some measure of trust. If they demand safeguards, those safeguards can be implemented only if the majority community can be trusted. But till this distrust is removed, I do recognise that something has to be done to meet their wishes. It is here that I must compliment Mr. Munshi, who in the Minorities Sub-Committee did so much, running from one group to another, in order to find their minimum demand, then pressing their case on the attention of the Minorities Committee, and who got them carried in the Advisory Committee. I must bear witness to the good will and generosity that was shown to us by Sardar Patel. I therefore recommend the findings of the Advisory Committee to the House. At the same time, personally speaking, I must make it clear once more that I stand for trust of the majority, as I feel that some among us who stood for a more radical policy, have a kind of grievance against Sardar Patel because he has not allowed us freedom to carry it out, though I also admit that we were defeated by a majority of the members.

19th November, 1948

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee (*Vice-President, in the chair*) said as follows on certain remarks made by certain members of the Assembly (B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur, Shri Biswanath Das) about him.

Mr. Vice-President: May I suggest that Mr. Ayyangar merely repeated a procedure which had been adopted with the approval of the House in conducting our proceedings. I do not consider that Mr. Ayyangar was wrong in reminding us about what had passed yesterday. I deeply regret that these things should not have been appreciated in the proper spirit by the honourable member speaking. I want that we should work together in complete harmony and that no misunderstanding should spring up. We must come here with clear and open hearts, prepared to trust one another. In democracy it always happens that the minority can only put forward its point of view and try to persuade the majority and submit to the ruling of the majority. That is what democracy means as I understand it, in my poor and inadequate way. Surely, the business of the House can hardly be conducted unless certain rules are followed and followed faithfully, in the spirit and not merely in the letter. As I have already said, if Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig had caught

my eye, I would have surely given him an opportunity to speak. In fact, if honourable members will only scrutinise the way in which I have tried to conduct the proceedings of the House, they will find that I have gone out of my way in affording facilities to certain groups which at the present moment feel that they were not sufficiently strong to make their voices heard. That has been my policy, and in that policy, I am grateful that the majority community has lent me its unstinted support. In these circumstances, I would beg you, Mr. Pocker Sahib, to kindly resume your seat and allow me to conduct the business of the House in the way that seems best to me and not to cast reflections, which pain me, either on Mr. Ayyangar who is there to help us, or on myself who am trying my very best so far as my poor abilities go, to conduct the business to the entire satisfaction of the House. Will you please resume your seat?

25th May, 1949

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee spoke as follows on the motion of Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel for consideration of the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities:—

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee: Sir, in considering whether the House should accept the recommendations of the Advisory Committee and the resolutions placed before it by Sardar Patel there are two questions, which it seems to me the House should ask itself. The first is: are we really honest when we say that we are seeking to establish a secular state? And the second is whether we intend to have one nation. If our idea is to have a secular state it follows inevitably that we cannot afford to recognise minorities based upon religion. This to my mind is the strongest possible argument why reservation of seats for religious groups should be abolished and that immediately. So far as the idea of building up one nation is concerned I do admit that there are certain economically backward groups in every community and for them provision has to be made in the directive principles adopted in December last.

Sir, I intend to place all my cards on the table and to say that personally I have the greatest possible objection to reservation for backward groups in the political sphere. I do admit that they deserve our sympathy and that they require economic safeguards but I do not see any reason why they should demand

political safeguards. I do not see why a person belonging to a backward community should feel that his grievances cannot be placed before the legislatures unless he elects somebody in whom he has faith. Such an attitude to my mind shows that he has not as yet, as a member of a minority community, made up his mind to become a part and parcel of the nation. Still I do submit to the wisdom of our leaders and I support the Resolution, only because I hope the House will accept the amendment moved by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, to the effect that these resolutions should have a definite time-limit, that once for all we shall see their end at the end of ten years from the time that the Constitution comes into operation.

Sir, when the Constituent Assembly was dissolved in January last, though I had my urgent business in my own home I intentionally stayed on here, because I wanted to find out the feelings of the country with regard to the question of the abolition of reservation. It was the dream of my life ever since my mother made it clear to me that I had two duties to perform. These two duties I promised to perform after touching her feet. One was to carry on the campaign against drink and drugs so long as there was life in me, and the other was to see the end of communal business. Though she was not an educated woman in the ordinary sense of the term, she had witnessed the results of the cleavage introduced into the national life by the Minto-Morley Reforms, under which the non-Muslims were separated from our Muslim brethren. She made me promise that if I ever entered public or political life I should devote myself heart and soul to the abolition of this communal electorates business. I am thankful that God has spared my life so that like the Prophet mentioned in the New Testament I can sing:

Nunc dimittis: Lord, now lettest Thy servant depart in peace for my eyes have seen Thy salvation.

Sir, I tried to find out the views of the country. I may tell the House that it has taken ten years of unremitting hard work on the part of the Nationalist Christians all over India. I sent out a questionnaire and 42 letters were addressed to my people and replies were received from 35 of them. I have consolidated the replies and I find that the enquiries were made, among other sections of the people, by Nationalist Christians who were friendly with Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Scheduled Castes. Their replies consolidated show the following results.

So far as the masses are concerned my friends are united in saying that the masses do not want reservations. They say, that they are interested in three or four things only. They want

food, clothing, a shelter over their heads, medical aid and good roads. These are their demands. When they were specifically asked whether they wanted reservation, the reply in every case was as follows: We know that we shall never enter the Legislatures, reservations do not concern or interest us. These all sections of the people were at one. Then came queries addressed to the lower middle class people who depend upon service to earn their living. Their reaction was that if there was any kind of reservation they would like to have reservation in jobs. This reservation-business, Sir, to my mind, comes from the upper middle classes—people who have political ambitions. Then I sent forward a second set of questions in which I asked what were the motives for their demand for reservation. Two motives were assigned. The first and foremost in the view of my friends, was that most people have political ambitions—self-seekers after power, self-seekers after position, and in fact people who want to take advantage of their positions in the different Legislatures for their own selfish purposes. Such people, I say, are not wanted in free India. But at the same time it was admitted that there are certain people who really feel alarmed over the future of their communities. Such people want to come to the Legislatures, because they think that they can safeguard the interests of the groups to which they belong. These are people for whom I have respect. But when we have passed the different Fundamental Rights which guarantee religious, cultural and educational safeguards, safeguards which are justifiable, safeguards which can be decided in a court of law, I feel that the presence of people belonging to certain groups is not necessary. Then again, when I think of the directive principle that justice should be done to the classes which are backward socially and economically, I feel that I have every confidence that justice will be done to them. In my view the Scheduled Castes again do not require representation. But, as I have said, I bow to the wisdom of my leaders and I am, therefore, prepared to support their motion.

Now the question is: Can the majority community be trusted? The majority community have been very generous to every one of the minority communities. This is my firm belief. I may tell the House, Sir, with your permission that when for about two months I had the honour to occupy the chair which you are occupying today, I deliberately tested it for myself, whether we could trust the majority community. My Muslim, my Sikh and my Scheduled Caste friends will agree with me when I say that every opportunity was given to them by me so that they might voice forth their feelings and this was done with the permission,

with the silent permission of the majority community. I may tell the House that during these two months almost every day foreign observers came and some of them were free-lance journalists and others were people interested in religious and educational work and every day they would come to my house and ask me: 'Are you perfectly confident that the majority community is going to be fair?' I said, 'Well, of course I think so ; but I want you to watch for yourself and draw your own conclusions'. There was a free-lance American journalist who quoted to me lines from the speech of Mr. Winston Churchill made at Manchester in which he talked about Brahmins mouthing Mill and Bentham and then denying freedom to their scheduled caste brethren in India. I told him that every scheduled caste member had a chance to voice his grievances. On that particular day Mr. Nagappa and Mr. Kakkan narrated their grievances to the House and there was not a single caste Hindu who denied the existence of certain grievances. At the end of that day's proceedings, two or three caste Hindus stood up admitting all the charges and promising that every effort should be made to remove these social disabilities.

Sir, these things undoubtedly show that the minorities have nothing to fear from the majority community. I am firmly convinced from my own experience that it is the path of wisdom for the minorities to trust the majority community that if they want to live in peace and honour in this country, they must win its good-will. Our attitude in the past has not been very helpful. I do not want to go into details, but everybody will admit that the attitude of the minorities has not been at all helpful. Let us recollect how many times we used back-door influence in order to sabotage our nationalist movement. I shall not go beyond that. To the majority I say: 'Once for all we are placing the responsibility of looking after us fairly and squarely on your shoulders'. This is an opportunity which Providence has given to the majority community to prove by actual work, to prove by actual example that the protestations made so far are genuine and personally I have every reason to believe that they will not be found wanting.

24th January, 1950

Speech of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, on the occasion of the election of Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President of India.

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee: Sir, even I belong to a particular political organisation. The fact that you have been elected to fill

your high position unanimously is the clearest possible proof that you are not the choice of a particuluar dominant political party, but the choice of the whole nation. This choice of the whole nation, you have won on account of your sterling honesty, on account of your past record of unselfish service, and the country has given you the highest possible position it can give anybody. It is only in deference to your wishes that I shall not make any long speech. I have to say one thing and it is, I pray to God that as you do your duty, you may win the approval of your own conscience, you may win the approval of the nation which has elected you and that you will win the approval of the Father of our Nation, who must be pleased when he sees what is happening, and finally, the approval of God. May God bless you in all that you do.

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FOUNDER'S DAY ADDRESS AT FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LAHORE, 1939

As Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University for over sixteen years, I was in almost daily touch with Christian as well as non-Christian educational institutions in Bengal and Assam. I also know something about the Madras Christian College, Tambaram, and I have heard much about and, today, I have seen the Forman Christian College, Lahore. The one thing common to all Christian educational institutions, whether of the Primary, the Middle, the High School or the College standard, is that they always attract a very high percentage of non-Christian students, so high in fact, that, on more than one occasion, criticism, and, I think uncharitable criticism, has been levelled against them as serving non-Christian rather than Christain interests.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND NON-CHRISTIANS

Let me first of all give you my reasons for their popularity with non-Christians. We offer in our institutions a high standard of teaching at rates which compare favourably with the rates charged in Government institutions of the same type. My personal experience in Bengal and Assam has shown this to be a fact and, so far as my information goes, it is true of every Christian educational institution in other parts of India. This comparative cheapness of fees has not been allowed to detract in any way from the high standard we have set before ourselves and which, I contend, we have always maintained.

Our educational equipments in the shape of libraries and laboratories have never been allowed to fall below the standard maintained by non-Christian educational institutions of our types and our standing. On the other hand, it will be found that, in a very large majority of cases, they are superior. Our buildings, our furniture, our gymnasia and our playgrounds have always been superior to those of the institutions with which we have to compete. In the extra-curricular activities we provide for our students, and these are so varied in their character and so many in number, that I cannot deal with them in any except a very general way, we have always attempted and, I hope, attempted with success to maintain the highest possible standard permitted by our means.

The staff we provide is in no way inferior to the staff maintained in competing institutions. In selecting our teachers, we

have never dreamt of sacrificing efficiency in teaching in order to place special facilities at the disposal of the adherents of the Christian faith. In the Governing Bodies, Managing Committees and other controlling agencies, we have always tried to find room for our non-Christian friends. We believe that though all the financial responsibility is borne by the different Christian organisations and, as such, they should always have the last word in shaping the policy of our educational institutions, still our non-Christian brethren who send us their sons and daughters for training—which, let me assure you parenthetically, we regard as the highest compliment that can be paid to us—I say they too should have every legitimate opportunity of placing their point of view before us. We further feel that we are under a moral, though not under a legal obligation to give our most careful and favourable consideration to their opinions as expressed through their representatives.

I hold that we maintain greater contact and friendship with our students than is ordinarily found in other educational institutions. This is possible not because we are in any sense superior beings but because our general policy has been to attach as far as possible large, well-equipped and properly maintained hostels to all our schools and colleges. Here we try to supply well-balanced and nourishing diet at reasonable rates and at least in Bengal, Assam and Madras, we are never able to accommodate all those students who clamour at our gates for admission, which I understand is equally true of this institution. Our aim is to make our educational institutions residential in character, but though we have put forth our best efforts, the funds at our disposal being limited, we have never been able to reach the ideal we have set before ourselves. There is another factor which militates against our efforts to make our institutions completely residential and that is the constant pressure for educational facilities exerted on us mainly by the numerous non-Christians whose friendship we value and whose requests we are not always in a position to refuse.

One of the most outstanding and valuable features of our Christian institutions is the high standard of discipline we maintain. This is due to the mixture of gentleness and firmness with which we treat our students. All of them are aware that in carrying on the work of education, our only aim is to serve them and that, on a question of principle, we are unyielding. It is gratifying for us to remember that in Bengal in those unforgettable days when young men suspected of terrorist leaning were being hurried to confinement without any trial and when, more than once, it was proclaimed from public platforms that some of these had been

falsely reported against by the Criminal Investigation Department, parents who were desirous of educating their children under such conditions that they would be safe not only from the propaganda of terrorists trading on the chivalrous instincts of youth, but also from the dangerous attentions of the C.I.D., such parents, I say, sent their sons and daughters to Christian institutions as the safest place where they could go on with their studies. I may go further and add that Christian institutions were regarded, and regarded rightly, as places to be preferred even to institutions maintained by the Provincial Government.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

These, I maintain, are some of the reasons which have been responsible for attracting non-Christians in overwhelmingly large numbers to Christian institutions. But it has exposed us to criticism from two quarters. So far as I am aware, Scripture classes are held in every Christian educational institution while only at a very few among them is attendance compulsory. Some orthodox non-Christians object to this as propaganda and hold that we should confine our activities exclusively to teaching academic subjects. Some very orthodox Christians on the other hand maintained that these institutions would be meaningless unless they were utilised for evangelistic work. Still others hold that these institutoins are maintained primarily for Christians and that it is wrong to admit non-Christians in such large numbers as to swamp the Christian element altogether.

I do not know how others feel about compulsory instruction in the Scriptures, which, let me remind you, is so rare that I have not come across it anywhere in Bengal and Assam and those parts of Madras which I visited recently. Should this exist anywhere, about which I have serious doubts, I hold that non-Christian guardians have no right to complain if they deliberately send their children to Christian institutions where attendance at Scripture classes is compulsory. No one can deny that our institutions are selected not because of any partiality for them but because of the superior facilities we are in a position to offer. It is not we who seek students ; it is the students who seek admission to our schools and colleges. It would be highly improper, if not absolutely wrong, if we insisted on compulsory attendance at these Scripture classes without previous intimation to students and their guardians. It is only under these circumstances that our non-Christian friends have the right to complain.

No valid objection can be raised in those institutions where

attendance at Scripture classes is optional. We claim the right to administer our institutions in our own way and so far as I am concerned, I have not heard anywhere during the last 40 years that I have been in the Education Department any complaint made as regards this particular aspect of the matter. Before proceeding further, let me make it clear to you that personally I am no believer in compulsory moral or religious instruction, because I feel that the faintest suspicion of compulsion in the case of certain type of the young mind causes such a revulsion of feeling that the good effects, if any, of instruction of the type are completely lost.

So far as the advice that we should confine ourselves to academic work only is concerned, I would reply that our motherland has enough and more than enough of purely secular institutions—institutions where, while there is room in the timetable for imparting instructions on every subject in which the student is to be examined, instructions which occasionally degenerate into mere drilling, no time is available for the inculcation of high standards of conduct and character, institutions where the only contact between the teacher and the taught consists in the giving and the receiving of certain items of information which may or may not prove useful for a particular purpose, *viz.*, getting through an examination as a pre-requisite to the acquisition of certain academic qualifications which again may or may not enable the holder to secure a safe berth for life. We feel that in order to maintain our Christian standards, it is our duty not only to give instruction in the subjects of examination but also to implant in the minds of our students high moral and ethical ideals. Our non-Christian friends may think otherwise but we believe that this is our primary obligation and we hold that, in order to discharge this obligation, we should make some arrangements to tell our students what we believe will be helpul to them in their future life. This, I conceive, is the reason for holding Scripture classes. As practically all among us are against compulsion in any form, we prefer to leave the matter to the choice of our students. We believe that our duty ends when once these arrangements have been made and efforts put forth to persuade our students to join the Scripture classes.

At the same time, we try by our conduct and character, in which we confess we do not often succeed very well, to show indirectly to our students what a change there is for the better in any one's life if he loyally follows the teachings of our Master. We welcome the opportunities afforded both in and outside the class room to place before our students the principles of the faith

we profess and we love to preach it by our daily lives and actions as much as the spoken or the written word.

That instruction in Scripture with optional attendance is not objected to by either non-Christian students or their parents and guardians is abundantly clear from the fact that there has been a steady growth in the number of students seeking admission into our schools and colleges all over India. To mention a few in Bengal, the Scottish Church College and St. Paul's C. M. S. College and in Madras, the Madras Christian College for Men and Women have to refuse admission to hundreds of students every year. Here in Lahore, the Forman Christian College, which started with 8 students, is now imparting instructions to above 1,300 students. These Christian educational institutions have been offered and have accepted more endowments and benefactions from non-Christians than from Indian Christians, which is not strange in view of the very large numbers of students belonging to the former category as compared with the far smaller numbers drawn from Indian Christian homes. I am glad to be able to state that I have found this in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Madras as also in the case of the Forman Christian College, which can proudly show a long list of non-Christian donors and benefactors.

I must admit that the adoption of the policy I have referred to has been a cause of offence to some of the more ardent and enthusiastic Christians. Their view seems to be that the Christian Church has no business to maintain any institution, educational or other, which cannot and is not used for the direct propagation of our faith. They also hold that one of the most important duties of the Church is towards those who are already inside the Christian fold and therefore the maintenance out of that mission funds of institutions where direct evangelisation is not conducted, is not called for. As a Christian, I must admit that I welcome with joy every accession to our community provided the change in faith is dictated by a firm conviction in the message of Christ. Conversion in my view should proceed from personal conviction and personal experience. I, however, desire it to be clearly understood that the accession to our strength is never regarded by us with pleasure for its potentialities in the political sphere. We do not want an increase in our numbers because it would carry with it greater influence in the political field. We feel that the faith we profess has a deeper significance in religious life and experience and has more effect in radically changing man's character for the better than any other prevailing religion and this we regard as our only justification

for attempting to place our point of view before our non-Christian brethren. As Christians we claim the same right to preach our faith which is enjoyed by the Muslim, the Sikh, the Arya Samaj and the sponsors of the *Sangathan* and *Suddhi* movements. We claim this liberty so long as we do not interfere with the liberty of others to preach and practise their faith, nor behave in such a manner as to be a cause of offence to our non-Christian brethren. I believe that every one here including those whose faith is different from ours will admit the reasonableness of this attitude.

So far as the charge of serving non-Christians more than Christians is concerned, an overwhelming majority among us feel that this is the one and the only way of serving our Lord and Master whose command is to preach Him among those to whom He is unkonwn. Apart from this argument based on theological grounds, we also feel that to confine our institutions to Christians only would be a fatal mistake. We are aware that that change in our faith leads our non-Christian brethren to think that we have ceased to be Indians, that our sympathies no longer lie with our countrymen in their struggle for economic and political freedom, that, in a word, though in India we are not of India. This impression has to be removed at all costs. We must do everything which has in our power to demonstrate to our brethren that in every matter which does not imply any compromise with the religious tenets we hold, we are at one with them, that we are not narrow communalists desirous of improving our lot at the expense of our brethren who may profess a religion different from ours, that looking on them as our very own, we are always prepared to share with them whatever facilities for improving the lot of our countrymen are available.

It is the constant presence of this feeling which has made it possible for us to throw open to our non-Christian brethren the doors of our schools and colleges, our industrial and technical training centres, our agricultural schools, our outdoor dispensaries and indoor hospitals, our training schools and colleges and many other institutions too numerous to be mentioned, all of which aim at bettering the lot of the masses. We regard it as a happy augury that a majority of those undergoing instruction in these institutions are non-Christians, for we firmly believe that any improvement in their lot is bound to be reflected by an improvement in our lot, that we cannot rise in either the social, the economic or the political scale unless we are carried along with our countrymen and that an enlightened selfishness, if nothing else, should induce us to persist in this policy of helping ourselves by helping non-Christian brethren.

COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

One of my best friends who is also a colleague at the Calcutta University, and a member of the great Muslim community, has told me that in many, though not in all, cases the bitterness which prevails today specially among the two largest communities is due either to prejudice or to downright ignorance. Very often there is no desire to give offence but still something is done or said which has the effect of giving offence to someone. A word carelessly spoken has, more than once, to my knowledge alienated people who have been friends and this word would never have been spoken if the speaker had been familiar with the ways of life or the habits of the community to which it had reference. I have myself been pained time and again by slighting reference to the habits and customs of the Indian Christian community; but I have never permitted them to disturb my equanimity, for I was aware that they had not been dictated by malice or ill-feeling but by ignorance and prejudice, the only remedy for which is that knowledge and experience about us which can come only when we mix intimately with one another.

Our Christian institutions of various types, including our schools and colleges where members of all communities are welcome, are eminently calculated to bridge this gulf of ignorance. They enjoy one immense advantage over institutions maintained or controlled by Government. The policy of these institutions is of necessity controlled by public opinion in these days of provincial autonomy. On account of lack of education and political experience among the masses, and also because, in a majority of cases, their representatives adopt the very short-sighted policy of playing up to their prejudices, these institutions are gradually tending to grow communal in their outlook. In this way, the policy followed is being influenced by considerations which are calculated to go against the truest interests of our motherland.

The experience of those who are looking forward to the emergence of a united and happy Greater India is that whenever any attempt is made to shape educational policy from this point of view, it is immediately turned down by the representatives referred to above, whose personal interests demand that the existing condition of communal tension should persist as long as possible. It is therefore that communal feelings and prejudices are excited intentionally to the ultimate injury of the interests of the communities concerned, and an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy is sought to be created to keep them apart, with the result that it is daily becoming more and more impossible

for those under this influence to maintain an impartial and rational attitude on any question which can, in the slightest way, be given a communal colouring.

In Bengal we are going to have shortly a Government educational institution teaching the same course and giving exactly the same kind of training as another Government institution with a long tradition of service behind it. In the former it is proposed to cater specially for students professing a particular religious faith. In the existing institution, students irrespective of their caste or creed are welcome and a little addition to the existing accommodation would have been more than sufficient to meet the requirements and yet the establishment of the proposed communal institution is insisted upon. The institution I am referring to is a women's college and it has its parallel in a men's college, the need for which is not admitted by the impartial man who is concerned only with the best and the most economical use of public funds. Educational institutions where future generations are destined to be trained, are thus degenerating into weapons to be used in the struggle for political supremacy among contending parties in the legislature. The man who can give communal college for men and women immediately entrenches himself behind impenetrable barriers and however unfit he may be to give the right shape to the educational policy of his province or to give leadership in new and unexplored directions in which progress may be looked for, succeeds in retaining his supremacy only because of this appeal to the communalism of a section of his countrymen.

In fact in parts of Bengal the feelings of separatism have assumed such proportions that in certain places I visited, I found a Government-aided Primary School, a Hindu Pathsala, a Muslim Muktab and a Primary school for the children of the backward Hindu communities. My enquiries showed that none of these schools was adequately staffed, properly housed and efficiently maintained ; they could not, in view of the fact that the small number of children as well as the means available were divided among so many schools, and yet no one would hear of combining them into one large properly staffed and efficient school housed in an accommodious and well-ventilated building.

I have referred more than once to the disastrous policy of having communal institutions. The late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Aligarh University, is generally held responsible for showing the way to the establishment of communal educational institutions. It may be so in the sense that Aligarh was the first really large and important institution of this type.

Still I cannot forget that long before the foundation of the Aligarh University, an elder brother of mine was refused admission to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, because he was not a Brahmin!!! There is little use in raking up old and unpleasant stories but accepting facts as we find them at present, there is not much doubt that every lover of our motherland must do every thing that lies in his power to abolish these denominational institutions. These are preventing students professing different faiths from being educated together and thus understanding one another's point of view. The spirit of religious tolerance has, under these circumstances, no chance to grow and develop. In course of time, this separation caused by segregation in matters educational creates an atmosphere of suspicion, if not of downright enmity. This I consider the greatest blow to the growth of Indian nationalism. Its infinite capacity for mischief is due to the fact that its effects are insidious and that it encourages communalism under the disguise of what may be called 'sectional' patriotism and at the expense of what I should like to characterise as 'national' or 'All-India' patriotism.

As against this, we find in Christian institutions a calm and sober atmosphere which is in welcome contrast to the clash of conflicting interests so often prevailing in the field of education elsewhere. Except for the slight control exercised on them which is unavoidable in view of the capital and recurring grants made to them, these Christian institutions are free to shape their day-to-day policy and, as by the very nature of things, they are free from communal bitterness, they supply a place where young men and young women of all communities can meet in an atmosphere of calmness and goodwill. Here they get to know and understand one another and learn to respect one another's prejudices and idiosyncrasies. In this way, in these institutions the emphasis is shifted from the religious to the cultural and the social aspects of life and it is thus that communalism is scotched, if not killed.

INCULCATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

We claim that one outstanding service we have rendered to Indian nationalism is that we have laid the foundation for democracy in our motherland. At the beginning, the very well-to-do classes were not disposed to favour the idea that their children should be educated or should mix on terms of equality with children coming from humbler homes. I cannot say with truth that this feeling of separatism has disappeared altogether. At any rate, the foolishness of this attitude elicited a noteworthy

comment from Sir John Lawrence, the then Governor of the Punjab, and one of the earliest friends and patrons of the Lahore School, a parent of the Forman Christian College. After presiding at the distribution of prizes in 1869 he observed that the great men were making a mistake by not 'securing for their children the advantages of a good education' and warned them that unless they changed their course, the next generation would see the descendants of shop-keepers and tradesmen exalted to high places. Later on the students were recruited from all classes. To quote the exact words of the relevant Mission report the students came 'from the mechanic and trafficker in the bazar, to the first born of the Rajah who sits high among the princes.' This has been our uniform policy not only in the Punjab, but all over India and it is thus that the idea of equality has been preached throughout the length and breadth of our motherland, which is no mean achievement for our educational institutions. The acceptance of the idea of equality and the recognition of intellectual superiority in a classmate even though he might be a member of the depressed classes naturally leads to the appreciation of the injustice inherent in the caste system.

I do not think anyone here will deny what a curse untouchability has proved to India and how heavy the price we are paying for the sins of our ancestors. While full credit has to be accorded to Islam for its truly democratic spirit, there is no doubt that Christianity in the aggressive form it has taken in India, was the first to lead the movement of revolt against this great social sin. Our schools, our colleges, and our hostels have been the places from which the crusade against untouchability took its rise. I do not know what arrangements you have here, but in Madras, the home of untouchability, at the Madras Christian College and also at the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education which together accommodate about 525 students, the messes are divided into vegetarian and non-vegetarian, and though the residents there are drawn from members of different religious faiths and from various strata of Hindu society, there is no difficulty with regard to the question of caste and untouchability. There is perfect amity and good feeling and the presence of a certain spirit of fraternity which one does not ordinarily find in hostels and messes where members of each religion, caste, sub-caste and their divisions have their food cooked and eaten separately.

UTILITY OF CHRISTIAN HOSTELS

I have referred already to the fact that in all Christian educational institutions, the ideal we have always placed before

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ourselves is to make them as far as possible residential in character. I have also pointed out the reasons which have prevented us from realising this ideal fully. We, however, claim that, taking into account the funds at our disposal, we have spent more in this direction than non-Christian institutions of equal status. The emphasis laid on the providing of residential facilities has been due to our desire to serve India in certain directions in which we believe we have very important and valuable contributions to make.

We are of opinion that our duty does not end with either the imparting of instruction in academic subjects or in training our students in such a manner as to enable them to get through the tests imposed either by Government or the University. Our great aim is to produce men. For this the development of character is essential. Along with this, we believe in organising the activities of our educational institutions in such a way as to offer to our students the best possible facilities for building up sound organic health.

On the physical side, we are no believers in what is ordinarily called physical culture. Nor is it our ambition to send out year after year a constant stream of crack players or wonderful athletes. These are, so to say, bye-products of our physical education system. Our purpose is to organise and develop the physical activities of our schools and colleges in such a way that each and every student should leave our institutions with a sound body which will enable him to stand the strain and stress of modern life with all its demands on physical energy.

So far as the development of character is concerned, we try to show our students how to shape their daily life in such a way as to be a credit to themselves and to us and to be an asset to the Indian nation. The various extra-academic activities we encourage in our schools and colleges, and they are too numerous to mention, have only one purpose and that purpose is to call forth all that is best in our students by giving them opportunities in various different directions to develop those powers and gifts which would otherwise lie dormant.

The experience we have gathered in the past both in our schools and colleges and by daily contact with our students has convinced us that this aim of developing body, mind and soul can be achieved best when they are residential and not day students and, more so, if our institutions are located away from the distraction, congestion and very often insanitary environments inescapable in large towns. It is this which led to the transfer of the Madras Christian College to its new site at Tambaram

about 18 miles from the town proper. I am very pleased to find that the authorities of the Forman Christian College have not only been thinking along similar lines but have already taken steps to carry out this plan. The response made by old students to the appeal for funds has been encouraging and I sincerely trust that the necessary amount will be raised in the near future. To me the most pleasing feature is that contributions are being received from gentlemen, the majority of whom must be non-Christians, which, to my mind, proves that the Forman Christian College is really fulfilling the purpose for which it was brought into existence.

Our hostels make our task of establishing intimate contact with our students easier ; they offer very favourable opportunities of saying the right word at the right moment, of influencing our students in unobtrusive and yet very valuable ways and of helping them with our advice when they seek it at critical junctures in their lives and such occasions, let me assure you as an old teacher, are more numerous than is imagined by the lay public.

But this is not the only service our students' hostels are doing in every centre of intellectual culture. We believe that the caste system and, along with it, untouchability, in which it manifests itself in its most objectionable form, are the curse of India. In the social life of Hindu India caste and untouchability are creating as much as, probably more mischief, than, communalism in the political life of India. These two evil influences are being daily, almost hourly, combated in our hostels. I do not know the conditions prevailing in the Punjab, but in Madras, Bengal and Assam these social and quasi-religious barriers are nearly always broken down by the time the residents in our hostels leave us for good. We have found that the prejudices of students belonging to all castes and creeds disappear as soon as they commence to eat, work and live together. I might go even so far as to say that toleration is not learnt but absorbed. In this connection, I cannot but give the highest possible praise to your Principal Dr. S. K. Dutta for the eminently practical step he has taken in starting the freshmen's camp. All honour to him for the courage of his convictions and that boldness which has enabled him to take what I consider, is bound to be regarded hereafter as a momentous step in the history of the Forman Christian College.

OUR SERVICES TO THE MOTHERLAND

During the period of His service on earth our Master fed the hungry, healed the sick and taught the ignorant multitude. It

was a burning enthusiasm to follow in His footsteps which brought Dr. C. W. Forman to India. We are told that it would have been quite easy for him to become the pastor of a Church in his own country, but he felt the call to a land where unselfish and self-sacrificing workers are so few and so rare. So complete was his identification with the people of the land of his adoption that when he died in 1894, one of the local Indian newspapers said, "In the city of Lahore the people have mourned his loss as that of one of them. They feel that they have lost in him a real friend, who felt for them and was always ready to help them."

The services rendered by Dr. Forman were principally in the shape of education. He was one of a large band of men and women who, generation after generation, have been spending themselves for the benefit of India. I am aware that Europeans in Government employment have helped education, sanitation, irrigation, public health, agriculture, industry, co-operation and other equally vital nation-building work. I, however, draw a distinction between the work done by them and by their countrymen who have come out to our land as soldiers of the Cross. In the case of the former, we have to pay for their services and, according to critics, pay heavily too. This payment for services rendered has to be continued in the shape of pension after their retirement. This I do not consider quite unfair, in view of the fact that they have rendered and are still rendering valuable services to us, though probably we are spending more than we can really afford. Our foreign missionary friends, on the other hand, not only give us all varieties of service freely, for, as is well-known, their allowances, I am not disposed to call them salaries in view of the smallness of the amounts drawn, are paid by their Home Missionary Boards. In addition to this, they have been collecting funds from their own countrymen and countrywomen and utilising them in building and maintaining schools and colleges, dispensaries and hospitals, industrial and technical institutions, training schools and colleges, homes for the deaf, the blind and the fallen. This is only a partial and incomplete list of their beneficient activities.

Within recent years, the stream of contribution from the West which we had come to regard as perennial has begun to shrink. We are not concerned with its causes but, as an Indian Christian, I thank God for what has happened. I admit with a sense of humiliation and shame that, in the past, as a community we have not developed and expanded to the extent we ought to have done, principally because of the sheltered lives we had been leading under missionary protection. This drying up of resources has compelled the Churches of the West to consider seriously the ques-

tion of gradually withdrawing themselves and handing over the management of the existing beneficient institutions to the younger Churches of India which are manned very largely by Indian Christians. I feel absolutely sure that, with every day that passes, we shall develop more and more leadership and initiative and be in a position to take up the responsibility as it shifts from the West to the East.

The missionaries, male and female, who have served India in the past are handing down to us, Indian Christians, a glorious tradition of unselfish and devoted service. I hope that the unhealthy communally-ridden atmosphere of India will not make us forget the lesson we have learnt. I know that it will not be so and that we shall maintain this tradition of service which we have inherited from our illustrious predecessors.

In conclusion, let me remind you that though our faith is not the same as that of the majority among you, none the less we are one flesh and blood ; we derive our ancestry from the same stock as you. Your way of looking at things is our way of looking at things. If we have your weakness and frailties, we also have your strength. Regard us then as really your brothers and permit us to serve you through all the different institutions which have been brought into existence by some of our best friends who accidentally happen to carry foreign blood in their veins. Overlook our frailties if you can, assist us when we seek your assistance and, above all, do not regard us as aliens in the land of our birth and never think, even for one moment, that our interests lie beyond the bounds of our motherland.

What I have placed before you today was penned in the quiet of my study in the intervals of a very busy life. After reading it once again, I find that the thoughts and ideas I have put before you lack that organic unity and academic detachment which ought to be found in an address of the type usual on occasions like the present. They, however, are the honest convictions of an Indian Christian who has always tried to think deeply about our motherland and the place every community should occupy in her economy. I have ventured to put before you my ideas as to the way in which we, a small minority community, can serve you, our non-Christian brethren and, through you, our motherland. I can assure you that there are thousands and probably hundreds of thousands of Indian Christians who think as I think, though they do not enjoy the opportunity of speaking to you as I have been privileged to do today. Let me assure you once again that as a community we yield to none in our loyalty to the best and truest interests of our country and also that we shall, now and always, stand shoulder to

shoulder with our flesh and blood in every sphere of work where the little we can do is likely to be of ultimate benefit to our motherland and to every one of our brethren and sisters.

ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

26th November, 1951

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Senate, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very grateful to the authorities of the Nagpur University for the honour shown to me by the invitation to deliver the Convocation address. I would, however, be guilty of a barefaced falsehood if I were to suggest even remotely that I felt any kind of hesitation or misgiving when the request of the Vice-Chancellor was conveyed to me through His Excellency the Governor. And this because of the very good reason that starting as a schoolmaster in 1898, I went into Intermediate, Post-Intermediate and Post-Graduate teaching, later on acquiring experience of the administrative side as Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University for over a decade and a half and also as a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University for nearly a quarter of a century besides acting as a member of various committees. As the result of the varied experience gathered in the course of more than four decades, I have formed some opinions, right or wrong, on matters educational, only a few of which I am about to place before you for your consideration.

As a result of the study of the reports issued by the present Government as well as of other papers, together with some little knowledge gathered during a few visits to this State, I find that Madhya Pradesh today consists of the old Central Provinces and Berar together with some fifteen or so Indian States which have merged into it. Historical records make it clear that the original inhabitants were aboriginals and that they had to meet successive waves of invasion from the north and the west. As happened elsewhere these primitive tribes had to give way and take shelter in inaccessible forests and hills to which they have clung since that time. While they are to be found in fairly large numbers in every part of this State, they appear to be concentrated particularly in the south-east. One section of the new-comers consisted of the Hindusthani-speaking peoples of the north whose descendants are to be found in the northern and eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh. The other section were Marathi-speaking people whose descendants are found today in Berar, and in the west and centre of this State.

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These well-known facts have been repeated merely to suggest that the presence of two well-marked linguistic zones—the Hindi and the Marathi-speaking areas—and that of a strong tribal area cannot but create problems peculiar to this State, some political, some social and some economic, and that their satisfactory solution demands tact, firmness and understanding. These impose a great responsibility on its educated people, a majority of whom must, in future, necessarily be the products of this University.

Apart from tackling what may, for want of a better term, be called practical problems of the above type, a task which may be relegated to those who participate in the public life of the State, the educated people of Madhya Pradesh enjoy the unique privilege of living in the midst of diverse culture trends and if only they can be assimilated and synthesised properly, then Madhya Pradesh can claim with justice to possess a diverse and yet unified purely Indian culture. The responsibility for this great work must necessarily rest on the Universities of this State and their products. What steps, if any, have been taken by those in authority I do not know, but no one can question the desirability of preserving the primitive culture of the original inhabitants by the State, and of utilising it to enlarge and enrich the united culture of the other two peoples.

It is now universally admitted that the twin functions of Universities are the education of youth and the discovery of new truth. The acquiring of fresh knowledge through research, a matter which I do not propose to discuss at all, not only enriches and diversifies human life in the intellectual realm, but it also helps forward enormously the technical and economic development of the country.

I am sincerely glad to find that this University has already made an encouraging start in this direction. I trust it will never overlook the importance of this particular type of its activity. I should also like to pay my tribute to the memory of that great gentleman whose generosity has made this possible. I trust that others in this State will follow the noble example set by him, and that the Nagpur University will never fail to attract gifts and bequests, large and small, from its benefactors and well-wishers.

The question of research very naturally suggests the collection of materials from different sources and their critical study. In this connection I would, if I may, like to refer to a matter which has, to a certain extent, been disturbing me for some time past.

I have no quarrel with those who stand for the adoption of Hindi in Devanagri script as our national language. As a matter of fact, I was one of those who supported this item in our Constitution when it was being considered in the Constituent Assembly. At the same time, I feel it my bounden duty as an educationist to point out the dangers involved in the total banishment of English from our curriculum.

Perhaps as a result of an understandable reaction against British domination, there is a tendency today to depose English from its rightful place in the curriculum of higher studies. As an educationist I think that this must be deplored. English, to use an Irishism, is today the lingua franca of the world. It is through the medium of English that we can most easily establish and maintain our international and, may I say, even our inter-State contacts.

For one thing, it is very important in the national interest that the beneficial results which have hitherto accrued from the universal use of English in the different High Courts in India should be preserved, at least until all our Judges and practising lawyers have become familiar with the national language. Among these benefits I may mention the development of an all-India Bar and an all-India Jurisprudence, arising out of the citation of the rulings of the different High Courts everywhere in India and the consequent interpretation of all-India codes and statutes on a sound basis, as also the facility with which Judges are recruited from different regions to man the Supreme Court. Judicial isolation of each State, if I may so describe what would follow from the use of the regional language by every High Court, will be a grievous misfortune which may even impair the political unity of India. Even when the use of the national language for delivery of judgments has become universal, it would perhaps be worthwhile to have English translations made of all important pronuncements of the different High Courts and the Supreme Court if we want to retain the present national advantage of seeing the judgments of those Courts read with profit and admiration all through the English-speaking world, particularly in the U.K. and in the U.S.A. What has been stated above about the law courts will be found true also in other spheres of our national life—say, as regards our inter-University contacts and cultural relationships both in this country and abroad. If we neglect a proper study of English, we run the risk of losing our rightful place in the inter-national, cultural, intellectual, economic and even commercial worlds. I

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would therefore most earnestly pray the authorities of our Universities to pay due heed to this aspect of University teaching.

Coming to the question of the training of youth, we find that, with the acquiring of freedom, the duties and responsibilities of Universities have increased enormously. Today the country expects them to provide leaders in politics and administration, in industry and commerce as well as in the learned professions. In addition to meeting the gradually expanding demand for every kind of higher education, humanistic and scientific, technical and professional, they are expected to supply people who will teach the country how to secure, within a reasonable time, freedom from want, from ignorance and from disease.

It is therefore that today training for leadership in the professions and in public life is regarded as one of the fundamental aims of University education. That there is a dearth of such men in even an advanced country like the United States was admitted by President Truman when he observed "Our national policies must be administered by men of broad experience, mature outlook and sound judgment. But there is a critical shortage of such men—men who possess the capacity to deal with affairs of State".

Apart from supplying leadership in all important spheres of life, a second equally important function of Universities is the imparting of a balanced education. In his every-day life, the graduate is not a student of literature, a psychologist or an economist, nor is he a physicist, a chemist or a biologist. He has political, social, business and cultural interests outside his special field. It is therefore that his more important relationships are those of citizen, father, husband, neighbour, bread-winner.

It follows that in addition to the professional and other vocational training which must constitute part of every person's education, the University training of our young people cannot be concerned with any single element of life but rather with the varied aspects of living so that for every person the result will be the best practical all-round development associated with efficient training in his special field of work.

The competitive system at present in vogue gives the less gifted the same chances as the more gifted ones with the result that the latter get on in life and tend to join the ranks of the more fortunate and privileged classes. The opportunities for gifted persons among the common people for promotion to an environment of cultural and economic privilege result in living

behind an inert mass of uninspired and unenlightened people. The inevitable consequence of the present unsatisfactory and technically correct democratic set-up is a tendency towards an insensible splitting up of the people into two classes—a population consisting of subject masses and one of ruling classes.

We in India have given ourselves a democratic system of Government which indirectly implies that positions of responsibility and authority in the administration should be held by properly qualified men and women. I may be wrong, but I strongly feel that we shall fail in our efforts to have a well-ordered and genuinely Indian social organisation if, in actual operation, our democracy leads to an unfortunate division of the people into privileged leaders and the under-privileged led. For the peace and prosperity of our country, it is absolutely essential that the gap between the leaders and the led, which is gradually appearing in many areas, should be narrowed till all its evil consequences are eliminated .

The solution of this problem lies in finding some satisfactory method of achieving intellectual discipline and culture which only give quality to leadership and, at the same time, maintaining identity with the common people. Considered from this particular angle, a very valuable contribution of Universities to national advancement and prosperity consists in the emancipation of young minds from all narrowness, in the awakening of the consciousness of personal dignity among the led and the recognition of its existence among them by the leaders, and above all, in the dedication of generation after generation of students to the cause of human progress and service.

In Wardha, not very far from this seat of learning, and not, as many of you may recall, so very long ago, Mahatma Gandhi called for a new orientation in our national system of education. He was anxious that the foundations of education should be broad and solid, and under his inspiration was formulated a scheme of comprehensive Primary Education which is generally known as Basic Education. It is hardly necessary for me to go into the details of the scheme, the main principles of which are already widely known. Mahatmaji considered that "the scheme was a revolution in the education of village children". He expected the teachers "to educate village children in their villages so as to draw out all their faculties through some selected village handicrafts in an atmosphere free from superimposed restriction and interference".

In Basic Education the emphasis has shifted from formal instruction through books to creative activities in which children

are interested, and the entire process of education is to be intimately related to the physical and social environment of the child. The National Plan of Educational Development which was prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education, and subsequently endorsed by the Government of Free India in December, 1947, duly incorporated the main principles of the Wardha scheme. These principles have been accepted as sound by experts in this country as well as abroad.

I am conscious that the courses of training based on these principles may admit of wide variations, and it would be unsound to think that there could be no alternative courses of instruction which would not ensure equally sound training, that is, the minimum requisite education for the future citizens of Free India.

At a time I could not even dream that an opportunity to address this University would ever come to me, the thought would frequently occur that much was expected from the seats of learnnig in this State in the matter of contributing the largest number of competent young men and young women who, after finishing their education, would dedicate themselves to the task of popularising Basic Education all over our motherland. Whether in the present set-up, we can expect many young people with sufficient idealism to deliberately welcome a life of often thankless service and unmitigated privation, if not grinding poverty, is a question I would not care to answer. But I am sure that I am voicing the opinion of a very large number of people when I say that India expects much in this direction from the people of a State where Gandhiji spent the latter part of his life and where they enjoyed special facilities of drawing inspiration from him and where he developed his thought-provoking educational ideas.

I hope you will bear with me if I strike a personal note and say that I feel proud when I remember that my countrymen conferred on me unanimously the privilege of being the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly which, on the 26th November, 1949, that is, exactly two years ago, solemnly adopted the glorious preamble to our Constitution which reads, as you may remember, thus—

> We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizes:
> Justice, social, economic and political;
> Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity ;
and to promote among them all
Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation .

In the Directive Principles of State policy we declare that the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

(*a*) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ;

(*b*) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good ;

(*c*) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment ;

(*d*) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(*e*) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength ;

(*f*) that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.

It must be remembered that these are ideals that have been set before us, noble ideals which have been given to us to be transformed into realities. It may be that people elsewhere have also set such ideals before themselves and some may think that, in giving practical shape to them, it is the end that matters and that the end justifies the means. But the Father of our Nation has enjoined on us that it is only through truth, righteousness and *Ahimsa* that our goal should be attained. All great religions have enunciated these principles and, as a Christian, I would remind you of the teaching of my Lord, who said—

(Therefore) if thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee,
Leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift.

A tremendous responsibility therefore lies on us who have the duty and the responsibility of training young men and young

women to be the natural leaders of the people. The pursuit of pure knowledge is not the only task before a University. Even more important, especially today, is the task of training in citizenship and in leadership. Perhaps in the past sufficient emphasis had not been placed on this function of the University. We have therefore to give much more emphasis on this aspect of University training and you, young men and young women, the Graduates of this University, have to remember the duty you owe to the people who, unschooled themselves, have made it possible for you to receive higher education with the sole purpose, from their point of view, to be the natural leaders of your people.

To the Graduates of the University I would therefore say—'You are living today in what is perhaps one of the most creative epochs in our long national life. The economic stress through which the country is passing, the repercussions on our lives of the unrest which has followed as an aftermath of the war, and the clash between the warring ideologies of the West may tend to obscure from you this very fundamental fact and may even create in some of your minds a sense of frustration.

'But I would like to impress on you with all the emphasis that I can command that you have a wonderful opportunity before you. You have a glorious heritage and you have before you a future full of even more glorious promise. For it is India of the future and perhaps India alone which can give to humanity a practical realisation of the ideals for which millions have toiled in vain in the past. Our race—mine and that of my contemporaries—is almost run, but yours is just beginning. I can only hope and pray that you will rise to the heights and achieve the ideals set before you and the nation, and I would exhort you in those immortal words—'उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान् निबोधत' (*Arise, awake and work till you reach the great goal*).

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INAUGURATION OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF OTO-LARYNGOLOGISTS OF INDIA

18th December, 1951

I consider it a privilege to have been invited to inaugurate this Annual Conference of your Association, which is being held in Calcutta, as the Head of the State of West Bengal. I must confess, however, that I was inclined to regard it as a doubtful privilege, when I first found this function noted in the list of engagements provisionally accepted by my predecessor-in-office, which I was expected to confirm. I have, of course, learnt, even during the short period that has elapsed since my assumption of office, that greatness is sought to be thrust from all quarters on one who happens to be the Head of the State and that I am already considered to be a man of wide interests and varied knowledge, having an opinion on every conceivable subject, from Fine Arts and Music, from different aspects of social work and education to some abstruse branch of science, and possessing the requisite competency to give expression thereto before an assembly of experts. Nevertheless, the high-sounding, almost unpronounceable, name that you have given to your Association simply took my breath away: I felt completely mystified by it and ruefully thought of the penalties of my position. Again, it seemed to me to be almost comical that people should not stop to think that, though elevated to the position of the Head of the State, I have a small head, after all, like the average person, which cannot be expected to carry so much learning. Then the Vice-President and Secretary of your Association came to see me and took much pains to impress on me that I could not simply break away from the convention which they had already firmly established about getting the Governor of the State in which the Conference is held to inaugurate it every year. They further explained that I should not be over-awed by the name of the Association, it being really nothing more than a harmless, if not useful, body of specialists of the medical profession dealing with the ailments of three of the most important organs of the human body—ear, nose and throat—which I, along with the rest of the species, happen to possess under divine dispensation. This restored my self-confidence and so I agreed to be here this morning to speak what sense I can and what nonsense I please.

Well, then, to begin with, we all know that the three organs

referred to above are vital to the full enjoyment of human life. The twin appendages to the human face called the ears are not meant, even in the case of the fair sex, to be only convenient pegs on which to hang all sorts of ornaments or in the case of the young, as something handy for their elders to pull them by when they commit some mischief. Whatever their outward size and shape —be they too large or too small, or pricked like those of an animal or not,—for which a beauty specialist may be called to aid, they have within them a delicate instrument like a telephone receiver which is meant for the reception of sound of every description from music divine to raucous street cries, and for transmission of the same to the brain, to be duly recorded and registered there. Similarly the nose, whether snub or aquiline, imperious or comical, is the instrument through which we breathe the air of life and smell the sweetness of nature. The throat is the gateway for the intake of fuel in the shape of food which is converted into power or energy by the digestive organs down below and so keeps the human engine going. Again, it is the seat of the larynx with which we are enabled to produce sounds for communication with our fellow beings. At the present moment, with electioneering in full swing everywhere, we can easily realise that politicians seeking the suffrage of the people value this thing most. A candidate for election cannot simply afford to lose his voice. At the same time he wants the rest of the people to make the most of the other two organs I have referred to above, viz. to smell a rat in the camp of every opponent of his and hear placidly his full-throated cries, if his hearers care for the betterment of their lot in life.

Leaving levity aside, we must also agree that these three vital organs are the sentinels appointed by Providence to mount guard over the human body in general. If they can be kept fit and alert, most of the diseases may be shut out effectively from entering the human system. It is because of this fact that the services rendered by your branch of the medical profession are of such paramount importance to the health of the community. Unfortunately, this is only insufficiently appreciated by the vast majority of people, particularly in the rural areas, with the result that any affection of these organs, specially among children, is apt to be regarded as a minor ailment and neglected for long periods with disastrous consequences to them later in life. Another factor which contributes to this result is that you, gentlemen, who are specialists in the line, are still numerically insignificant, compared to the size of our country, and, therefore, naturally confine the practice of your profession to a few big cities. I do not want to enter into a contro-

versy as to whether it is more desirable to have numerous specialists in every branch of knowledge or to raise the general level of knowledge. But in view of the prevailing circumstances, as stated above, I consider it important that your Association should take steps for the dissemination of the special knowledge acquired by you in a readily intelligible form as widely as practicable among the general practitioners, so that they may at least know when to direct a particular case to you.

Another thing which is inadequately appreciated by the general mass of people in our country is that the three organs in question are not only close neighbours but also near relations. Any continued ailment of one is bound to affect sooner or later the other two. Of course, we all know that the functions of speech and hearing are absolutely interdependent. The child learns to speak by imitating what he hears. A congenitally deaf child is dumb because he cannot hear. And when such a child grows up, he is shut out from communication with his fellow-beings, which is in one sense our basic need. I do not know whether your science has now advanced so far as to be able to help the congenital deaf-mute. But, perhaps, you can do something to lessen the gravity of the handicap with which he embarks on the journey of life and I believe you maintain contact for the purpose with the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School and other similar institutions, which try to rehabilitate many a child of this category in the social field. In any case, you are certainly capable of helping the larger group of people, who become deaf with growing age, owing to an ailment of the organs with which you are concerned. You may consider in this connection whether you should not sponsor an Association for something outside their own industrial activity in the cultural sphere so that each one of them might enlarge and enrich his own life. Man wants something more than his mere food and shelter.

Thank you very much.

ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

22nd December, 1951

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Senate, Teachers, Students, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When you did me the honour of asking me to address you on this great occasion in your University life, I accepted with pride and with pleasure. Nearly sixty years ago, excitedly but very humbly, I passed the Entrance Examination of the University of which I am now the Chancellor. With it, for more than four decades, I was associated as a teacher. This is my University—in it I have a pride of possession unequalled by any of you, and, for it, an abiding affection.

Before I begin, however, I must pay my humble tribute of homage to the memory of the late Abanindranath Tagore who passed away from our midst only about a fortnight ago. The scion of a family which has made such a notable contribution to the cultural development of the people of Bengal and of India, thereby earning international recognition for our ancient heritage and present achievements, Abanindranath was the father of the renaissance of Indian Art. He has handed down the torch lighted by him to our present generation of artists who are trying to combine the best elements in the ancient art of the East and the modern art of the West in creating new forms of beauty. Abanindranath also did excellent pioneer work in the field of juvenile literature. This University really honoured itself by offering him the Chair of the Bagiswari Professor of Fine Art on which he shed such lustre during his incumbency.

I felt when I was asked to come here today that I, more than any one, would find it easy to discover some subject about which to talk to you. And, then, as I began more and more to think of what I should say, I was perplexed by the number of questions which came, seeking answers—very critical questions they were, and I am not yet happy in my mind that I have found a complete answer to all or any of them, but perhaps after all, it is not I who should answer them, but you.

It is a paradox that India is rich in age and yet so very young in years: on the one hand, steeped in history and traditions of the past, on the other, as yet only starting out on a new road into the future. In the last year or two, after an uncertain

start, we feel the ground more solid under our feet, the air above it is clearer, and we are treading more firmly, with less chance as the years go on, of stumbling. India is no longer at the crossroads: she has chosen her road and is well on the way.

We are not alone in this onward march. Young though we are, we are making our way along the same road with the other great nations of the world, side by side with them and at times we can even take the lead. Those friends at our side give us confidence (it is not strange that we march more easily when we know that others are with us), but we must rely on them for nothing more than that.

We must, in all that we do, rely upon ourselves, and this brings me to the first question that perplexed me when I set out to write this address. On whom, of those among us, can we most rely to take India forward, not feebly or haltingly, but strongly and with head high? It will not, in the nature of things, be those of my generation who will be able to see furthest down the road, and be able most easily to overcome the obstacles that will constantly beset us. My generation and the present one, has, by its own efforts, created the Republic of India—to whom then shall it be handed over? The answer that I gave myself was, "To you". You here in this University and in others in India—*you* are the cream of our youth—on *you* we must rely. From *you* must be chosen the leaders in all walks of life.

The moment I had answered that question, I found myself faced with another—is it with *the utmost confidence* that we can rely on you? We are anxious to hand over the leadership to you—are you ready to take up the burden? To be so ready you must be "full men", if I may use such an expression. The problems indeed will not admit of easy solutions—the duties you will be called upon to undertake will not be light—your shortcomings will be exposed at every bend in the road—the criticisms that will be levelled at you will be remorseless and will hurt; there will be very little praise for your achievements—too often the rewards will be only the satisfaction of knowing that your job has been well and truly done. I am putting that question to you now—are you the men and the women for the job? You may of course be able to answer "Indeed I am. I have all the qualifications of a 'full man'. Here is my diploma to tell the world what manner of man I am. There is no gainsaying that I am a full member of one of the leading Universities in the world—I am citizen of no mean city—I am a proud member of the Indian Republic. Those should indeed be qualifications enough". But are they enough?

With your permission, I would like you to probe a little deeper and ask yourself honestly if you are now sufficiently equipped, mentally and physically to shoulder the responsibilities that you will be called upon to undertake? How far, along the road you are going, will your diploma take you? Is your body strong enough for the tasks ahead? To some extent here in the University you have led sheltered lives—the rocks you encountered have not led to disaster, but I have to warn you that there are no text-books offering guidance along the road India is going,—no note books that you can consult—no laboratories in which you can conduct your practical experiments. It will be you who will write the text-books and prepare the notes, and draw up the plans; your examinations will be of a different kind—you will be in deadly peril if you are found wanting—your diplomas will be only landmarks on the road down which you will travel, but you may be so engaged on your task that you will scarcely notice them. Those tasks will be formidable. Can you undertake them?

Are you as good as, or even better than, your fathers and grandfathers who handed over to you, as it were on a plate, a great country to mould? *Remember,* they have charged you to deliver it safe and sound to the generation which is to follow you. In many ways, you should be better than they—the main advantages have been with you rather than with them. You have had opportunities denied to your fathers and grandfathers whose preoccupation had too often to be devoted to obtaining the material on which you will have to build. There were and are great men among them. Are you fit to take their place—to carry on where they left off—to justify the trust they have placed in you—and to hand on the precious heritage in better shape than you received it? These are questions for you to answer.

You can only do that satisfactorily after you have made searching and exhaustive enquiries into your own fitness to take your place at the head of the column. If you can answer in the affirmative, then there is little else to be said on this point; but I would like to tell you that nothing would contribute more to my happiness today than to know that you can answer these questions honestly, in the way I would like them answered. If you decide that you are not fit, then you must look to yourselves as a University of Colleges and students and ask yourselves why.

It is not enough to say that yours is the largest University—that it has so many thousands of students—so many scores of Colleges—and that so many lakhs of rupees are spent on it and you. You will remember that, in the society of which you are a

member, you are not only the best educated—*you are also the most expensive*. In proportion as you are unfit for the tasks I have indicated, so also are you its *most wasteful members*.

May I now be a little more particular? I could of course give you a resume of achievements in the field of research in your University which might be an answer to some of the questions I have asked you. I could tell you of papers of considerable merit produced by the various Arts Departments—papers which have been enthusiastically received in the world of the Arts. I could tell you of increased facilities for research in Pali and Buddhist literature and the work done in them by some of our past and present teachers. I could tell you of the establishment of the Nuclear Physics Laboratory, the Radio and Electronics Laboratory, the Jute Research Institute. To those whose work they represent we must and do give our full meed of praise. Can you carry on their work in all the branches of University learning, and if you can, more importantly, *will* you? I ask this question with deep concern.

I am particularly fortunate to be the Chancellor when the Calcutta University Act is coming into operation and the old constitution of the University is being so modified as to entrust the administration of academic affairs to the teachers of the Colleges and of the University. The Act will aim at trying to complete the work begun by that great architect of our University and of our fortunes—Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. More now than ever before, will the success (failure is unthinkable) of the University be in the hands of its teachers. That is as it should be.

But are you teachers and teachers-to-be steeped in your subjects—do you love them for their own sake, and do you still thirst after knowledge and dig deeper into the well of learning? The search after knowledge should never end. Has it ended with you? I commend to you the example of those scholars whose works I have praised, both those among you and those who have preceded you, and ask you to carry on their work to the honour and glory, not only of this University, of which you are proud members, but of that much larger University which is ours too, India. This new India demands that a new orientation be given to the training and study imparted at our Universities. With your help in teaching and research, Calcutta University can give the lead if it wishes so to do—and it is my firm belief, that it so wishes.

May I recall one question that I asked earlier in this address? Are you physically fit to undertake the tasks ahead of you? I said then that, in many ways, as compared with your fathers and grand-

fathers, the advantages were with you. In the matter of nutrition they were not. There is no need for me to tell you that we have *existed* (*lived*, in the dietetic sense, would be the wrong word) through ten desperately lean years. I see no reason to emphasize that we in India are not alone in this—the whole world is suffering the same want, the result of an upheaval for which we were in no way responsible. I know that it is no consolation when we are hungry to think that others are hungry too. Here in India, the early 40's were famishing years, followed by scarcity years until the turn of the decade. And now we have the added complications of rising prices. *Never before have so many had to pay so much for so little.*

The results have been alarming enough, as well as unpleasant. You will forgive me if I burden you with a few figures to indicate how alarmingly we have suffered. It has been estimated by no less an authority than the Hon'ble Health Minister at the Centre that malnutrition in some form or other has extended to some 80 per cent of India's population. To come nearer home, that is, to you here listening to me, the figures are tragic. Some twenty-four per cent of students are properly nourished: thirty-eight per cent are undernourished, and another thirty-eight per cent need medical care. Malnutrition means poor health which, in turn, retards physical and mental growth—that is patent to all of you. Insufficiency of food and of the wherewithal to buy what there is, have had damaging effects on your physical and, thereby, on your mental well-being. It is not for me here to suggest remedies but I can and shall, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, at the proper time and place make such suggestions as I think will assist the University in its task of improving the health and well-being of its students.

There is, however, one proposal I can put forward, with the confidence that you will see at once the importance of it. It is that this University, as any other, should have a properly qualified Director of Physical Education with the same status and salary as the Heads of other Departments, and a qualified staff of teachers of physical education, also enjoying the same professional status and salary as those employed on academic education. It will be necessary to provide gymnasia, equipment, play-grounds; it will be necessary to make physical education compulsory througout the students' University career, with no exceptions other than those based on medical certificates of complete unfitness for any form of physical exercise. It should be no surprise to you that I make this suggestion. Health, physical education and recreation have taken second place, if any place at all, in your minds because of the many and pressing academic problems, the over-emphasis

on examinations and the neglect of sports, games and physical education in the scheme of College and University education. I believe the time has now come to remedy that deficiency.

Many years ago, the cities and towns and rural areas of a western European country were plastered with posters which read, "Your country needs you". Bengal (and India) has a great need of that slogan today, but I would add beneath it another which would read, "Your country needs you *fit*, too". Are you fit physically? That is indeed a disturbing question. I have found everywhere, a lack of interest in physical fitness on the part of both students and College authorities, practically no organization, and the absence of physcial instructors. How soon can you remedy that state of affairs?

There is an immediate hope that you can remedy it now. I am thinking of course of the National Cadet Corps which has replaced the old U. T. C. in the life of the University. I am grieved that you have not grasped this opportunity with both hands. I have heard it said that we are students, not soldiers—our concern is with learning, not with fighting. May I suggest that, down the road you will travel in the years that are in front of you, with your head buried in a book you should have a care lest you stumble or lose the way? We need training—training to hold our heads high, to square our shoulders, to take over the leadership, to be resourceful, and to be controlled. It is not the man who loses his head who wins the battle, and when I use that word battle I do not restrict it to the battles fought by soldiers. You may have to fight many battles in the course of your lives and if you are to win, you will need all the control at your command.

Control implies discipline, a word that has, as a result of foreign domination in the past, acquired an ugly flavour ; but all of us need discipline, perhaps more than we need anything else: we are free as individuals, as societies, as a nation, only to the extent to which we can discipline ourselves to exercise that freedom with restraint and proper regard for others. That is what the National Cadet Corps is primarily intended to do ; to have freedom with restraint ; to teach young men to obey so that they can command ; to serve before they can take the lead: to restrain self for the good of the whole.

If there are among you listening to me today any parents and guardians who are doubtful of the value for their sons and daughters of the National Cadet Corps, or students who feel they are too academic to be able comfortably to partake in the military training offered by the National Cadet Corps, I invite them to

come any Sunday morning between the hours of 6-30 and 9-30 to the Maidan and see for themselves.

There has been in the past an invidious distinction between martial and non-martial races in India. I have never been able properly to discover what that means. What I do know is that *among you here now* are some of the finest cadets India can produce. In this very Hall are students who last January headed the parade at New Delhi on Independence Day. They will, I know, take the lead again this year. Why? Because in their soldierly bearing and mental and physical awareness, they are unbeatable. Come and see this contingent getting ready for next month at New Delhi. I can promise you a great surprise. Visit these Cadet Corps camps. While I am speaking to you, over 1,000 cadets are in camp, some as far away as Deolali and Roorkee—others much nearer at Bankura. Again, in this Hall, are under-officers and N. C. O. cadets, who, last October, managed camps for 500 of their fellow cadets.

Altogether we are turning out every year some 3,000 trained leaders, resourceful, self-reliant, and disciplined. They are *not* trained for war—but, if ever an unhappy day comes when our country will need defence (and I pray with all earnestness that it never will come), we will have with us a large body of trained young men, ready and willing to protect our country against all comers. Will you be among them?

I have one more matter of the utmost importance on which to talk to you. A beginning has been made, modest in its scope and character, of a system of adult education. It will be no surprise to you to learn that the vast majority of the people of West Bengal in the age group 10—40 are illiterate. They have neither the means nor the opportunities to make themselves literate. The scheme that is now in operation has established 660 adult education centres and by that means some 30,000 men and women have been made literate—30,000 out of a total of one crore and thirty-six lakhs of people who are illiterate! So modest is our scheme. Our financial resources are slender and we have had to cut our suit according to our cloth. We hope that, in one way and another, our financial position will improve in the course of the next few years, but it cannot be, in the near future at any rate, adequate for the magnitude of the task of making the people of West Bengal literate.

Can you help? I think you can. You are indeed fortunate in having those opportunities for education, denied to the vast majority of your fellowmen and women in West Bengal. You could, by the sacrifice of some of your leisure time, which comes

when your examinations are over, share some of your good fortune with others, not so well placed as you, but who are eager and able to learn. This will mean sacrifice on your part—sacrifice of leisure and patience; but you have, I am certain, an abundance of good-will and kindliness of heart to make it. I can assure you that anything you do will be well worthwhile. All I want you to promise yourselves now is that you will make the sacrifice. Details of how you will undertake this extra-mural work will be supplied to you by the University authorities, to whom I shall give my suggestions at the right time.

And now I have almost finished. I want to end on a confident note. I believe that you *are* the men and women to whom India can look for leadership and guidance and inspiration. You will not, I am certain, be satisfied with your achievements so far, but will go on equipping yourselves for whatever India will demand of you in the future. I can only wish you success individually and collectively in whatever sphere of activity you may have selected for yourselves. Be always a credit to this great University that has helped to shape your character and career. If you are always that, the rest will fall into its proper place.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE VISVA-BHARATI, SANTINIKETAN

24th December, 1951

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the tiny, yet historic school at Santiniketan, founded by Rabindranath coincides with the Sixtieth Anniversary of the consecration of the Temple of Worship by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905). In his Trust Deed, dated the 8th March, 1886, Devendranath recounts how he purchased the first lot of about 20 bighas of land from Sri Pratap Narain Singh as early as 1863 (18th Falgun, 1269 B.S.). Gradually he built a few structures and a two-storeyed Guest House with attached gardens. Ten years later, in 1873, he brought his son Rabindranath there after his *Upanayana* (February, 1873). The boy Poet only 12 years old, composed his first ambitious epic (totally lost), "The Defeat of Prithviraj".

After his return from Europe in 1880, Rabindranath was entrusted by his father with the management of his estates, scattered in the rural areas, and was thus given a chance to study the life of the common man and woman, their joys and sorrows, reflected so brilliantly in his deathless creations. Rabindranath was also appointed Secretary of the Adi Brahma Samaj and composed devotional hymns and songs which are permanent spiritual treasures of the Bengali language.

Devendranath's health was failing when he approached his 70th year and, on the 8th March, 1886, he finalised the Trust Deed of Santiniketan, in which it was laid down clearly that Prayer meetings and Divine services should be held there for the glory of the All-Merciful God, our Creator and Father, and for development of the moral sense, the spirit of mutual aid and of universal brotherhood, that no impure enjoyments, drinking and meat eating, would be permitted ; and that, for the education and spiritual uplift of the common villagers, *melas* should be held where, amidst diverse innocent amusements, groups of *sadhus*, etc., might congregate. The Trustees were also enjoined to extend hospitality to guests, to organise a library and to establish a Brahma Vidyalaya in Santiniketan.

In 1891 (7th of Poush) Maharshi Devendranath consecrated the newly-built place of worship, which was decorated by the late lamented Master Artist Abanindranath, then about 19 years old, whose artistic taste and talent had probably been divined by

his grandfather. Rabindranath was present at this important function, after which he retired to Selaidah and began preaching the ideals of nation-building through the newly-founded journal *Sadhana*. Just ten years after the consecration of the Temple, the Poet, in 1901, settled down permanently at Santiniketan located in the most barren tract of the district of Birbhum, which he served to the last days of his life.

With prophetic intuition the Poet felt that unless our education could be nationalised and spiritualised, there would be no salvation for the race. So, handicapped as he was by financial and other worries, yet goaded as it were by a divine urge, he took upon himself the heavy responsibility of fulfilling the Trust of his saintly father, who passed away in 1905.

A few devoted friends and young teachers flocked around the Poet, who started work with only half a dozen students including his beloved son Rathindranath Tagore, who, fortunately, is still amongst us and holds worthily the office of the first Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University which has recently come into existence under the auspices of the Government of Free India.

The first 20 years of the life of the Santiniketan School was marked by violent oscillations of fortune. The Government of the time would not only not help but sometimes hampered its many-sided activities till 1913, when our National Poet first brought the Nobel Prize to the East and was hailed as the "Poet Laureate of Asia". Eminent scholars like Pandit Kshitimohan Sen and M. M. Vidhusekhar Sastri, selfless teachers like Jagadananda Roy, Brahma Bandhav Upadhyaya, Ashimananda, Poet Satish Chandra Roy and his friend Ajit Chandra Chakravarty (the biographer of Devendranath) among others stood by the Poet and served the institution for a bare subsistence allowance. England sent two of her noblest sons, W. W. Pearson (whose name is preserved in a local hospital) and Dinabandhu Andrews, who dedicated the rest of his life to the service of Mother India and her suffering children. Very appropriately, therefore, the memory of the latter has been perpetuated in the Dinabandhu Bhawan, the meeting ground of the spiritual traditions of the East and the West.

In 1915-16, Mahatma Gandhi, who had already sent his whole family and the pupils of the Phœnix Colony from South Africa to Santiniketan, visited this miniature rural university, which at once roused his deep personal devotion and affection. In spite of personal differences on some matters the ideals of the Indian Ashram or spiritual community-life held Rabindranath

and Gandhiji firmly together in a bond of spiritual collaboration. Both believed in the fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of man, both preferred to live and move among our neglected brethren of the villages and both worked with unfaltering faith in the future of the common man and in the freedom of India as well as of the enslaved nations of the world.

Thirty years ago, in 1921 (7th of Poush) the Poet laid the foundation of the Visva-Bharati where he dreamed and hoped like a Seer that the whole universe would find its 'Nest of Peace'. The school which had been catering for the primary, secondary and higher education of Indian youth for 20 years (1901-1921), now expanded the scope of its service by inviting eminent Orientalists like Professor Sylvan Levi of France (who introduced Chinese and Tibetan studies), Dr. M. Winternitz and Professor Lesney of the German and Czeck Universities. Professor Stenkonow of Norway, Professor Formichi, Dr. Tucci of Italy, among others, worked as Guest Professors and returned to their respective countries to give their countrymen the best they had seen in India.

The University of Oxford, probably for the first time in its history, conferred *in absentia* its degree of Honorary Doctorate on Rabindranath through a group of its representatives led by Professor S. Radhakrishnan at a ceremony held at Santiniketan in 1939. Scholars from America, Mexico, China, Japan and Indonesia as well as from Israel, Iran and the Middle East regularly visited this first truly International University of Santiniketan which became a veritable place of cultural pilgrimage. But the ever-increasing financial burden was proving too much for the Poet, who confided his anxieties to the only man he could rely upon, Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji, who addressed him as Gurudev not merely through courtesy but as a matter of spiritual conviction, took upon himself the responsibility of stabilizing the Tagore University. After wiping out the huge arrears, he took Pandit Nehru into his confidence and that explains how Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati are opening today a new chapter in the history of Bengal, of India and of Asia by combining the ideals and aspirations of two of the greatest sons of India, whose lives will continue to shine for ages as a beacon light for benighted mankind, threatened on all sides by greed and violence, exploitation and annihilation in this age of atomic war. Very appropriately, therefore, after Mahatmaji's martyrdom, the World Pacifists' meeting was held in 1949 at Santiniketan.

Santiniketan—the Abode of Peace—is a veritable oasis in

a desert of violence and at the same time an earnest of man's triumph over hatred through love. Long live Gurudev Rabindranath! He made internationalism a reality in our civic and cultural life. It is therefore that Free India should repay her debt of gratitude to the Poet Seer by freely contributing of her best to the service of the first International University of India and of the Orient at Santiniketan.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

OPENING SESSION OF THE 39TH SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, CALCUTTA

2nd January, 1952

It is gratifying that this, the 39th Session of the Indian Science Congress, is being held in Calcutta in a calm and peaceful atmosphere, except for the din and bustle associated with the General Election, in Free India and that it is being addressed by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, who also happened to hold charge of the portfolio of Scientific Research until the other day.

It was in the midst of a frightful global war that Calcutta had last been the venue of a Session of the Congress. I am referring to the 1943 Session which was held under most distressing and depressing circumstances in that the President-elect, the present Hon'ble Prime Minister, was kept in prison by our then alien rulers and the opening ceremony was performed with a photograph of his placed on the dais.

Previous to this, the Silver Jubilee of the Congress in 1938 had been celebrated in Calcutta with due pomp and ceremony under the presidency of Sir James Jeans. Last year's Session of the Congress would also have been held in Calcutta but for a last-minute decision to shift the venue to Bangalore. For the second time, however, as on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee, we have the honour of having in our midst today a number of eminent scientists from abroad, who have achieved international fame.

As Head of this State, I have great pleasure in welcoming you all—distinguished gentlemen from other lands and renowned scientists from other States of India—to this great city of Calcutta, which is not only the headquarters of the Government but also the cultural and intellectual capital of West Bengal.

It was in this city that the spirit of modern scientific research appears to have been first kindled in India, the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, established in 1876 by the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, being the oldest institution of its kind in this country. So far as I know, the researches of Sir C. V. Raman which earned for him the Nobel Prize were carried on quietly in this institution in comparatively recent times.

It was in this city of Calcutta that Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose carried on those epoch-making researches of his into plant physiology which revolutionised the prevailing system of thought on the subject and, later established what is now known as the

Bose Institute. It was again in this city that Acharya Prafulla Chandra, another name to conjure with in the field of science in India—did all his research work and founded the Indian Chemical Society.

These two scientists were both professors of the Presidency College, within the grounds of which you have met today for this Session of yours. They taught generations of students, among whom are many of those who have since distinguished themselves in the realm of Science. It was at this College that the foundations were laid of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society. Many other Scientific Societies like the Botanic Society, the Geological Survey of India, the Zoological Survey of India, the Institute of Engineers (India), including the greatest of them all, viz., your own Association, had their origin in this city.

Besides the Presidency College and the University Science College, we have a number of research institutions functioning in this city, the latest additions thereto being the All-India Glass and Ceramic Research Institute established by the Government of India, the Institute of Jute Technology and the Research Laboratory of the Imperial Chemical Industries. We have again scattered all over the city and round about it numerous industrial undertakings which give ample scope for the application of science and in their turn provide an incentive to research.

We, the people of Free India, are looking to you, Scientists, in an ever increasing measure for the solution of many of our problems on which depends whether the freedom we have achieved is worth living and dying for. We have a growing population without any appreciable increase in the means of subsistence. Our great rivers, which cause devastating floods and otherwise run to waste, have to be trained and harnessed to the task of increasing our food production. Similarly, our vast undeveloped resources of mineral wealth and industrial potentialities have to be exploited in a rational way to raise the standard of life all round.

We in this truncated State of West Bengal, with probably the highest density of population due to the influx of refugees on an unprecedented scale, are in a particularly difficult position. We are looking forward to you for the successful implementation of such projects as the Damodar Valley project and the Mayurakshi project to provide us with more food and cheap power for the development of both our industrial undertakings and our cottage industries. In short, a good deal of the economic freedom for this country envisaged in the Draft Outline of the

First Five-Year Plan depends on what you, gentlemen, are able to achieve.

Modern scientific knowledge has come to India from the West but that is no reason why we should look askance at it. Knowledge is one and indivisible and can brook no barriers, whether linguistic, racial or political. In the conditions prevailing in our country at present, we must take full advantage of the scientific knowledge of the West and, if possible, make our own contribution to it.

Let me hope, however, that while we imbibe more and more the scientific spirit in our pursuit of knowledge in order to dispel the darkness of ignorance and remove the cobwebs of prejudice and superstition from our land, we shall never lose sight of the eternal verities of life. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, who possesses the keen scientific spirit of the West in an abundant measure, has been constrained to observe as follows in his *Discovery of India* about modern science—'The very abundance of its accumulated knowledge has made it difficult for man to take a synthetic view of the whole, and he loses himself in some part of it, analyses it, studies it, partly understands it and fails to see its connection with the whole. The vast forces science has released overwhelm him and carry him forward relentlessly, and often an unwilling victim, to unknown shores.'

Knowledge is Power but we are all aware of the destructive fury, culminating in the use of the Atom Bomb during the last world war which resulted from what I regard as the indiscreet use of scientific knowledge. We know how the top-ranking nations of the world are still experimenting with the Atom Bomb and the Hydrogen Bomb in a mad race for possessing more and more powerful weapons of destruction, which looks almost like a co-operative effort for the mass suicide of the human race.

I am aware, of course, that you, gentlemen, will say that you are concerned with the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge and not with the use to which such knowledge may be put. But, even so, I would like to emphasise that knowledge for the sake of knowledge cannot be the end of life. Knowledge is only an instrument designed for the betterment of life—a means to an end.

The Universities Commission has, therefore, laid stress on 'an integrated way of life' in its report. It has observed 'The purpose of all education . . . . is to provide a coherent picture of the universe and an integrated way of life. . . . . Life is one in all its varied manifestations. We may study the factual relations

of the different manifestations but we must have knowledge of life as a whole.' Again, it says 'It will be wrong to assume that Science is amoral or indifferent to values. Science is not to be taught as something external to man. It is one of the greatest of the creations of the human spirit. It provides the material basis of the good life. Its aim is not only utility or success but the pursuit of truth. Its essence is careful observation of facts, rigid conscientiousness in inference and elimination of personal prejudice and passion. Its method is to follow the argument where it leads and its goal is to see things as they are. Its ideal is the same as that of philosophy, the vision of reality.'

We in India should accept Science in this spirit, and be careful about its limitations, since even Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, has been tempted to remark in his *Discovery of India* 'Life does not consist entirely of what we see and hear and feel, the visible world which is undergoing change in time and space. It is continually touching an invisible world of ether and possibly more stable or equally changeable elements, and no thinking person can ignore this invisible world. Science does not tell us much, or for the matter of that, anything about the purpose of life. It is now widening its bounderies and it may invade the invisible world before long and help us to understand the purpose of life in its widest sense or at least give us some glimpses which illumine the problem of human existence.'

I think I have made a rather long digression which, as a layman, I should not have done, in welcoming you to this State and wishing you all success in your learned deliberations. I shall, therefore, conclude by saying that Science should have a claim on the loyalty of everyone of us in so far as it typifies the objective approach to the problems of human life and is nothing more nor less than experiment with Truth. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, as we all know, said, 'Truth is God . . . . . Denial of God we have known. Denial of Truth we have not known.' And, as we also all know, our national motto, taken from the love in our ancient wisdom, is *Satyameba Jayate*. JAI HIND!

CONVOCATION OF THE SERAMPORE COLLEGE, SERAMPORE

19th January, 1952

Mr. President, Members of the Council and Senate, Past and Present Students of Serampore College, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My connection with Serampore College is one lasting for three generations. My grandfather, a descendant of the well-known founder of the system of Indian logic known as *Nyaya*, was, I understand, the first Brahmin convert of the Serampore missionaries which resulted in the forfeiture of all his claims to his vast ancestral property. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit was utilised in the literary work done by them at this place. After his death his widow, my grandmother, was given a small pension with the help of which she brought up my father.

Left motherless at an early age, my father commenced his studies at a free school run by the London Missionary Society at Berhampore whence he returned to Serampore when he was about 16 years old. Within two years, he finished what were then known as the Junior and the Senior courses, for he was not only a very hard-working but also a very brilliant young man. During this period, he was as the son of my grandfather given a stipend of Rs. 5 per month. After finishing his studies he came to Calcutta and retired in 1885 as the head of the department he had originally joined as a *duftry* or *chaprasi*. He told me more than once that though the missionaries were quite willing to continue this help till such time as he could find a suitable opening, he preferred to earn his living as a menial rather than be a burden on them.

While what I am today I owe first to the grace of God and to the prayers and blessings of my parents, now in heaven, both of whom were God-fearing people, a fact I cannot forget for even one moment is that the 120 rupees given by way of charity to my father has also contributed towards it, and I do not know how I can ever repay this deep debt of gratitude.

My direct connection with Serampore College began when, as Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I visited this institution year after year for more than a decade and a half, and when I became an intimate friend and a great admirer of the then Principal, Dr. George Howells. I am referring to all these facts merely to account for my intense and abiding love

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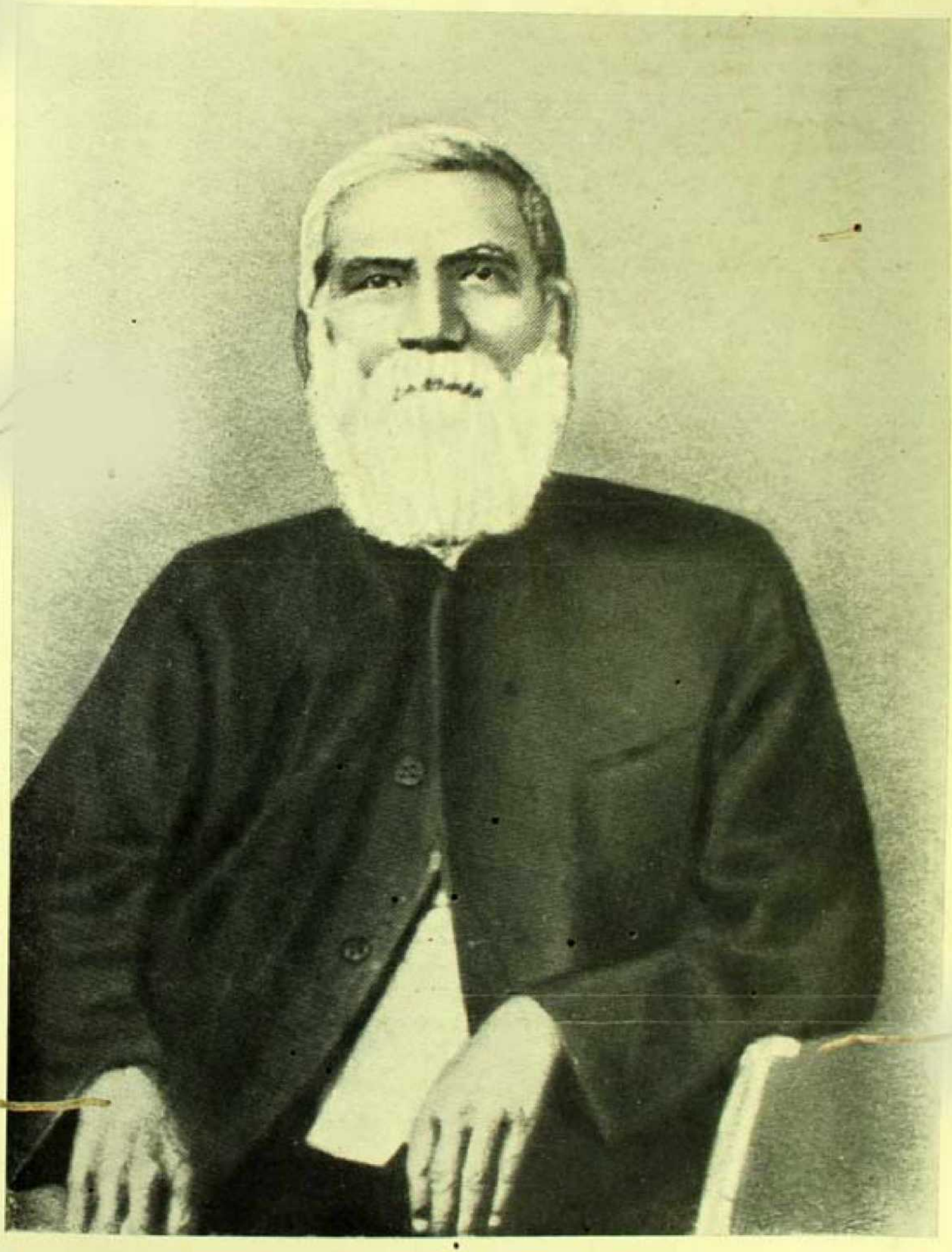

1 *Father*
Lalchand Mookerjee

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2 *Sreemati Bangabala and Harendra Coomar after marriage in June, 1923*

for, and my personal interest in, this particular institution and to explain why I find it difficult to give adequate expression to the gratitude I feel for the invitation extended to me to preside at today's function.

We cannot stand in this Hall today without acknowledging our deep sense of gratitude to William Carey and his associates who, at the beginning of the last century, laboured here and bequeathed to India and especially to Bengal the results of their many-sided activities in the matter of education, culture and religion. Today we are all well aware of the need for education and social service, but long before their importance was realised, the missionaries of Serampore were addressing themselves with unflagging ardour and whole-hearted devotion to the great tasks involved in bringing primary education to the children of this district and in providing the opportunity of University education for the youth of our country. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, within a circle of twenty miles around Serampore town, they had established a network of free vernacular schools with not less than 8,000 children on their rolls. And it was in this way that they pioneered popular education in this State. To complete and consolidate their plans for Christian service, they built and founded Serampore College in 1818 and offered its facilities to all the sons of India, making the College, as they said, 'free as the air' thus bringing higher education within the reach of all classes irrespective of caste or creed. The contribution made by the missionaries through their devoted labours, especially in the field of education, literature and social reform, has been recorded gratefully by the historians of the renaissance of Bengal in the nineteenth century.

Through the Charter granted to the College by the King of Denmark in 1827, and which was ratified by Bengal Act No. IV of 1918, Serampore is a University and is, at the present time, exercising the functions of a University in the faculty of Theology. In addition, it is doing the teaching work of a University college in the three faculties of Arts, Science and Theology. In wishing you every success in your teaching work, I affirm my belief that there is a very definite place in our University life for smaller institutions like Serampore, where students and staff come into intimate contact through residence on the same campus. Here attention can be concentrated on academic work under circumstances more congenial to such interests than those at present prevailing in some larger centres.

It is, however, the work of the College as University with its theological interests that is uppermost in our minds today,

and I notice with gratification that this good work is being extended into many parts of India, so that, at this present time, no less than seventeen colleges throughout India are affiliated with Serampore and together with the College here are carrying forward the important work of Theological Education for the ministry of the Christian Church in India, Pakistan and Ceylon. I regard this as a real contribution to the well-being of our country. Serampore with its University fellowship of Colleges, representative of the various communions of the Christian Church, is providing the Church with an educated ministry, and with trained, devoted and godly leadership—a valuable and greatly needed service to a community desirous of serving God and man and in promoting the truest interests of the people.

It is worthy of remark that Serampore College, both in the days of its inception more than one hundred and thirty years ago and today when it is exercising its University functions widely, has strenuously endeavoured to combine a high standard of efficiency and attainment with a large-hearted spirit of comprehensiveness and co-operation. Evidence of the former today consists in the good standing accorded to the degrees and diplomas of Serampore in the field of learning. Proof of the latter is founded in the fact that, at this graduation ceremony, so many students from so many different parts of our motherland have earned their degrees on the successful termination of their studies in Colleges representing many different Church traditions.

This, it seems to me, has a message for the students themselves, and so as I turn to those who have received today their diplomas and degrees, I urge upon them the necessity of these same qualities ; the necessity for discipline of mind and life and devotion of effort that characterise the right pursuit of true learning, the abandonment of oneself to truth which, in scriptural language, 'shall make you free', and the necessity further of that magnanimity that can welcome the co-operation of one's fellow workers in all spheres of life, including the theological, with an utter self-giving that is of the essence of the Christian spirit and the highest mark of the Christian minister.

It is said that one of the symptoms of old age is the tendency to dilate on facts concerning one's life and achievements and to inflict stories connected therewith on one's friends and acquaintances—something of which I have been already guilty. I cannot help however inviting your criticism by deliberately repeating my offence.

The call to serve the Church came to me through my father immediately after I had finished my University career. I

cannot honestly say that, inspite of the intense religious atmosphere of our home, this had any special appeal for me. I was ambitious, I had obtained a first class first and secured that much coveted prize, the University gold medal. In addition, I had been offered a State scholarship which in those days meant that I could make an attempt to enter the Indian Civil Service. The examination for recruitment thereto held no dread for me on account of the confidence I had in myself. I was aware that, at the worst, I could get myself called to the English Bar, which would ultimately lead to wealth and position, for competition amongst Barristers-at-Law in those days was not so fierce as it became later on. I refused the State scholarship from a sense of duty. I had lost my mother about this time and my father was feeling very lonely. But, then, I thought that by giving up this seemingly great opportunity of getting on in life, I had done enough. Why should I court poverty and, as I thought, insignificance, by becoming a Padre?

It was thus that I failed to carry out the dearest wish of my father, and I feel deeply grieved whenever I recall it. While it is true that I have, in a humble way, tried, I suppose, with some measure of success, to serve my community and my country, I do not know whether it would not, on the whole, have been wiser for me to obey my father. I say this because I know that whenever work has to be done, God raises up someone to do it. It is we, frail and weak as we are, who forget that we are but agents in His hands and that if we fail, He can and does indeed raise up others to do it. And it may be that if I had obeyed my father in this as in other matters, I might not only have been a happier man but, what is more important, God would have summoned to His work in the sphere chosen by me some one more qualified than myself who, probably, would have done it better.

If I have made this long digression, it is because I find in you a number of educated young people who, unlike me, have chosen the better path. While I congratulate you on your wisdom, I pray to God that the idealism, which has motivated you in the past, may remain unimpaired all through your life when it inevitably brings with it sometimes poverty, often privation and nearly always the many ills associated with them.

I know that for the student the opportunity to gather knowledge and wisdom is a sufficient reward in itself, but we do recognise that academic distinctions won by dint of honest labour command respect from all right-thinking men everywhere. I am glad, therefore, that this reward in the shape of the diplomas and degrees granted today has come to you, but I do

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hope that, with it, you will desire a higher gift, for the highest purpose of education should be the attainment of a stalwart, worthy, godly character, which adds lustre to other achievements, and without which life is scarcely worth living. Our country needs today, not so much men of wealth or rank or even of genius, as men and women of character.

The problems we are facing today will not disappear overnight even if all the graduates of our Universities were men of character, but there would be a greater chance of these problems being tackled, and tackled successfully, if we had a higher proportion of such men. 'An honest man' as the saying goes, 'is the noblest work of God', but in the production of honest men our homes, our schools, our colleges and our Universities should co-operate with God. I, therefore, appeal to you to remember that your character is more important than your career, and that it is your character that is going to make or mar your worth as individuals and as citizens of our common beloved motherland.

Many of those who have graduated today will, I believe, be entering the ministry of the Church in India. You are giving yourselves to a work that is of the highest importance, and which holds within it great potentialities for good to the Christian Churches and through them to all around us. I know that there are Christians among us who look to the future with some apprehension, or even with fear and trepidation in their hearts; but my own feelings are those of hope and expectancy. Difficulties there will be, but the thought of them should brace our energies and make us the more determined to exercise our ministry aright in the service to which we are called. Certainly it is not the line of wisdom or of courage to magnify the difficulties or to be cast down in despair before they are upon us.

It is my considered judgment that these are days of unparalleled opportunities for the Christian Church in India of becoming the means whereby the powers of God's salvation may be ministered to the people individually and collectively. There are great things to be done, and Christians may aid greatly in their accomplishment. If 'righteousness exalteth a nation', those who worship and serve the holy and righteous God by standing steadfast for truth, for social and economic justice and for integrity of character, can help materially in building the edifice of society upon sure and lasting foundations. If 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom', then God-fearing men and women bring to a people that understanding of right purposes, that clear insight into the issues of truth and falsehood, that may guide them with certainty in the hour of crisis and make them

firm in the day of testing. And if 'to love mercy is better than sacrifices', then those who stand under the mercy of God may communicate that gracious way of life and make religious practice a power for good, for the service and health of society.

It is, therefore, not an accident that the Christian piety and zeal for which this College stands has expressed itself in service of the nation, in helping towards the maintenance of standards of social righteousness, and in signal contributions to education and culture. Let this be our inspiration and guiding star today. Let ministers and members of the Christian Church be true to their Master and show the spirit that is His in service and in self-giving. Let them be prepared to help their fellows in every possible way; let them take into their hearts the needs of all, and, because 'where there is no vision the people perish', let them hold before their own eyes and in the sight of all the lasting truth of God. This is the door that is open wide in India today for the Christian Church to enter.

Let every Christian, lay and ordained, bear in mind the fundamental truth that in order to fulfil his God-given mission he must not be content with merely bearing the name of his Master and Lord, that something more is required of him and that something is that he should be a Christian not only in word but also in deed. If I have any message to give to those who have won distinctions for theological studies today, it is that they should not only be themselves Christians in the real sense of the term, but also that they should put forth the most strenuous efforts of which they are capable to turn nominal Christians into real Christians worthy of the name they bear.

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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PRACHYAVANI MANDIR, CALCUTTA

20th January, 1952

I have great pleasure in presiding today over the eighth Annual Meeting of the Prachyavani Mandir, the Institute of oriental learning. I regard it as a great honour that so many revered Pandits of Bengal and wellwishers of Sanskrit learning should have graced Raj Bhavan today by their presence. And to them all I offer my sincerest respectful welcome.

I am glad that the Prachyavani Mandir has been devoting itself to the cause of Sanskrit learning for the last eight years, promoting and protecting the interests of scholars and students carrying on research in oriental culture and propagating it in and outside India. It has, I understand, a Publication Department having to its credit about 50 volumes of original research. It has also started a juvenile series in Sanskrit for the little ones, a very laudable move to propagate Sanskrit learning among them. In addition it has brought into existence a good library for the use of its members. The English and Bengali journals conducted under its auspices have, I am told, attained a status among Indian journals devoted to research. The Prachyavani has branches at Delhi, Banaras and other places in our country, all engaged in doing laudable work in the field of oriental research. Today it is maintaining two Sanskrit Tols, one for girls and the other for boys.

It is needless to point out at this late hour that Sanskrit is one of the richest languages, if not the richest language, in the world. Representing our cultural heritage in all its various aspects, it constitutes, so to say, the very soul of India. What is more, Sanskrit is the fountain-head of almost all the Indian provincial languages and hence, can never, as ordinarily assumed, become dead. On the other hand, the proper development of our existing provincial languages depends to a large extent on that of Sanskrit itself. In these days of coinage of technical terms, the help of Sanskrit is absolutely essential.

Thus, from every point of view, the claim of Sanskrit to find an honourable place in the curricula of Indian Universities seems irrefutable. I am glad to know that a movement has been set afoot of which the Prachyavani Mandir is the chief protagonist, to establish a full-fledged Sanskrit University in Bengal. In these days of what may be regarded as over-emphasis on scienti-

fic and technical education, it is refreshing to find some people bent on reviving cultural and humanistic studies like religion, philosophy, ethics, literature, etc.

Sanskrit has been characterised as one of the most difficult of languages in the world, but this charge is not justified. It has fixed rules for its grammar, composition, pronunciation, etc., and so long as they are there, it should not be difficult to master it. It is no exaggeration to suggest that learning of Sanskrit is easier than learning many provincial languages without any definite and fixed rules.

It is a matter of regret that not merely juvenile literature but also many standard Sanskrit works are not in print today. For example, good critical editions of such important works as the Vedic Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, etc., are not readily available. I am told that out of about 1,200 text books of the Government Vangiya Sanskrit Siksha Parishat, all except 200 have been out of print for a long time. It is, therefore, absolutely essential to make arrangement for the immediate publication of at least the more important among the text books for Sanskrit examination.

It is a matter of great pride and hope that in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune, our revered Pandits have all along kept the torch of Sanskrit learning burning. Even during the darkest days, Sanskrit 'never went to sleep' as Maxmüller says. This Pandit Samaj of India is really a unique institution. Nowhere else do we find such a large number of very poor, almost penniless, teachers teaching students in an absolutely honorary capacity, in addition to feeding, clothing and sheltering them. This institution of Pandit Samaj must be kept alive and every effort must be made to ameliorate the condition of our Pandits in these very difficult days. I have specially a word of welcome for the refugee Pandits who have come away in large numbers from East Bengal. I have heard with pleasure the very successful scheme of work and pay launched by the old Bengal Sanskrit Association. Funds permtiting, some such scheme should be immediately started again.

The collection and preservation of our very valuable Sankskrit manuscripts to which the Pracchyavani Mandir is bending its energies are essential for the national regeneration of India. They have to be protected from destruction so that we ourselves may not be destroyed. Efforts on a nation-wide scale must be made to this end.

Bengal has always shown great enthusiasm for Sanskrit studies and I am glad that institutions like the Prachyavani

Mandir have gained such popularity today. I feel that Sanskrit drama is one of the best means of popularising Sanskrit learning and culture in the country and that we should utilise it as frequently as posible.

It is an encouraging sign that a distinguished gathering like the one I see before me has assembled here to witness the *Pratima Nataka* of Mahakavi Bhasa. This ever green story of the Ramayana should possess a special appeal for us all in these days of materialism and excessive practicalism. We are witnessing on all sides the uprooting of the age-old ideals of truth, beauty and goodness. This great drama should teach us to cherish idealism in our life, to honour unashamedly the old and undying ideals of truth and self-sacrifice. In free India these two have been accepted as the main props of our national life ; we should see that they do not remain mere empty ideals, but are progressively realised in our everyday life.

* * * *

I would like to say a few words to those students who are present today. Let them not forget our glorious past. Life is an organic whole, an everprogressive stream of incessant activities but progress does not imply a step forward at the expense of cutting off all connections with the past. In fact, life implies the blending together of the past, the present and the future in one great grand harmony. Just as we should not be moored to the past only, so we should not also float aimlessly in the sea of life without traditions to guide us to the end of our journey.

It is therefore that I exhort them to honour our great and glorious culture and civilisatien. Indian culture, as we are all aware, is one of the greatest of cultures in the world. Indian religion, in the real sense of the term, is a religion that stresses not merely the worship of the Divine but also the selfless service of man. I would specially appeal to them today to take up the five-fold vows, *Pancha-Mahavrata* of Indian ethics—*Ahimsa, Satya, Brahmacharya, Asteya* and *Aparigraha,* i.e., non-violence, truth, self-control, honesty and non-attachment.

The message of India is the message of Universal love and goodwill. India has ever respected the religions and cultures of all other nations of the earth. In these days of intolerance, bigotry and mutual suspicion, I would specially request all to preach this age-old message of India to the world at large.

To our revered Pandits and other lovers of Sanskrit learning who are present here today, I again offer my respectful greetings.

I assure them all that I shall do whatever lies in my power to help the propagation of Sanskrit learning in West Bengal. I do not see any cause for despair. On all sides, appear signs and symptoms of a great renaissance. I have no doubt that through the efforts of such cultural institutions as the Prachyavani, Sanskrit will once again be restored to its pristine glory and be a beacon-light to the world at large.

ANNUAL FUNCTION OF THE BANGA-BHASHA PROSARINI SAMITY (DARJEELING BRANCH), DARJEELING

1st October, 1952

I feel particularly happy to be present here and to preside over this evening's function. I feel happy both as the Governor of the State and as one who has very close to his heart the development of our modern Indian languages and literatures, both through mutual aid and co-operation and through international lead and inspiration assured to us through our long contact with English literature.

As in the case of countries of Western Europe, the spoken languages of the people did not receive much attention in India too several hundred years ago. In Western Europe Latin, and in India Sanskrit and, among certain classes, Persian were alone regarded as languages worth serious study by intellectuals. But the common people with their spoken vernaculars gradually came to the front, and with political development in India on the lines of the West, local languages have come to receive greater and greater attention.

Formerly they were regarded as suitable vehicles for popular poetry only, but even in Europe, directly under the inspiration of the classical languages serious literatures were attempted in them, and the modern literatures of Western Europe gradually came into being. The same thing happened in India also: on the basis of the provincial cultures and under inspiration from Sanskrit primarily, the various modern Indian languages came to be cultivated soon after they took shape but, until recently, their cultivation was overshadowed by that of Sanskrit.

In the present democratic setting of the Indian National Government, the common man has at last obtained a right to be heard, and his mother-tongue or the language which he has accepted as his language of education and public life can no longer be ignored. In order to make the Indian people develop educationally and culturally, the modern Indian languages must also be fostered. In this matter the Indian Constitution does not make any differentiation among the various languages—14 in number—which have been recognised as the languages of the Indian Union.

Only because of certain historical reasons, and because of the fact that it is current among the largest number of people in

the whole of India, Hindi has been declared by the representatives of the Indian people in Parliament to be the official language of India. But it has been also made clear by the various Government organisations that Hindi is to be just *prima inter pares*, first among equals, and the development of Hindi should go hand in hand with the development of other Indian languages.

Of course, the Parliament and the Government have taken a realistic view of the situation and, as we all know, we shall have to retain English in our own interest so long as the various Indian languages including Hindi do not come up to a certain well-recognised standard. For higher education and research, and so long as Hindi as the third great language of the world does not receive its proper recognition in international affairs, English will have to be retained as our primary vehicle of contact with the outside world.

There is such a close resemblance among the various languages of India that, until recently, foreigners were not generally conscious of linguistic or dialectical variations in the two great areas into which our country can be divided—the northern area of Aryan languages and the southern area of the Dravidian languages. Experience has shown that, among speakers of the various Aryan languages there is a certain amount of mutual intelligibility, and this is particularly helped by that great communication speech of India which may be described as *Bazar* Hindi.

In South India also, there is a certain amount of understanding between Tamil and Malayalam but, unlike in North India, no common speech of the type of *Bazar* Hindi has developed there. The culture of South India bears the impress of the speech of North India. Sanskrit has played a great part in unifying in the South also ; and it is no wonder that Hindi as the representative North Indian speech would be playing the same role as its pedecessor and grandmother Sanskrit in the centuries gone by, in South India too.

Among North Indian languages, the knowledge of one most easily leads to the knowledge of another ; and in a place like Darjeeling, where people from different areas congregate, polyglottism or the ability to use more languauges than one becomes a necessity, and this necessity is generally met by people and fulfilled by acquiring more languages than one quite easily like our daily experiences in life.

The various languages of India are all equal in the eye of law ; and every Indian citizen, according to the fundamental rights which his citizenship entitles him to, can claim to be

educated in his mother-tongue or in the language accepted by him in lieu of his mother-tongue. But it has got to be admitted that, owing to force of circumstances, the development of these various languages of modern India has not been uniform everywhere.

Just as certain languages have a numerical preponderance and a consequent importance in the affairs of the body politic, there are certain other languages which are numerically small and cannot claim that amount of importance as the other ones. So also, certain languages have been connected with the limited sphere of life and the experience of certain small groups of people who are, so to say, removed from the high way of life and advancement in India. Consequently, their modern development has been slow.

On the other hand, there are other languages, the speakers of which came in contact with modern movements and participated in great national *evenements*, and came in direct contact with thought-currents from abroad by acquiring a language of international significance like English to a larger extent than speakers of other languages. Naturally, such languages have made an advance in their literatures.

For a backward language—backward only in the present context but possessing future possibilities as much as the most advanced of present day speeches,—a living touch with a language possessing an advanced literature is of great value. Even for the more advanced languages, direct contact with and influence from less advanced languages has also its value in the matter of extending their literary output and outlook.

In this way, for the Bengali to learn Nepali or Punjabi is almost as important as for the Punjabi or the Nepali to learn Bengali, and thus to acquire all that they can from one another for mutual benefit.

I have been teaching for the greater part of my life the great literature of the English language, and I am convinced, along with a large percentage of the *intelligentsia* of our country, among whom are to be counted the foremost thought-leaders of present-day India, that the English language with its literature is something which we cannot forego at the present moment or for the matter of that for any time. English supplies us with the most sustaining pabulum for our intellectual life. Through it, is made available to us in India the entire achievement of the whole of humanity in the domains of the spirit and the intellect. I need not mention the value of English for science and technology. The acknowledged advance of a language like

Bengali in its present-day literature is unquestionably due to our vital touch with English.

These are modern times, and we must modernise the mentality of our people in order that we may survive and prosper. The modern mentality connotes among other things, first of all, *a sense of the freedom of the intellect ;* and this goes hand in hand with a *feeling of universality,* and a certain type of *cultured urbanity.* This recognises the good everywhere and to assimilate it, and does not turn its back upon the world in a spirit of jingoistic egotism. This mental attitude has become, for the past few centuries, particularly after the period of renaissance in Western Europe when the Greek mind came to influence the mind of modern Europe, characteristic of English literature in its highest expressions. This could easily be transmitted and, as a matter of fact, has been transmitted to most of our modern Indian languages through our close study and assimilation of English literature. The modern spirit, of course, is not the monopoly of any modern Indian language. But it is generally admitted that, in Bengal over hundred years ago, the leaven of English literature began to work upon most of the thought-leaders of the province, and it was through a series of most brilliant writers in Bengal who had very close acquaintance with English literature that both the form and the content of Bengali literature have been transformed. This transformation has been appreciated and received with open arms by literary leaders in other provinces also.

This explains why Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee besides others, have been hailed as the inaugurators of a new era in thought and literature, not only in Bengal, but also all over India. The literature of Bengal still has its message for the rest of India and it may be said, with perfect truth, that at least some three or four Bengali writers have also become writers of pan-Indian significance.

This tacit acknowledgment of the importance of Bengali literature has led people from other provinces to feel attracted to it, and we know that there is a keen desire among many of the educated people in other provinces to become acquainted with Bengali, in order to come into closer touch with the atmosphere of modern Bengali literature. The influence of Bengali, when it was modernising itself, upon Hindi, in various departments of literature both in form and in content, has been generously admitted by some of the most prominent historians

and critics of modern Hindi literature. This primary appeal of Bengali literature, as an intellectual feast of the highest order available in the modern Indian languages, has been generally admitted ; and as one whose mother tongue is Bengali, I need not emphasise this point.

Apart from that, Bengali literature has another importance as the literature in the language which, numerically, comes second to Hindi in India. We should take note of the fact that among those who use Hindi there is a larger percentage which does not use Hindi at home but other speeches, which are sometimes really different languages like Gharwali and Maithili, and sometimes nothing but dialects of Hindi like Brajbhasha and Bundeli. Bengali is the mother-tongue of a population of over 60 millions, of whom at the present day, after the division of our country, only about 25 millions are within the Union of India and the rest in East Pakistan. The partition of Bengal has therefore been one of the greatest blows to Bengali as a language. Nonetheless, it continues to retain its great prestige as the language of a major community in India. For business, a knowledge of Bengali is essential for the two areas in India and Pakistan, namely, West Bengal and East Bengal ; and it has also got its enclaves in Assam and in Bihar. From this point of view, the commercial importance of Bengali has also to be taken note of.

The *Banga Bhasha Prachar Samiti*, as I understand, has a number of objectives in view, but the most important is its aim of bringing the Bengali language to people in other linguistic areas of India who feel attracted to it. This is a laudable desire and worthy of support everywhere, and those who stand for advancement of knowledge in any shape will certainly support this ideal of the Samiti whole-heartedly.

The Samiti also feels that, within the area of the State of West Bengal, as the language of an overwhelmingly large majority of its people, non-Bengalis who have their fortunes linked up with the Bengali-speaking people, might like to profit by this contact and acquire Bengali ; and that such people should be helped, as much as possible, to acquire what may be described as the language of the State.

Within the State of West Bengal, we have as permanent residents peoples from other areas also, and it has been my experience that they are found everywhere to be very sympathetic towards Bengali and keen on acquiring it. As a matter of fact, there are thousands of such people who handle their own mother-tongue and Bengali equally well. Such people will

readily admit that this knowledge of a second language has been for them like the acquisition of a second soul.

The Samiti has been working for some time past in this district. Here we have quite a multi-lingual population. About half the people of the district are speakers of Nepali and Nepali, as you all know, is a cousin or even a sister of Bengali. Particularly because of their use of the verb *"chha"* (ছ) corresponding to our Bengali *"achha"* (আছ) meaning *to be*, and of some special words which we find to be common to both Bengali and Nepali, *e.g.*, হের to see, ঢোকা-to enter (gate), গাহিনে-গায়েন (singer), young man-, কাঙ্কা etc., the Nepali language to us Bengali speakers seems to be very close to our mother-tongue. It is not at all difficult for the Nepali to acquire Bengali as we see everywhere in Darjeeling. Besides, Calcutta has been as much the intellectual centre of Nepali-speaking people both from Darjeeling and from Nepal itself for the last two generations as for Bengalis themselves.

In my opinion, the Samiti has chosen a very proper sphere of work in trying to popularise Bengali among the people of Darjeeling district. Nepali literature is extending its scope both by original works and by translations. Translations from Bengali have their share in making Nepali literature richer than ever, as much as translations from English and from Hindi.

Among the other groups who are permanent residents or sojourners in Darjeeling, the Hindi speaking or Hindi using people from outside will find themselves equally at home in Bengali, as Bengali is as much a sister language of Hindi, Rajasthani and Punjabi as it is of Nepali.

The other communities in the district, who speak various Tibeto-Surman dialects, like the Lepchas, the Newars (who also have Nepali as their literary speech), the Limbus, the Rais, the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and other groups also acquire colloquial Bengali very easily; and if they are already literate in Nepali or Hindi, the additional accomplishment of reading Bengali becomes a matter of course, if only they have the inclination.

I think the Samiti desrves well of both Bengali speakers and of speakers of other Indian languages for its disinterested endeavour to spread among the people of the country, who do not speak Bengali as their mother-tongue, knowledge of the Bengali language and its literature. This I consider to be a unifying work of the highest importance in nation-building and that too, in a sphere which will have an enduring result, namely, in the sphere of intellect and culture.

I wish the Samiti all success, and in closing my address I would like to lay emphasis upon the duty of all lovers of the Bengali language and its literature, both amoung Bengali speakers and others, in helping the good work of the Samiti.

I also express my hearty appreciation of the work of those who are associated with this Samiti in this important cultural domain ; and finally, it is my very happy duty to congratulate those persons who have put forward their energies to acquire this great language of modern India and who have finally succeeded in obtaining the hall-mark of recognition of their endeavours by qualifying for the certificates and prizes awarded by the Samiti. Such people will form a valuable asset for the Indian body-politic in acting as cultural liasons among the different sections of people speaking diverse languages.

SPEECH DAY OF THE VICTORIA SCHOOL, KURSEONG

8th October, 1952

Mr. Headmaster, Members of the Governing Body and the Staff of the School, Ladies and Gentlemen and Boys of the Victoria School.

It is a real pleasure to me to be able to come with my wife today to preside at your Annual Speech Day. When I first accepted the Headmaster's invitation, I had to make it clear that I might not be able to fulfil the engagement owing to the uncertainty of my coming up here. My preoccupation with affairs in the plains, however, gives an added zest to my visit today, and my feelings somewhat resemble those of a school boy playing truant. My wife and I are delighted to have this opportunity of meeting you all here today and may I say at once how very much we appreciate the warmth of your welcome.

You have listened to the interesting report of the Headmaster ; you have seen the enthusiasm of the students as well as that of the teachers and the results as set out in the report. I consider that the School Certificate results are extremely satisfactory. Your record in the athletic sphere is also quite commendable. I congratulate the School authorities for maintaining so high a standard in these directions. Knowing that a Governor is often regarded as a sort of Lady bountiful, I am rather relieved to find that the Headmaster has made no demands from Government in the course of his address and I am very pleased to learn that the Education Directorate of the Government of West Bengal always takes keen interest in the welfare of the School. I may add that I am prepared to put before the Minister of Education, who is a personal friend of mine, any suggestion for the improvement of the School which may be put before me. I feel sure that it will receive his sympathetic consideration.

There was a time, not so very long ago, when enrolment in the School was not open to children of all communities in spite of the fact that a respectable part of the cost for its maintenance was borne by tax-payers who, in those days, as now, were drawn from more than one racial and religious group. This happened because it was assumed that it is difficult, if not impossible, for members of different religious and ethnic groups to live together in peace and friendship and that it was therefore necessary that they should be kept apart. This obviously wrong policy had the

effect of not merely segregating the students of this School from those among whom the lot of a majority of them was cast but had the further undesirable result of their being regarded as a group specially favoured at the expense of the rest.

Quite naturally, those legitimately entitled to the right of enrolment in the School and yet unfairly shut out from this privilege, transferred their dissatisfaction with those responsible for this policy against those benefiting from it. It was thus that a feeling of separatism was encouraged among people who should normally have been nothing but friends and associates in the great task of building up our national prosperity.

All this has been changed in Free India and what is more, this change has come with the unanimous consent of the accredited representatives of those who had formerly enjoyed this privilege. And it is a welcome sign of the times that, today this School has within its walls boys coming from the various castes and creeds and that they are studying and playing, eating and drinking and, probably, indulging, at least occasionally, in boyishly mischievous activities together, thus building up a sense of unity in diversity which we of the older generation could hardly dream of in days gone by. I trust that this unity may become yet closer till all memories of the old foolish days are utterly forgotten.

The Headmaster has spoken of the high standard of discipline maintained in this institution. It has to be conceded that it is difficult to maintain discipline largely because the atmosphere all round us is not favourable for its maintenance. It is easier to study and pass examinations than to control oneself and observe vigilant self-restraint. That is why whenever anyone speaks to students, emphasis is laid on the need for discipline.

You will pardon me if I say that the difficulty is increased by the hesitation of those who are responsible for giving advice. May I take this opportunity to say clearly and emphatically that teachers must talk plainly and firmly to those who are in their charge and tell them 'We want discipline, otherwise we shall have nothing to do with you.' If Principals, Headmasters and teachers talk plainly and firmly and without hesitation, I know boys and girls will understand them and follow their advice. I tender this advice to the teaching staff because I have faith in our young people. Were we not disciplined from time immemorial? Do we not, the descendants of *Munis* and *Rishis* of the past, come from those who were resolutely disciplined?

Discipline was never more necessary than now when with the acquisition of independence, we have entered on a new era,

We have now begun an era when nobody is responsible for us but ourselves. If we do not work hard and behave in a disciplined manner, our state of independence will be worse than our state of dependence. Independence is a mere context that we have achieved—a state of our environments—but the substance of independence has yet to be gained through our own efforts. Must we not work to produce? Must we not study to learn? Must we not learn to behave well? Therefore, friends, let us keep our ideal before us. Let us not unloose the reins but hold them firmly and direct the chariot in the right direction.

A topic I should like to touch upon is that of training of character at school by means of team games and it is impossible to understate the importance of character training. In the long run, a school is judged not by its brilliant scholars, nor by its outstanding athletes, but by that mysterious quality called its 'tone'. This depends on the sort of character that the average normal boy takes with him into the world. You are all of you, all the time, helping to form the 'tone' of your School—the Governing Body, the parents, the teachers, the chaplain, the prefects and the boys themselves.

From what I have seen this afternoon, I am confident that Victoria School will continue to play the notable part that it has played in the past in sending into many walks of life, in Bengal and other parts of India, young men of reliability and integrity. 'An honest man' as the saying goes 'is the noblest work of God', but in the production of honest men our homes, our schools, our colleges and our universities should co-operate with God. I, therefore, appeal to you to remember that your character is more important than your career, and that it is your character that is going to make or mar your work as individuals and as citizens of our common beloved Motherland.

No matter what religion you profess, all of you must believe that our life in this world is but a prelude to another and a very much longer, if not continuous, existence hereafter. If that is so, it is wisdom's part not only to do all that is possible to make life in this world comfortable and easy, but also to take all possible measures to make life hereafter happy. All religions unite in emphasising that leading a good life is the surest way to ensure a happy life after death and that adoption of undesirable methods to secure the enjoyment of so called happiness for a few years, when it leads to misery hereafter, is foolishness. This is an old truth which every boy must have learnt from his mother but it can very well bear repetition.

Leading a good life merely because we desire to enjoy

happiness after death is, I maintain, approaching the problem of human existence in a very crude way and at an extremely low level. If we believe in a Creator and if we are convinced that He is all good and has sent us into this world for the fulfilment of some beneficent purpose, it is surely every one's duty to fulfil His plan, possible only if we carry out His will and lead a good life. I would therefore exhort you all to live a good life because this is the will of God and not because it is a safe and certain way to ensure a happy life after death.

In conclusion I would ask you to honour your parents and obey your teachers. That is the essence of the Indian tradition of life, that is the essence of our culture and of our Indian way of life. Take it from me that you will never suffer if you continue to honour your parents and obey your teachers. May this School continue to serve the people of this district and the people of West Bengal and may the boys who go out of its portal be a source of pride to this School.

I wish you all, my young friends, god-speed and very good fortune.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

FOUNDER'S DAY CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORIA INSTITUTION, CALCUTTA

30th November, 1952

I am thankful to the authorities of the Victoria Institution for having given me the pleasant opportunity of being present at this 114th Birthday function of the great Brahmo leader, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, one of the most outstanding religious and social reformers of the 19th century in India. The word 'Brahmananda' itself signifies the depth as well as the intensity of this great man's life as a 'Rejoicer in God', carrying as he did the torch of pure living and godliness in an era of godlessness and recklessness. He created a new history of faith in this country thus contributing towards the spiritual and ethical regeneration of our people.

History like nature reveals the marvellous workings of Providence. And God manifests Himself in history through great men. For what is history but the record of the activities of these extraordinary personages who appear from time to time, each with a message of his own, and lead mankind? Carlyle truly said 'the history of the world is the biography of great men'. Keshab Chandra was a God-intoxicated reformer, a giant among a race of pigmies, who elevated the ethical and religious standards of ordinary humanity. His greatness is unmistakable.

Keshab Chandra proved a saviour of the Bengali race at a time when Western civilisation and Christianity were challenging the foundations of Indian life and Indian faith. He was far from being convinced in regard to the benefits derivable from the uncritical acceptance of the new torrent of thoughts and ideas which was flowing over India from the West and which was having the disastrous effect of cutting society off from its old moorings without the substitution of something better in their place. He went to England to find out for himself how far India could, with safety to herself, accept and imbibe the real life values of these new forces which were creating chaos and confusion in the mind and the outlook of a people as yet unprepared to assimilate them. He felt that in the interests of the people, it was necessary to control and to canalise the Western challenges and community forces in such a manner as to adjust them to Indian conditions and requirements. He had the greatest apprehensions about the denationalisation of the people and as a valiant fighter he tried

his best to protect the country from the insidious infiltration of what he considered disruptive forces and ideas into Indian life and society.

The mission of Keshab Chandra was essentially a religious one. Hence all the movements, whatever their nature, in which he took the lead had religion as their mainspring and were carried on in strict accordance with religious principles. It was therefore that he based all social reforms on religion. Religion by improving the mind and investing the conscience with supreme authority, destroys the very roots of ignorance, superstition, corruption and disbelief in God whether in the individual or in society.

In Keshab Chandra Sen, the urge for service to society and the country had its roots in God-consciousness. He was anxious to re-form and re-make the people through a new synthesis of all that he regarded as best in both the East and the West. He realised very soon that a programme of education framed from this angle was the only way to reshape the minds and change the outlook of the people. He organised various types of training classes for young men and young women, being the pioneer worker among the people of Bengal in this line. It should be stated here that the enthusiastic activities of Christian Missions supplied him with both an incentive and a pattern to carry on this reformative movement.

He was convinced that it was futile to attempt to reform society thoroughly so long as prejudices lie deep in the heart of the people. To eradicate such evils and usher in a new age, he saw that he must educate the women, the nucleus of the homes and thus of the nation. The well-known proverb—'Give me good mothers and I will give you a good nation', captured Keshab's imagination and impelled him to develop a great educative movement for women. His motto became 'Re-make the mothers to regenerate the nation.' In 1863, *Brahmika Samaj*—the pioneer of women's movement—was started under the inspiration and guidance of Keshab Chandra Sen. The first pamphlet entitled *Advice to Women* in Bengali was written by Keshab Chandra for the benefit of the members of this organisation. The *Bamabodhini Patrika* was started by the late Umesh Chandra Datta in the latter part of 1864—the first journal for women—under the inspiration of Keshab Chandra Sen. He also sponsored the movement known as *Anttapore Strisiksha.* This was the first attempt to approach zenana adult women in the Hindu community.

On his return from England, one of his first tasks was to start the *Bama Hitaishi Sabha* in April 1871. This may be taken as the first Association of Women of a secular and non-denomina-

tional character. The aim of the Association was the all-round improvement of women.

Endowed with great literary talent, an orator of very great eloquence with equally great powers of organisation, Keshab Chandra Sen's contribution to the cause of women is indeed very great. He was working continuously for the emancipation of women from the bondage of ignorance and superstition. In April, 1879 he organised the *Arya Nari Samaj*. Its chief objectives were to reform the social condition of the women of Bengal in all spheres of life according to ancient Aryan customs. The reforms proposed to be made were based on the clear recognition of the fact that women have some special duties to perform and he was prepared to accept whatever was good in other countries, at the same time retaining what was worthy of preservation in national tradition, usage and custom. It was further stressed that social reform should be based on religion and must not encourage luxurious habits or blind imitation of the West. The *Arya Nari Samaj* had its organ *Paricharika* which continued to be conducted till 1928.

Keshab, as we see, was continuously endeavouring to evolve new national standards and a novel set-up at once natural and national for the education and the uplift of the women of Bengal. To implement his ideas and programme further, on the 1st of May, 1882, Keshab Chandra Sen founded the Victoria College at 10, Upper Circular Road. This indicated his disapproval of the idea of imparting higher education to women on the same lines as men. In the prospectus of the Victoria College issued by Keshab on the 31st March, 1882, we find '. . . . . that special education is required to fulfil the special duties necessary for women for filling her proper sphere cannot be denied. To give them the same education to make them solicitous to earn fame and titles are both wrong and resulting in evils. Thus to give women the same education as men and either to distort their notions or divert their attention to dress and the outward veneer of civilisation would be to merely cause their misfortune. The proposed college will carefully avoid this and teach them to be good Hindu wives and Hindu mothers.'

The Victoria College came to an end in 1894. In August, 1901, it was re-born as the Victoria Institution with the same objectives. For years, special lectures, general and scientific, used to be organised to supplement the ordinary curriculum for female education and to bring into being a new and nobler race of women. But as 'the time-spirit is inexorable both in construction and destruction' it is today just an ordinary institution. I

believe there has been a temporary setback in preserving the ancient Aryan ideals of Keshab. I trust that it has not yet lost its inherent potentiality to once again evolve and stand for the objectives of its great Founder in the not too distant future.

To rear up a new race we want good mothers—she who rocks the cradle rules the world—goes the adage. There is still great need and scope for supplementing the work begun by Keshab, however valuable the existing educational set-up for our girls today, so as to make them Aryan mothers. And we realise today how right Keshab was in the line he took up ninety years ago. We can still organise special Extension Lectures co-ordinating them with the normal academic activities of the Victoria Institution and other women's colleges thus achieving the great object so near the heart of Keshab Chandra Sen. We can still have special sections in each and every women's college and girls' school to educate adult women so as to awaken a new sense of responsibility among them.

Let us today on the *Punya-Janmadin* take a vow anew to re-orient our educational programme in the light and spirit of this great social and national reformer—Keshab Chandra Sen—so as to rear up a new Bengali race.

CONVOCATION OF THE UTKAL UNIVERSITY

17th December, 1952

Let me begin by stating that I very deeply appreciate the honour shown to me by your kind invitation to deliver the Convocation Address today.

Coming as I do from the neighbouring sister State of West Bengal, there are certain matters of common interest to which I would like to draw your attention. Whatever I say in this connection I say with full cognisance of our common pan-Indian background, something really fundamental, which we must never allow ourselves to forget. We are primarily citizens of the Republic of India, and as such we must always keep in mind our Indian all-inclusiveness. At the same time we must not shut our eyes to that other factor in our pan-Indian set-up—unity in the midst of diversity. The Indian scene and Indian civilisation are all the richer on account of the harmonious co-existence of a number of provincial or linguistic cultures, all bearing a family resemblance. The provincial cultures are like the petals, the sum total of which make the flower.

The State of Orissa, with Oriya as the linguistic expression of its culture, has its own distinctive place in the scheme of things in India. Orissa is a neighbour of Bengal but it is more than a neighbour. The Oriya and the Bengali languages are uterine sisters. We of both Bengali and Oriya speech understand each other. An Oriya feels perfectly at home in Bengal and vice-versa.

The political histories of the two States prior to British rule were different. Orissa remained a free Hindu State right down to the second half of the 16th century, while West Bengal was conquered by the Turks early in the 13th. But even then, she never lost her sense of kinship with Orissa.

In the 16th century, Sri Chaitanyadeva born in Bengal made Puri in Orissa his permanent home, after having travelled a good deal in South India, Western India and North India; and he passed away there. His personality formed a new and abiding link between Orissa and Bengal. He was a 'God-intoxicated' (*divyonmadamaya*) Saint who embodied in himself the spiritual aspirations which were specially characteristic of the Bengali and the Oriya mind and, in the result, a bond of common spiritual fellowship brought the two peoples still closer.

Quite early Oriya poets and other writers started the cultivation of the Oriya language. But from the 16th century the personality of Chaitanya was of great help in giving a new impetus to Oriya literature. The foremost Oriya poet of the period, Jagannathadasa, the author of the Bhagavata Purana which is read in all Oriya villages and has the same importance in the religious life of the masses in Orissa as the Ramayana of Tulsidasa in North India, was a friend and disciple of Chaitanyadeva.

The contribution of Orissa to the Sanskrit scholarship of India is not second to that of any other Province and we have an astonishing flowering of Oriya literature in the 16th and 17th centuries, when Sanskrit scholarship and poetic sensibility combined to give unique results. Apart from poetry of the simple and direct type, elaborate compositions like the works of Dinakrishna Dassa and Upendra Bhanja and their followers and imitators gave Oriya literature of the period 1600-1800 its special character. It is something of which the people of Orissa may well be proud, indicating as it does the high level of classical Sanskrit scholarship in Orissa combined with a fine sense of poetry.

It is a matter of pleasure and pride for the people of Bengal to contemplate that, with the dawn of the modern age some eminent Bengalees domiciled in Orissa accepted Oriya as their own language and served its cause faithfully and to the best of their abilities. They were able to do so primarily because they found the language so akin to Bengali, and the people and their ways so much like the Bengali people and Bengali ways. Most prominent among these sons of Bengal was Radhanath Ray, whose position in modern Oriya poetry is as pre-eminent as that of Michael Madhusudan Dutta in Bengali.

Orissa with her great traditions of literature and her remains of ancient art and architecture exerted a fascination on the minds of Bengalee poets and scholars—a fascination which still exists. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra brought out his great work *The Antiquities of Orissa*; Rangalal Banerji wrote in Bengali verse the marvellously beautiful romance on the Kanchi-Kaveri story from Orissa—the romance of King Purushottama Deva of Orissa and Padmavati, the Princess from Kañchipura. Rakhaldas Banerji sought to give a connected account of the history and culture of Orissa from the most ancient times, and testified to the prestige of Oriya military power in medieval times when she built up a great empire along the east coast of India from the Kaveri river in the south to the Triveni by the Bhagirathi river

in Bengal in the north. Recently, Professor Priyaranjan Sen of the Calcutta University has written an appreciative history of the modern (19th and 20th centuries) phase of Oriya literature. Professor Nirmal Chandra Basu's contributions to the anthropology and art of Orissa, particularly his edition of a medieval Oriya text on architecture, form another noteworthy homage from a Calcutta University scholar to the greatness of Oriya art and the social background of Oriya culture.

Only the other day, Orissa offered to find living room for several thousands of our refugees, forced out of their ancestral homes in East Pakistan. We are very grateful for this offer calculated to help these unfortunate people resume the threads of a useful existence which have been all too rudely snapped.

I have referred to all these matters merely to remind ourselves that the relationship subsisting between the peoples of our two States has always been very close and cordial—further proof of which, if indeed proof is needed, is found in the invitation so kindly extended to me to speak at today's function.

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As one interested in our post-freedom educational policy, I would like, before proceeding further, to say something about the language question. We have so long been using English and we are continuing to do so in our Universities. After independence particularly we have been feeling rather uneasy about the continued use of a foreign language. At the same time, we are aware that our own languages are not yet ready or advanced enough for higher scientific and technical work, although in pure literature and in philosophy many of them do not lag behind the most advanced languages of the modern world.

The cause of Indian languages in the Universities is supported by ardent and intransigent nationalistic sentiment as also by a genuine desire to make the acquisition of the highest knowledge in any subject, a simple and easy matter through their medium. It is obvious that, coming to a decision on this problem, both controversial and vital in character, is not the easy thing many people seem to assume.

Personally, as an Indian nationalist who at the same time is a believer in one Humanity, I think an international language like English, which is also in the present day the most effective vehicle of the highest science and the most comprehensive literature (whether of information or of power), need not and should not be eschewed by us simply because it is the language

of our erstwhile rulers. They have gone, but I venture to think that the English language is one of the most valuable legacies they have left behind for us. To seek to discard this language simply because it is the mother-tongue of a number of Britons whose ways we did not like, instead of relating it to Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Browning, Gibbon and Macaulay, Burke and John Stuart Mill by the study of whose works we have admittedly profited so largely, appears like psychological prejudice. It is certainly no mean achievement on the part of some of us to have acquired such mastery over English as to be able to convey through it to a large part of the civilised world, the message of Indian literature, art, philosophy and religion. To give up a treasure acquired through nearly two centuries of single-minded devotion and hard labour does not, at least to me, seem wise.

It must be conceded that, in our international situation, English is indispensable, and for advanced work too in any of the sciences or the arts. For higher work and for international contacts, English, as things stand, cannot be discarded by us. Hence I venture to think that an ability to handle English should be a *sine qua non* for a University man who will have to represent his country's intellectual advance before the comity of nations.

You will remember the pronouncement made some time ago in favour of retaining English in our Universities by twenty-three leading educationists of India. All those who think seriously of the acquisition or increase of knowledge as a sacred trust which every University has to maintain, cannot but be of the same opinion.

The sharpening of the intellect is the vital thing. The instrument for this is secondary. We have to consider dispassionately whether the cause of education will be better served by English, or by some other substitute language of Indian origin. Speaking frankly and freely, I think we should not taboo English. I am for retaining it and, at the same time, trying to make our modern Indian languages come near enough to it to serve as instruments of scientific knowledge.

I think all boys and girls should, from the High School stage, be given the option to choose either what may be described as an English course or a purely Indian language course, according to their capacities, future plans and tastes. At the same time we must concede to all our Indian citizens the right given to them under the Constitution to have their education through the medium of the mother-tongue. In practice this would mean the study and use, according to convenience, of two languages from

the High School to the final University standards—the mother-tongue and English.

This has tacitly been the policy of the University of Calcutta for the last few years, and there has been an increasing employment of Bengali in teaching and examining, while retaining English. I feel happy to think that through the instrumentality of the Utkal University, an Oriya-speaking student is assured of getting the highest education in his mother-tongue. I would at the same time suggest to you the desirability of retaining English and continuing to cultivate it as before.

* * * *

Under our Constitution, we have adopted Sanskritic Hindi written in Devanagri characters as our National Language, but appreciating the complexities of the situation, we have not thought it right to vote for the immediate abandonment of English which has been serving so long as a sort of *lingua franca* among educated people. This, I venture to think, is neither possible nor desirable in our own interests at the present juncture.

Some intelligent observers have suggested that we retain Hindi as the symbol of our Indian nationhood, as the expression of the unity of our States as forming a single political entity (the Indian Union),—one and indivisible,—but continue, for some time to come, the use of English as a matter of convenience in our international contacts, in our higher educational pursuits and inter-university relations, as well as in our judicial and legislative work.

It seems to me that we should take a realistic view of the situation and not seek to force matters. At the same time, we should try to bring about the end in view—to make Hindi as widely understood and employed as possible. This should not be a difficult task, particularly for the people of non-Hindi speech belonging to the Aryan-speaking areas. Our North Indian languages are sisters to one another, and the knowledge of one makes easy the acquisition of another, particularly when we already possess a large Sanskrit vocabulary as in the case of our two languages—Oriya and Bengali.

So I would recommend to all non-Hindi speaking students to make it a solemn duty to acquire Hindi. The State Governments should help in this, and I am glad to find that the Government of Orissa have made a handsome capital grant and annual recurring grants for teaching Hindi to non-Hindi speak-

ing people of the State. I wish our West Bengal Government, harassed and hard-pressed as it is with its thousand and one problems, the refugee problem overshadowing them all, had been able to do ten times what it is now doing in this direction.

While urging upon non-Hindi speaking citizens of India to learn Hindi, I think our Hindi speaking brothers will help the cause a great deal if they agree to do what has been suggested repeatedly by persons like Acharya Narendra Deva and Sri Purushottamdas Tandon, *viz.*, that they should also learn, as a compulsory subject at the High School stage, some language of the Indian Union other than Hindi.

In other words, if it were made compulsory for all Indian boys and girls in the High School stage to learn two modern Indian languages, their own mother-tongue and Hindi as the national language if they are non-Hindi speaking students, and otherwise Hindi as mother-tongue and another language of the Indian Union such as Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Telegu, Tamil, etc., as the other modern Indian language, then almost all the objections to Hindi, which many people regard as an imposition, will vanish automatically.

I think this is a matter which should be seriously considered by Indian Universities and State School Boards, by the Inter-University Board, and, finally, by the Central Education Ministry.

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Though fully alive to the many difficulties and disadvantages associated with teaching which I regard as one of the noblest of professions in the world, and let me assure you that in my days the difficulties and disadvantages I have in mind were not only more numerous but also more serious in character, I deliberately chose it as my life's work and have thus spent the best part of my life among students and teachers. For a period of over four decades, I have lived and moved amongst them ; I have shared their joys and sorrows, their ideals and their aspirations. My long association with students and teachers, brought together from all over our country and occasionally from even outside it, has helped me gradually come to certain definite conclusions on educational matters, a few of which I would venture to place before you for your consideration. If, by any chance, they look like advice or criticism, I am sure you will bear with me in your generosity, as I would like to share my thoughts with you as one of you and not as an outsider.

I very strongly feel that, with the attainment of freedom, the duties and responsibilities of Indian Universities have increased enormously. There was a time in their history when the country was satisfied if they succeeded in turning out a few brilliant scholars to fill up the ranks of the Civil Services, high and low, or produced clever graduates to fill up the less responsible and the less remunerative posts that were open to Indians in Government or in semi-Government services.

The problem today has, however, assumed colossal proportions. India entrusts her Universities with her most precious raw material—her youth—and expects them to mould them into shape so as to fit with exactness and precision into our numerous key posts, the proper discharge of the duties whereof at the present time, when the process of building up a Welfare State is in progress, exposes them to very severe, if not almost unbearable, stresses and strains.

It is the ambition of India, a nascent Welfare State, to give her sons and daughters through various constructive projects freedom from want, freedom from disease and freedom from ignorance. Those occupying key positions who, naturally enough, will be entrusted with the implementatin of her plans and programmes, will have to shoulder very heavy responsibilities for which they will have to be specially selected and efficiently trained.

Rightly or wrongly we have come to believe that Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale and other Universities of the same standing in the West have fiufilled similar requirements of their country. If that is so, it is the duty and the privilege of the Indian Universities, including yours, to produce and supply this particular type of men when and where required. It is common knowledge today that the country is short in many essential commodities and services. The shortage, however, that hurts us most is the shortage of men and women of the right calibre. It is up to all Universities including yours to accept the challenge and to concentrate on the task of producing these men and women for new India. I am conscious that it is a job which cannot be done overnight. As a matter of fact, we shall have to work hard and to work continuously till our products, as the result of their ability to rise to every occasion to the entire satisfaction of all, are acknowledged to be on a par with the men turned out by the most famous of the Western Universities.

As a newly-established University, you have to augment your resources, both in men and in money, and to build up a

strong tradition in regard to intellectual discipline, human sympathy and behaviour. You have to meet the gradually expanding demands for various kinds of higher education—scientific, technical and professional—and you have to supply your State in particular and our country in general with efficient technicians, competent teachers, qualified doctors and men with wide experience and balanced judgment competent to deal with the affairs of our motherland.

It is inevitable that, with the spread of education, such people will be drawn in increasing numbers from members of the under-privileged classes who have not always hitherto found adequate opportunities for the betterment of their lot and who constitute the majority in our country. I trust I am not overstating the case when I say that, unless we are careful, this may have the effect of cutting off the more brilliant from the masses.

* * * *

We in India have chosen for ourselves a democratic form of Government, which implies that we have faith in the latent power and wisdom innate to the common man. The competitive system in vogue at present gives the same chances to the less gifted as to the more gifted ones with the result that the latter get on better in life and tend to join the ranks of the more fortunate and privileged classes. The opportunities for gifted persons, among the common people, for promotion to an environment of culture and economic privilege, result in leaving behind an inert mass of uninspired and unenlightened people. The inevitable consequence of the present technically correct democratic set-up is a tendency towards an insensible splitting up of the people into two classes—a population consisting of subject masses, and one of ruling classes. Considered from this particular angle, educated men and women can make a valuable contribution by keeping alive their sympathies and maintaining contact with the common people, the most practical way of doing which is to fight for justice towards them.

I think that everyone present here will agree with me when I say that there never was a time in the history of our motherland when we stood in greater need of large numbers of people whose task would be to fight against and destroy root and branch anti-social practices like oppression of the poor and the weak by the selfish, the prosperous and the powerful, abuse of political influence, group prejudice leading to social discrimination,

economic injustice, etc., on the village, the union, the thana, the subdivision, the district, the State and even on the all-India level.

It is obvious that our prosperity, perhaps even our survival, as a free democratic nation, is so intimately connected with the firm and resolute handling of the existing situation that we cannot afford to defer action till we are ready in all respects and the problems become too complicated for solution.

That is why we stand today in dire need of people to start and carry on unremitting campaigns for our seemingly lost or nearly hopeless causes, men and women who, through the service they will render to the nation, will not only bring about a wonderful change for the better in our public and private life but will also bridge the gap between the more and the less fortunate ones in India.

And if Indian Universities including yours are expected to produce able political leaders and efficient men qualified to hold key posts in our welfare State, it is equally their responsibility and yours to produce selfless and courageous people who, for the mere love of what is good, will devote themselves wholeheartedly to the task of carrying on a continuous uphill fight against evil in all its varied forms till it is utterly exterminated. And after everything is said and done, it may be that the final assessment will show that the contribution of such people to the nation's prosperity is no less precious than the contribution of leaders.

* * * *

I feel confident that the labours of the less brilliant alumni of our Universities including yours and of others, not highly gifted, who will devote themselves to the patriotic task of helping the common man to improve his lot will, in course of time, take our country far along the path of progress. We may even come very near England and America in material prosperity by raising the standard of our living to an optimum level towards which nations all over the world seem to be struggling. In spite of the risk involved in sounding a discordant note, I consider it my inescapable duty to state, with all the emphasis at my command, that a high standard of living by itself is not enough. We cannot live by bread alone. What is perhaps to be aimed at is a high standard of life in all its qualitative aspects and not merely a high standard of living. Let me not be misunderstood. I am not against attaining a reasonable standard of living for all. What we should be clear about in our mind is that one should

not confuse the quality of life with certain material standards, important though they are for every human being. For, transcending the material standards, there are values, you may call them human or spiritual, without which human life would not be worth living. The genius of India has always striven for the attainment of these values. We shall not be worthy of our heritage if we allow the keenness of our consciousness of these values to be dimmed by the lure of the so-called 'realistic' approach to life. It may perhaps help us if we have a look at the problem through the eyes of a Western seer:

> And what is the goal of Western civilisation? It is to reach America's standards of living!
>
> Almost throughout the West it appears to be taken for granted that the real issue today is the struggle for supremacy between the Western or American 'way of life' and Communism. This is a tragic misreading of the times. And a world war fought on that issue would be the greatest calamity imaginable.
>
> It is an entirely unreal issue, as both these 'ways of life' rest on power for the achievement of the highest possible standards of material living. The real difference between them is as to who shall distribute the national wealth and on what principle. As the conflict between these two ideologies deepens, the freedoms of democracy visibly weaken.
>
> From that impasse there is no escape other than that of accepting the guidance of spiritual values and principles. The new materialism, so far from satisfying basic human needs, is producing a spirit of restlessness, and nowhere more strikingly than in the U. S. In the realm of appetites and indulgences there is no end to the multiplication of wants, while the more one has the more restless one becomes.
>
> It is the nature of our life, due to modern industrialism, that is wrong, and it is wrong because it does not conform with man's spiritual needs, that forgotten better part of his nature. When the main motive of labour and industry is switched from satisfying self-expression to money-making, men become machines and societies competitive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport, and on self-indulgences which they call fun.
>
> Ours is a civilisation in decay. It has become so outworn and unstable that growing fear is shaking its very foundations. If the decay is to be arrested, many of the spiritual rights and values that have been lost during the

course of the Industrial Revolution must be restored. This will involve major changes in our economy, in our social, political and industrial organisation and techniques ; indeed in our entire way of life.

Here therefore is a real warning. It will not do merely to imitate. Whatever material benefits or advantages we may work for, we have to bear in mind that they are only means to an end. They must not stand in the way of our quest for the higher values that India has always striven for, even in her days of political and economic depression. The ideal that I am indicating is nothing new. As she built up her civilisation, India realised that the real goal of the human race could only be attained by love and renunciation.

Even within our living memory, the Father of our Nation has impressed on us that it is only through truth, righteousness and *ahimsa* that our goal could be attained. It is no doubt a formidable task with which we are faced today. But it is also our privilege to shape our destiny with our own hands. Let not our sense of responsibility overwhelm us.

* * * *

My young friends who are about to leave your *alma mater* and to enter the world, I send you out of my heart my very best wishes. Today, as citizens of Free India, you have far more onerous responsibilities than we of the older generation had when we left the portals of our University. It is likely that this young University has not been able to equip you to the extent that she wanted to, obviously because of her limited resources, but you should not allow yourselves to forget, for even one moment, the rich legacy to which you are heirs in this part of our motherland and from which you should draw your strength and sustenance.

It would be well to remember today that the sons of Orissa were once among the vanguard of pioneers who spread Indian civilisation and culture overseas. Ships from the shores of this country visited the islands of Bali, Java and other islands collectively known as *Swarnadwipa* or the Indonesian Islands. In that remote past, the quest of adventure took your forefathers across the seas and as a result, a new and virile civilisation sprang up in those islands. In art and architecture, the temple of Boro-budur, even today, bears testimony to the magnificent contribution made by people from this part of India no less than to their tireless spirit of striving for perfection.

You will also recall that a king of Orissa found it possible to send his envoy to the court of the Chinese Emperor across the inaccessible Himalayas of those days. Through this messenger, Orissa sent India's message of *ahimsa* to the monarch and the people of China.

The art and architecture of Orissa represent another pinnacle of perfection that the culture of India attained in her quest in the realm of aesthetics. Through six long centuries, from the 8th to the 13th the creative genius of the people of Orissa struggled for a new freedom of expression, untrammelled by the Gupta traditions which eventually culminated in the establishment of a powerful and distinctly original school of art in harmony with the aesthetic traditions of India. The influence of this school of art was not confined within the boundaries of Orissa. By virtue of its strength and vitality, it penetrated through those parts of the world known as Greater India—Burma, Siam and the Indonesian Islands.

If the sons of Orissa could do it then, there is no reason why they cannot attain the same heights again, given freedom of opportunities and self-discipline which are both within your grasp in Free India.

You are entering today into what is perhaps one of the most creative epochs of our national life. The warring ideologies of the West may tend to obscure from you this very fundamental fact. Combined with this, the economic stress through which the world is passing and which is having its repercussions on our lives may even create, in some of you, a sense of frustration. You must hold fast. You have had a precious heritage and you have before you a future with greater promise. You belong to India and India claims all your allegiance. It will hardly serve the purpose of the present age if Indian Universities produced men with a narrow mental horizon, if Gujrat produced only Gujratis, Bengal Bengalees, Bihar Biharis, and so on. May I ask you, where will then the real Indian be born? When we struggled against odds and outside forces, we stood together in the consciousness of unity—the unity of India. Now that the negative phase of our struggle is over and we are about to set out towards our positive goal, shall we not march in unison with a common purpose, towards a common goal, without our mental horizon being fragmented by narrow sectarian or provincial barriers?

* * * *

I should like to conclude with the story of a king in search of an architect to whom he could entrust the building of his

temple. He looked amongst the men at work and asked the first, 'What are you doing, my friend?' 'I am cutting stones', was the answer. He moved on and questioned the second man, 'What are you busy with?' The answer was, 'I am earning my living by cutting stones'. He went further to find a third workman of whom the same question was asked, and the answer came, 'I am building a temple'. And it was only then that the king knew that he had at last found the architect he had been looking for.

India needs today neither men who consider their work a drudgery nor those who regard it merely as a means of earning their living but people who find joy and take pride in their work.

You are all builders of our nation, and it is through your striving and your vision that the destiny of India would seek her fulfilment. I pray to Him Whom we all worship in our different and often ineffective ways that He may give strength and wisdom to everyone of you, if not wholly, at least partially, to discharge the obligations imposed on you as one of the architects of new India.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

26th December, 1952

Mr. President, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Senate, Graduates of the University of Calcutta, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I feel that my lot this morning is an enviable one. For, the task that has devolved on me is both easy and pleasant. I do not stand on my feet here to air my views for what they are worth on the diverse problems of education in general and the role that our Universities should play in reference thereto in particular. Neither am I called upon to preach a homily in the nature of a counsel of perfection to our young hopefuls assembled here, as they leave the portals of this University,—I dare not say fully equipped—to face the grim realities of life. I rise simply before this august assembly and on this solemn occasion, in my capacity of the Head of this State and the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, to accord a cordial welcome to our illustrious visitor in the person of the President of the Republic of India, who has been graciously pleased to come here today to deliver the Convocation address.

Time was when the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University used to be addressed, as a matter of routine, by the Viceroy and Governor-General who then functioned as the Head of the Government of India under the aegis of the British Crown. I believe this was the position when our distinguished visitor of this day himself received the hall-mark of his University career. I mention this only to bring home to the gathering before me, by use of the familiar method of comparison and contrast, how inordinately suffused with pride and surcharged with emotion I feel in greeting the visitor, who comes in our midst today as the first President of Free India, having been elected to that high office by the will of the people and who, moreover, happened to be one of the brilliant alumni of this very University in the most impressionable period of his life and then became a redoubtable fighter in the cause of the freedom of our country and ultimately the principal architect of the Constitution which we have given unto ourselves.

As already suggested above, you, Mr. President, are no stranger to us. For us it is a happy reunion. Our *alma mater* is one and the same. Other seats of learning may honour you. Other occasions may be more colourful. But none else can claim the pride

of having shaped you. Wherever you go, the aura of office surrounds you. But to us, you come as an old boy. It is a delightful accident that an older boy should welcome you. I am sure this Hall evokes in you, as in me, very old and precious memories. We have both seen visions, and now we both dream dreams.

While the morning sun being enveloped in mist has yet to grow strong it is so agreeable to drift into dreams. This Hall takes you back to your formative years. Down the years float memories of toil, midnight vigils, and, if I may suggest, even scrapes. And at the end of it, a rounded whole, a purposive life. Few enjoy the glory of seeing a cause served. You have won it. But we claim that we sowed the seeds. We supplied the soil with nourishing manure. We furnished you with ample nutriment.

Fifty years from now, we received a young lad from the Chapra Zilla School, then affiliated to this University. He had captured the imagination of young and old, having topped the list of youthful entrants to the University. The *Hindusthan Review* wrote significantly on that occasion: 'The young Rajendra is a brilliant student by all accounts. We wonder what the future has in store for him. We hope he will live to occupy a seat on the Bench of the High Court of his Province.' We may now smile indulgently at this sort of great expectation of the writer, who, nonetheless, had some amount of foresight, knowing, as we do, how much it has been outdistanced by actual achievement: instead of becoming only one of our judicial luminaries on the provincial horizon, Rajendraji has risen to be the supreme head of our executive and the symbol of a free nation.

To come back to his academic career after he entered the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1902, I may recount that he went on winning laurel after laurel. He stood first among the successful candidates at the F. A. Examination in 1904, securing the Duff Scholarship in Languages and several prizes and medals. In 1906, he passed the B.A. Examination with Honours in both English and History and obtained the Eshan Scholarship and the Presidency College Foundation Scholarship. After taking his M.A. degree in English, he joined the G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, as a Professor of that subject and thus honoured the line I had already chosen for myself. It is another happy accident that we both subjected ourselves to the same discipline. It would be dishonest to deny that it gives me pleasure to recall this but I have to confess that, at that stage, we parted company. For the young man, driven by the urge of public life, took to law. He returned to Calcutta and after taking his B.L. degree from the

Ripon College joined the Calcutta High Court in 1911. He took a First Class in the M.L. Examination in 1915 and was awarded the Kedarnath Banerjee Gold Medal in Law. He continued to be a member of the Bar Association of the Calcutta High Court, again, for a time, his legal practice with the work of teaching by serving as a Professor of the University Law College till 1916, when he left Calcutta to join the Patna High Court. With his learning and his industry, he carried everything before him and rose to the top of his profession.

I need not go into the subsequent history of his amazing career, as it must be well known to all of you here. Suffice it to say that he suspended his practice in 1920 at the call of the Father of the Nation and joined the non-co-operation movement, after having taken a leading part in the Champaran agrarian movement. What I should like to stress, however, is that he never lost touch with educational activities even in the midst of the turmoil of political life. Besides his long association with the Senate and the Syndicate of the Patna University, we have to remember that it was during the hectic period of the first non-co-operation movement that he organised a National University known as the *Bihar Vidyapith*.

Neither did he ever allow politics to overshadow his innate humanity. When that terrible cataclysm of nature known as the Bihar Earthquake of 1934 devastated large parts of that province, converting whole towns and villages into so many heaps of ruins within the space of a few minutes and killing and maiming thousands of people, he rose magnificently to the occasion and, though in poor health, organised the Bihar Central Relief Committee under his chairmanship to give most timely and effective succour to the people stricken by the calamity.

Having said this much only of the story of his life after he left Calcutta, I should like to pass on at once to the recent accident which again linked us together. We met as workers in the Constituent Assembly. It was then that the future President wrote his *magnum opus*: The Constitution. It is our charter of freedom. It owes much of its subtle and elastic phrasing to the sagacity of a jurist.

It was in this city, however, that the acute bent was cultivated. And law and literature apart, we also gave you, Sir, a way of life. That attitude has been uniformly maintained. We are naturally proud that the liberalism we implanted has borne rich fruits.

We belong to the past. We were shaped by forces which put a heavy premium on political activity. In such a context, your

scholarship and legal acumen were harnessed to a political end. That end has been reached. You will go down and take your place in history. But to us you are a living man. We have shared many things in common. We have tingled to the same joys and sorrows. We have struggled and we have succeeded.

Today, as you come to us, we take all your political greatness for granted. But you lighted a torch in the past. You kept its flame burning. That torch you are handing on to young men and women. No learning is worth a scrap without character. You earned the right to hold the torch of light. Young men and women no longer live in our world. Their outlook is different. They face a different kind of reality. But the least they can do is to learn to admire learning and character. You have both. Hand on the torch.

We are happy that we have seen our country freed. But to most young men and women life is grim. We are in the throes of a gigantic creative effort. An economic readjustment is in the offing. But meanwhile there is much frustration which hurts. We, therefore, have to call the past back to life. We remember our torch-bearers of rationalism and moral uplift. They dispersed the settled gloom of centuries. They ushered in our modern age of light and reason. We remember Raja Rammohan who gathered into a single stream the humanism of an Erasmus and the theology of a Luther. We recall Bankim Chandra who saw glorious visions of Mother India. We remember Vidyasagar whose greatest gift was his own life. We recall Vivekananda who restored our moral tissues. We recall those who shed their blood for the country's cause. Their consecrated souls watch over us like hosts of the air. It is from their assurance that young men and women will take heart. We shall yet have another glorious burst of achievement, we may not live to see it. But it is a consummation to be prayed for, and we shall both pray for it.

Universities all over the world occasionally witness colourful ceremonies. The sight of a crowned head draped in academic robes inspires awe. But to honour a victor or a distinguished statesman has become a mere commonplace. You, however, have raised the routine from banality. As the Vice-Chancellor invested you with the dignity of a Doctor of Law, I felt that it was an honour you had earned. It was not a bye-product of office or power. I know that I am addressing the President of the Indian Republic. But I further know that you, Mr. President, live an austere life. Not for you the pomp that usually goes with power. In living thus, you have made yourself one with the heart of India. This is the key to your hold on our minds. This also is the symbol

of our highest ideals. In so far as you have honoured our values, you have been yourself honoured. A great tradition is a sacred trust. It is out of greatness that greatness is born.

While uniting my voice with that of the Vice-Chancellor in welcoming you after your investment as a Doctor of Law, *honoris causa*, of this University, I shall only recall the prophetic words of a poet of Bengal who sang:

"অভিষেক হয়ে গেছে এ পুরীর স্বর্গ নদীর হিমাম্বুতে
প্রসাদ পরমহংস কেশব কালীচরণের প্রেমাশ্রুতে।"

(*This city has been consecrated with the holy waters of faith, in the form of passionate tears shed by Prasad, Paramahansa, Kesav and Kalicharan*).

To the tears of Ramprasad, you have added your own. I feel that in honouring you, I am only honouring the supreme wisdom voiced by the Upanishads:

"তেন ত্যক্তেন ভুঞ্জীথাঃ"

It is undoubtedly by denial that you have earned bliss. Keep that prize.

BOOK EXHIBITION SPONSORED BY THE U. S. I. S., CALCUTTA

11th January, 1953

It has been claimed and probably with some justification that the craft of letter press printing is the agency which turned the darkness of the middle ages into the light of modern days. It secured to posterity the intellectual achievements of the past and furnished civilisation with a means of recording all future progress.

The Chinese are said to have been the first printers, the earliest imprint found being A.D. 868, probably from wooden or clay types. Webster's dictionary states that the invention of the type mould and the use of *metal* types is heard of in Korea first. It is assumed that, by the 15th century, movable type was an established fact in many countries. The first printing press in India was set up in Goa in 1556. It was not until 1800 that the first book was printed in Bengali at Serampore.

We can readily appreciate what the printing press has meant to all of us in making widely available books and, in most cases through them, knowledge. The days of the hand-written book, commissioned by the very wealthy and cloistered in inaccessible places have passed.

There have been two great periods in the development of typography as a mechanical art, viz., the last half of the 15th and the first half of the 19th century. The essential factor in the establishment of the art was the invention of the type mould, the instrument by means of which any required number of individual letters can be cast at will. The type mould drew together the constituents of the designing and the cutting of the type punches, the setting of types in proper order, the making of matrices. There was no further fundamental improvement in the art of printing from 1470 till the first half of the 19th century.

The part taken in the second birth of this craft by American printers, perhaps less notable than many of their contemporaries, is nonetheless worthy of attention by later generations. The first press in the United States was established in 1638.

The establishment of the colonies in America was a process conducted by many men urged by widely different motives lasting practically throughout a century. This slow formation of a group of colonies, dependent for livelihood upon agriculture, commerce, fisheries and hunting, was accomplished inspite of

persistent opposition from other forces. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that however distressing these conditions, they were rich in factors of ultimate benefit to the American colonist. They compelled the colonist section and group to remain constantly alert to the dangerous circumstances of their position. They bred in the individual and in the communities a habit of self-awareness. This self-realisation forced on the early American generated in him an intellectual habit more active than seemed essential to the needs of pioneer life. One result of this was the development of the printing press in America.

Questions of religious doctrines and church politics, for example, necessitated public discussion and demanded dissemination of the views advanced. The unremitting struggle between the liberal elements and the conservative government required the services of the printed word for the statement and the refutation of arguments. The people had need for recording their statutes, their assembly proceedings and their administrative instruments. And finally, the business interests of the communities gradually awoke to the effectiveness of the printed word for the advancement of their plans and projects.

The brief talk given here must necessarily fail to take note of many social and economic factors that affected the history of printing and bookselling. An important fact which must not, however, be forgotten is that the expansion of the press kept pace with the physical expansion of the country.

The distinction between the offices of the printer and the publisher was recognised everywhere from the early days of the trade in printed books. We can conceive of the former as a technical producer, the manufacturer of the book, and of the latter as the promoter who finds the money for its printing and directly or through agencies of various kinds, distributes the books for the disposal of which he has made himself responsible.

In colonial America, a single establishment combined all the operations of manufacturing and distributing and was the type of organisation normally conducted through the country, virtually to the end of the colonial period. Among the notable persons in the new world was Benjamin Franklin who, throughout his business career, united all the different functions of printer, publisher, binder and bookseller in the persons of himself and his subordinate staff.

The first bookseller of the colonies added the selling of books to the general merchandise business in which he was then engaged. Later, some made bookselling their principal occupation. Many printing establishments had attached to them

bookshops in which the printed papers and books of their own production were sold, in addition to books imported from London.

The most picturesque mode of bookselling that prevailed in rural America of the colonial days and which still persists there, naturally enough to a limited extent, was the hawking of books by chapmen, pedlar and specialist bookseller. One conclusion from the relevant records is that the hawkers, at least at the time and place concerned, were employed as distributing agents by the larger booksellers of the city thus constituting another group in the book trade organisation.

The modern publisher, as we understand the term, is one who produces printed books and puts them on the market. In order to produce a book well and in a comely and durable form, the publisher needs the eye of the craftsman and stands to gain if he has experience in printing, book binding and all the allied processes of the craft. He must possess technical knowledge of type, paper, illustrations on book covers, jackets and end papers.

I am told that the organisation whose steady influence has been a factor of great significance in book production in the United States is the American Institute of Graphic Arts organised in 1914. This institute has, as one of its many stimulating activities, the annual selection of fifty books of the year. This, I am further informed, has exercised the greatest influence in book production since 1923. These exhibitions have done much to break down old traditions which stood in the way of the normal and natural development of book printing.

I understand that the books which are about to be made available to the public are a selection from the outstanding books published in the United States in 1950-51. A question which may very pertinently be asked is why I should have allowed myself to be associated with this function organised by the representatives of an alien though a friendly nation.

An obvious reason is that one who has earned his living as a teacher for more than four decades and who, moreover, found delight in his profession and has all through his life been not merely a lover but a reader of books, not many of which he could afford to purchase, cannot but welcome an opportunity like the present one to gain some knowledge, however limited, by a cursory glance at the best books published in the course of one year in an admittedly prosperous and progressive country.

But there is a deeper reason still. I feel that one of the risks to which we have been exposed after the acquiring of independence is a tendency to glorify our past to such an extent

as to think that most of what the progressive countries have achieved or are achieving had been previously achieved by our forefathers and that there is nothing to learn, for has not Solomon, reputed to be the wisest man, said 'There is nothing new under the sun'? Now that we carry all the responsibility for the well-being and future prosperity of our country, we have to keep open all our windows to the world. We have to look for guidance both to the East and the West. We have to learn by their successes no less than by their failures.

I am grateful to the U.S.I.S. because it is placing at our disposal some of the outstanding books published in the United States in 1950-51, the study of which, I am sure, will be of ultimate benefit to us.

I trust that all present here will have the wisdom to spend at least part of their leisure in dipping into some of these books and familiarising themselves with their contents.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

GOLDEN JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY AT BELVEDERE, CALCUTTA

1st February, 1953.

The responsibilities of my office have found me presiding over functions where I have been none too sure of the idiom of the occasion, but today I have a feeling that I fit into the perspective without much effort. I have lived in libraries most of my life and I even accumulated a modest library myself, which is now being richly used by the alumni past and present of the Calcutta University.

It is a pity that my tenure as a member of the Governing Council of this Library clashed with my responsibilities as Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly and I could not give it my undivided attention. But I find that I have no cause to regret, because my colleagues in the Council under the enlightened Chairmanship of successive Education Advisers to the Government of India have rescued the Library from out of its doldrums and have given it a new vitality which promises well for the future.

It is well said by Professor Kabir in his illuminating foreword to the Golden Jubilee Souvenir that these celebrations do not mean a forgetfulness of the inspiring public effort that preceded the Government sponsorship of this Library.

Dwarkanath Tagore of illustrious memory set the ball rolling by heading the list of subscribers who initiated the Calcutta Public Library. Pyari Chand Mitra, the reputed originator of the Bengali novel, was, for a long time, its Librarian. These people created the necessary awareness in the public as to the library needs of the citizen.

It is true that the lamp they lit spluttered badly for want of oil and lack of trimming after a period of time. And Curzon had to be the Aladdin who rubbed the lamp and called forth Macfarlane of the British Museum to inaugurate a new era.

A new beginning was made around the priceless nucleus of books assembled from the College of Fort William and the books belonging to the old Calcutta Public Library which latter were bought over from the Trustees. Thanks to Viceregal authority, all Government of India publications have sedimented in this Library. And out of this rich alluvial, there can be the most

profitable efflorescence of books and studies for generations to come.

Fifty years of wind and weather, with a couple of wars thrown in between, had changed the world around the Library which meanwhile had gone into a Rip-Van Winkle sleep. When independence came upon it, it had to be tailored to possibilities of new growth and its European accent, one should almost say, its English accent, had to be supplemented by apprenticeship to Indian tongues. The Library had to develop the poise of indigenous stature and at the same time be able to hold commerce with the world around.

The leaders of independent India acted with vision and made over the beautiful Belvedere Estate to the National Library, rich in its pleasance and full of possibilities for the future. I have heard rumbles of protest about the shift to the new location. But I am sure when once people grasp the significance and the potential of this new move, they will begin to understand. The fact that the erstwhile Imperial Library also served as a Public Library all these years is at the bottom of the difficulty. A National Library, by virtue of its onerous responsibilities to the entire country, as a repository of nation-wide publications and as a bibliographical centre, with implications of research cannot, if it has to make do with limited resources, also function as a Public Library which deals with the immediacies of a local context. I have no doubts but that public initiative will before long give Calcutta a fine Public Library worthy of one of the world's biggest cities. It must be remembered that magnificent collections like the Ashutosh Library would never have accrued to the nation except in the context of good housing.

Here let me pay my tribute to the splendid act of national service rendered by the heirs to the late Sir Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya. Sir Ashutosh was not only a learned man himself but was also a cause of learning in others. It is most fitting that his great library should be a national treasure. There are many more great private libraries in the country cherished by their cultured owners. What will happen to them after their lifetime is a thought that often disturbs me. I feel that the illustrious examples of the heirs to Buhar, Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya and the Ramdas Sen families should be followed and the treasures should be made available to the nation. The National Library should be considered as the watershed of the Indian library world with a wide catchment area, and its waters should irrigate the country into giving us rich harvests of knowledgeable men and women.

There are moments when it seems to me an irony that this land of ancient civilisations should hearken back only to long-lost Nalanda for early examples of library awareness. But why be wistful? It may be *they* were wiser who carried knowledge in their heads and learnt it in the difficult way of arduous discipleship to an exacting master. But we are in the midstream of the rushing waters of the present which has its own logic. We must build to keep pace with the times and not ask the waves to recede. The new knowledge comes pouring in upon us and we must ride the waters and not be submerged by them.

The microfilm and the photostat and the microcard are inventions which make knowledge both handy and accessible. Today's ephemera is tomorrow's history. And that means the problem of conservation of newsprint and periodical literature. And we must have these gadgets that save space and time and money. It is to be hoped that it will not be long before the National Library gets these facilities. I am very happy to know that plans are on the way to invest this Library with copyright privilege.

In looking through the programme, I was delighted to mark the item wherein humbly placed men are to be publicly recognised for their part in building this Library. In these days we speak so much of the common man but it rarely happens that his efforts are recognised. Therefore it gives me great pleasure to bestow the tokens of appreciation on these splendid men who have given so much of their skill and ability with such great devotion.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA

2nd February, 1953.

Mr. President and Members of the Asiatic Society, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Let me at the outset thank you for kindly asking me to preside at your Annual Meeting. It was a disappointment to me when indisposition at the very last moment prevented me from attending such a function last year.

As the Governor of West Bengal I participate in many public functions but I attach special value to this one as it affords me a unique opportunity to meet scholars and research workers engaged in Indological and scientific studies concerned with the culture and traditions of India, if not of the whole of Asia. The Asiatic Society, I understand, is the oldest and foremost cultural organisation in Asia which fact by itself should inspire all those who are connected with it in any way. I may add that my association with you for even a short time is something I value greatly.

I have perused with some interest the Annual Report of the Society for the year that is just over. I have also listened to the learned and thought-provoking address of the President (Prof. S. K. Mitra). I am really glad to find that, in spite of many handicaps, the Asiatic Society has all along been able to maintain its high standard of cultural activities in truly admirable manner.

In this memorable Hall one cannot but feel a sense of satisfaction at seeing everywhere signs of the achievements of those pioneer-workers whose scholarship, unabated zeal, indomitable enthusiasm and earnest and devoted lifelong toil made it possible for them to unravel the secrets and to acquire the wisdom of the past, that great epoch when India could justifiably claim to be one of the leading torch-bearers of learning and leadership in a world which could boast of its mummies and pyramids, its Julius Ceasars and its Alexanders. As a student of literature, I must pay my tribute to Kalidasa and Bhababhuti no less than to those master thinkers who could produce the Gita and the Upanishads and the two great epics whose equals are not to be found anywhere else in the literature of the world. The two epics epitomise the hopes and the aspirations, the desires and the musings of Indians not only at a time when our motherland attained real greatness

in thought and deed but also today when India is being considered by many as being undeveloped in the direction of scientific progress and material advancement.

In looking round this hall one cannot but feel inspired by the busts and paintings of men who helped to place the Society on solid foundations and contributed substantially to the advancement of human knowledge in many directions through their untiring efforts and infinite capacity for taking pains. Men like Ram Kamal Sen, James Prinsep, Hara Prasad Sastri and Rajendralal Mitra must be regarded not only as great geniuses and savants of a rare type, but also as pioneers of the modern system of critical historical study which revolutionised the very method of approach in dealing with the materials available for weaving piece-by-piece the fine fabric of the cultural and political history of ancient India. The great strides that Indian historical research could make during the last two decades may be ascribed largely to the investigations which were carried on in the face of numerous obstacles by a selfless band of seekers after truth at the Asiatic Society. In the past and also at present, eminent men of science too have been connected with this Society for extending the bounds of scientific knowledge in India. Those who gain martyrdom in the political field are remembered with gratitude by even the masses, but the achievements of those silent workers who tried to make known to the world the past glories of India are not always recalled. It is obvious that their contributions to the enhancement of the glory of India should also be remembered and valued by all.

It seems desirable that the library of the Society should be developed in such a manner as to serve the purpose of a sanctuary of all advanced research workers in the field of Indological studies. The preparation of up-to-date catalogues of manuscripts, valuable and rare books, periodicals, etc., should be completed as early as possible, if only because slow progress in this work prevents scholars from utilising fully a large part of the precious materials available at the Society. The attention of the State and Central Governments may be drawn to this point so that if the question of funds is impeding the progress of the improvement of the Asiatic Society's library, larger grants may be solicited for early implementation of necessary schemes in this connection. Real progress in every direction is possible only through careful and wise planning, and the Council of the Asiatic Society are quite capable of doing this under the guidance of their able office-bearers and members.

Now that we have gained our independence, it behoves every son of India to profit by the mistakes and failures of the past.

A scientific and historical analysis of the materials available in the manuscripts, copper-plates, coins, architecture, sculpture, paintings and ancient literature of India might form a regular feature of the curriculum of studies of all serious students of history. Judged from this point of view, the utility and growing need of cultural organisations like the Society become manifest to everyone. In the circumstances, it is not at all desirable that the progress of the Society's work should be hampered in any way through paucity of funds or through the indifference of the public. Lack of a sufficiently large number of sincere and enthusiastic workers of proved capacity is another drawback which should also be guarded against for ensuring proper utilisation of the rare and valuable materials which are now in the possession of the Asiatic Society.

It is in the fitness of things, therefore, that I should remind the people of Calcutta and every educated Indian all over the country that it is their duty to take some interest in what is going on in the Asiatic Society. My appeal also goes to the people of other parts of Asia to co-operate with those who are trying to turn the Society into a centre of research activities where all aspects of Indian culture are being critically examined day after day. I am sure that the future of the Society is bound to be very bright in Free India where no right thinking man can possibly ignore the importance of Indological studies and scientific researches now being carried on under the auspices of the Asiatic Society.

Regular and planned publication of the hitherto unpublished, valuable and unique manuscripts and other materials which are with the Asiatic Society should be accelerated and it is not too much to expect that the State and the Central Government should offer necessary financial assistance in such a work of national importance.

Before I conclude, I consider it my duty to offer my thanks to you all who have assembled here today to encourage the Council of the Society by your presence. I look forward to the day when the great object for which the Asiatic Society was founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones will be fulfilled in letter and spirit through the untiring efforts of a selfless band of workers who will not be deterred by such doubts and difficulties as may beset their path.

FUTURE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION IN INDIA

(Broadcast from the All-India Radio, Calcutta)

7th October, 1953

It was only the other day that after a careful examination of statistics relating to education, it was found that such facilities as are available today in India provide only for the education of 40 per cent of the children in the age group 6-11 ; of 10 per cent in the age group 11-17 and of 0·9 per cent in the age group 17-23.

The position was obviously much worse when we were framing our Constitution which explains why the Directive Principles thereof lay down that within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, the State should endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. In pursuance of this object, the Central Government accepted the recommendation of the Central Advisory Board of Education that at least eight years of basic education must be provided for every child, the first stage covering five years to be known as junior basic education. For putting this into effect, it had to approach the State Governments because education is the responsibility of the latter. Financial stringency, chronic everywhere in our motherland, was largely responsible for an important and unfortunate modification. The Government of India advised all State Governments to make provision, as early as possible, for the compulsory and free basic education of all children between the ages of 6 and 11 irrespective of their caste, creed, sex or social status.

It must be said here that the number of Junior Basic Schools thus brought into existence is less numerous than the old Primary Schools. It is, however, only fair to add that all State Governments are trying their best to replace the latter by the former so that we may hope to see, within the next few years, a network of at least Junior Basic Schools all over India.

Senior basic education, as must be well-known to most of us, is complementary to junior basic education and the age group for this stage is from 11 to 14 years. It is contemplated that eighty per cent of the children who pass out from Junior Basic Schools would go to Senior Basic Schools and the remaining twenty per cent to the junior departments of the High Schools which will prepare them for the Universities or for higher education.

It is, however, a regrettable fact that in many States there are few Senior Basic Schools and the majority of those who continue their studies at all after the short junior basic course have perforce to join High Schools in which a purely academic type of teaching is provided and which is not always suited to the aptitudes and abilities of all young people. Only a minority of them can successfully complete the High School course and it is not unlikely that the years that are spent in the High School are not really of much profit to them. It may even be that some become misfits in society as a result of this schooling.

After attending the full five years' Junior Basic School course, a child may acquire literacy but a course of further education is perhaps necessary to ensure permanent literacy. But is mere literacy enough? It would be futile to hope that, thus equipped, we could march in step with other nations which provide free training to their young people till they are 15 or 16 years of age.

The main purpose of school education, as everyone must concede, is not to teach literacy though literacy is undoubtedly an essential part of this teaching. A much more important thing is to provide training in character formation and to foster the development of the innate faculties of young people so that they may grow up with a full realisation of their duties and responsibilities to be worthy citizens of the State. It will be readily agreed that this objective cannot be achieved if training ceases when pupils are only about eleven years of age and when they have been under training for only five years.

The first duty before us is the setting up of well-equipped and properly staffed Senior Basic Schools where all young people will be taught the mother tongue, elements of general science, mathematics, history, geography and civics, side by side with handicrafts and agriculture. At the end of the course pupils will also acquire a working knowledge of the *Rashtrabhasha*. This training will equip the Basic School products to take their proper place in national life with a full realisation of their rights and duties as citizens.

In High Schools, intended for abler children, English and possibly a classical language will be taught in addition to the subjects included in the Basic School curriculum, while training in handicrafts will be an essential part of the course. Both in Basic and High Schools, teaching of art and music will be provided. In the senior classes of High Schools, pupils will opt for one of the technical, agricultural, commercial or academic courses suited to their aptitudes. But facilities for the trans-

ference of pupils from one course to another should be made fully available so that there need be no wastage of effort.

For the well-being of the country it is absolutely necessary that there should be a steady supply of qualified personnel for our national, industrial, technical and commercial undertakings. Our High School products should be able to fill the gap which now exists between the operative and the administrative staff.

The hunger for education is great amongst our people today. This hunger must be satisfied for national well-being. But it has to be admitted, however, regretfully, that our schools today, speaking by and large, are unable to meet this need. The majority of them are deplorably housed and over-crowded to the extent that it is impossible for the best of teachers with all the good intentions in the world to pay individual attention to the training of their pupils. Nor are the schools equipped with proper appliances, apparatus and libraries so that pupils may supplement the inadequate class-room instruction by their own efforts. The majority of the teachers too have not been trained in the technique of teaching for want of facilities and, above all, their scales of pay are anything but sufficiently attractive to draw energetic and qualified people to this profession.

All this must be remedied with the least possible delay. In this re-organisation, the High School must be given a very high priority. The President of our Republic has more than once pointed out clearly and unequivocally the importance of the High School in any national scheme of education. It is the High School which can give young men and women a sound school education, and it is from the ranks of these people that teachers for the Basic Schools must be recruited and the Universities supplied with students fitted to derive the fullest possible benefit from higher education. It would be presumptuous on my part to reiterate what has been so forcibly and succinctly put by the Head of our State.

I am only too well aware that it is very largely, if not exclusively, lack of funds which has stood in the way of a quicker implementation of our programme of educational re-organisation. We need a great deal of money for the purpose, but there are also many other schemes which need financing. But I would like to remind my listeners that it was in 1944, when Great Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle and when all national efforts and all the national resources of the United Kingdom were geared for victory in the war, that the British Parliament adopted the Butler Education Act which provided for the extension of the age of compulsory schooling to 15 years and the

remodelling of the structure of school education so that courses suited to the aptitudes and abilities of the school-goers could be introduced. The point may, perhaps, also be made that this Act was not sponsored by the 'Socialist' Labour Government but by the Conservative 'Tory' Government.

In this connection, we should recall the observations of Sir Winston Churchill in regard to the social ideals which inspired the Butler Education Act of 1944 and which in no way materially differ from those indicated in our Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. Its aim was to establish a state of society where, in the words of Sir Winston, 'the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by a few shall become more widely (from our point of view, universally) shared by the men and youths of the nation as a whole'.

Since the war a very great deal has been done in the United Kingdom to make arrangements for the short-course training of teachers to ensure a quick supply of trained teachers for schools, for reconditioning of school buildings, for equipping them adequately and for introducing on a nation-wide scale teaching through the eyes and the ears. From the Ministry of Education Report for the year 1952, it appears that £240 was the building allotment for each and every pupil in a Secondary School and £140 for each and every pupil in a Primary School. But when certain minor amendments to the Act were being discussed some time ago in Westminister, the Government came in for a large amount of criticism for spending money on buildings for industrial establishments, offices and the like when much more could not be done for Secondary School buildings. One speaker said,—

> Within the welfare state, nearly two-thirds of our children are compelled to struggle through school in conditions of disreputable overcrowding, some of them in surroundings of dust and decay ; the large majority of the rest are condemned to dismal inefficient obsolete buildings which hinder education rather than helping it.

Another speaker said,—

> At a time when a determined and authoritative policy is needed to rescue education, we are doing what? Our first aim should have been to improve the quality of education by reducing the size of classes. What have we done?

It may be emphasised that the speakers were referring to conditions obtaining in England and not to those obtaining in India. I should also like to repeat what another M.P. said,— 'The compelling issue which presents to the public is one of social priorities.'

In this connection we should remind ourselves that, according to the Committee on the Ways and Means of Financing Educational Development in India no less a sum than Rs. 872 crores is required *every year* for an all-India system of education providing education for each and every child in the 6-14 age group. This vast sum is made up of cost of maintenance of schools Rs. 400 crores, cost of training of teachers for Basic and High Schools Rs. 200 crores and cost of construction of buildings Rs. 272 crores.

Since acquiring freedom, we have been spending for the above three purposes about Rs. 100 crores annually. This roughly is a little over one-ninth of what should be spent. The inadequacy of this provision is so obvious as to hardly need mention. A large share of the responsibility for providing facilities for children of this age group will therefore have to be shouldered by the people themselves who, through their elected representatives in the Constituent Assembly of India, insisted on the inclusion of this particular provision in our Constitution.

Our country which could courageously introduce adult suffrage in the last election and conduct it in a manner which won universal appreciation, will not, I am sure, be tardy when it is a question of ensuring proper education of our citizens to be. I have no doubt in my mind that within the next few years our educational system will be so organised that our young people will be able to march breast to breast with young people of all other nations.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

SPEECH DAY OF THE ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, JALAPAHAR, DARJEELING

12th October, 1953

I am grateful to the authorities of St. Paul's for their invitation to attend today's function. And this because as one who has spent more than 40 years of his life as a teacher, I always enjoy my visits to educational institutions especially when they are first class ones like St. Paul's.

While most of our Secondary Schools have not yet attained the high standards maintained here, what heartens me is the fact that we do have some first class schools which are serving a two-fold purpose. First, they are imparting the proper type of education to, as yet, a small fraction of our boys and girls, and secondly, they are serving as an incentive to less efficient schools, the authorities of which look upon them as models they should imitate.

I am here because I think it my duty to take advantage of my visit to St. Paul's not merely to encourage the management, the teaching staff and the students, but also to draw the attention of the authorities of our less efficient Secondary Schools to the solid work done here in the hope that they too may be encouraged to follow the example set by this institution.

I am convinced that one of the most important things we have to bear in mind is the proper discharge of our responsibilities towards the younger generation by providing adequate facilities for sound education for every one of them. When we shall be able to attain this ideal I do not know but I can say this honestly that every year is seeing some progress towards this end.

We should remember that West Bengal is a poor State and that both the people as well as the Government are suffering from severe financial stringency. One undesirable but understandable result of this has been that in spite of the keen desire of all to have really good and efficient Secondary Schools, we have to be content with what I am constrained to characterise as second or even third rate institutions.

I have observed with great perturbation that many of our Secondary Schools have succumbed to the temptation of increasing their revenue by employing second or even third rate teachers, most of whom are untrained, because their services can be secured cheaply and by admitting a larger number of students than can be properly looked after with a view to meeting the major part of the expenditure out of the fee income.

A refreshing contrast to this state of affairs is found in St. Paul's, where the teachers are certainly more efficient and better paid than those ordinarily employed in our Secondary Schools. The authorities of this institution are also to be congratulated on their having so far successfully resisted the temptation of admitting a larger number of students than they can properly educate. This explains why the numerical strength of this institution is about 230, and there is a long waiting list of boys whose parents and guardians have expressed their desire to get them admitted here and a majority of whom are willing to wait till such time as room can be found for them.

I congratulate the authorities of St. Paul's on their praiseworthy firmness in this matter and I sincerely trust as an old educationist, that they will never depart from the ideal to which they have been faithful so far, the ideal namely, of just having the number of students to whom they can give individual attention and whom they can train up properly.

St. Paul's has from the very beginning, when cent per cent of its students were Christians, been what is called 'Chapel centred' implying thereby that the ideals by which it is governed are deeply religious, that its activities, scholastic and otherwise, are informed by the spirit of religion and lastly, that the inculcation of its spirit is regarded as its fundamental duty. If I am not wrong, attendance at Chapel was expected from every student in the old days.

And if the Chapel continues to function at St. Paul's today, it is not only because parents and guardians of Christian pupils demand this service from St. Paul's but also because many non-Christian parents and guardians appreciate very keenly permission being given to their sons and wards to attend it. Though I am speaking without knowing the mind of the authorities of St. Paul's, I am quite sure that so great is the importance attached by them to religious instruction, direct and indirect, that they would feel no hesitation in closing down this school if at any time its elimination was demanded by a competent authority.

I am quite clear in my mind that the Chapel is playing a silent, nonetheless a significant, part in moulding the character of the pupils of St. Paul's. While the services held in it must necessarily have an ennobling effect on the character and behaviour of those attending them, even the absentees by daily witnessing for themselves the value attached to religious training by their teachers and others whom they hold in respect, are most certainly influenced for the better.

As the Head of the State of West Bengal, and as an educationist of some little experience and as a citizen of India, I am grateful to the authorities of St. Paul's for the services they have been rendering to our boys by keeping up the old tradition of religious training.

I only wish that every denominational school maintained by those professing other faiths would follow the example set here, namely, of encouraging the growth of the spirit of religion among their pupils. I am convinced that the maintenance of schools of this type would be meaningless if this important duty is forgotten or even neglected.

I am not quite sure whether you boys I see sitting in front of me realise fully and clearly what the privilege of coming to a school like St. Paul's with its conscientious and qualified staff and its limited roll strength really implies. Ours is a poor country and there are thousands of children of your age who do not have a chance to get educated at all. There are thousands more who go to schools of sorts which cannot bear any comparison whatever with the school that you belong to. Not many young lives are shaped in the shadow of majestic mountains and in a climate which makes you feel that it is good to be alive and kicking.

I remember that going to school when I was a boy meant nothing more than a slate and a pencil or, if a little older, a note-book and a few well-worn text books. Our clothes would be what one could get cheaply and each one of us looked a true son of Mother India in our bareness and lack of equipment. I do not think that in those days it cost the general run of parents and guardians more than a few rupees to send their children to school. Going through a list of articles that a young boy should bring to a special school like yours I find to my astonishment that it reads like a bride's trousseau: A special trunk has to be bought to put all the articles of clothing into it with the owner's name painted on top, and every quarter, the parents have to foot a bill which would break the back of an average citizen of this country. I am not saying that all this is unnecessary or that it is extravagant. I am only pointing out to you the great advantages that you have over thousands of other boys of similar age.

Why do I remind you of this? It is because I want you to be thankful to God for the privileges you enjoy and to make up your minds to serve your country well, truly, and to your utmost ability in return for the expensive education that is being given to you.

There is one great pitfall that you boys educated in an

expensive school like St. Paul's are likely to fall into and that is to grow up thinking that the other boys who do not have your advantages are not so good as you are. They use a big word to describe this feeling. They say that boys educated in this fashion tend to grow up *exclusive*. There is nothing wrong in being exclusive, if it means that a special discipline makes you wide awake and shoulder responsibility without allowing yourselves to be diverted by the unimportant things of life. But if *exclusive* means that you are growing up like *pansy boys*, as the expression goes, like some hot-house orchids, beautiful to look at but unable to stand the rigours of life, then it is undoubtedly bad.

You all know that people speak of the 'old school tie'. What does that mean? It usually means that the institution where you have studied has a distinctive quality which has left its mark on you. For example, you know that there are famous schools in England, and boys educated in them were considered to be very much better in every way than the other thousands of boys in the innumerable schools all over the country. The distinction, I am sure, lay in the fact that a very rich tradition or teaching plus a small number of boys on whom to concentrate made it possible to shape the lives of the students in rather an exacting fashion.

But you must know very well that most good things start well and then come to grief. The products of the famous schools of England very soon suffered from snobbery. Mind you, I am not suggesting that all but a few public school boys became snobs, the snob being a person who turns his nose up at other human beings because of some privileges of birth, education and wealth that he enjoys. What I want to emphasise is that the boy enjoying the special advantages associated with education in an expensive school is more open to the risk of becoming a snob than others studying in ordinary schools. I sincerely trust that though you are being educated at a school which may be regarded as the Indian counterpart of the public schools, I have in mind, every one of you will be able to avert this particular danger.

Whatever the countries from which the 230 students of St. Paul's come from, they are all citizens of free and independent lands and their parents and guardians have earned or are earning money only because their Governments are able to guarantee safety of life and property. These Governments are able to function mainly because taxes are realised from the people. We should, however, remember that however large the sum received from each wealthy man individually, the bulk of the revenue is contributed by the poorer classes.

When the struggle for political independence was being carried on in different Asian countries, it was easy to secure the support of all classes of people for a common object dear to all, namely, fighting the alien ruler. Now that the goal has been reached neither the peasant nor the industrial worker will remain content with the social systems and the economic conditions under which they had lived in pre-freedom days. The national movement is, if I may say so, not merely being closely pursued but is likely to be overtaken soon by a social revolt unless, of course, something is done to forestall it.

Communism is at our very door ready to take the leadership in this social revolt. It asserts that it alone stands for the people and the poor against the oppressor be he a foreign ruler, a native landlord or a native industrialist. What is alarming is that the claim of Communism to the leadership of this new movement has been accepted not only by peasants and artisans but also by many middle class intellectuals of the younger generation.

These people fail to realise that Communism can correct political, social and economic wrongs only through violence which, as experience has already shown, entails endless misery and suffering not only for the so-called exploiters but also for the exploited whose cause is sought to be championed by it. Our experience of the working of what are known as welfare states has shown that it is possible to achieve social justice through peaceful means and that what is called 'war' between the haves and the have-nots is avoidable under certain circumstances.

The countries from which you boys are drawn are pledged to democracy and the people in charge of administering them are trying their best to improve the condition of the poor people inhabiting them. I have no doubt that when you enter life, some of you at least will come to occupy positions of responsibility which will enable you to have some hand in shaping social policies in a more or less large way. See that you are faithful to the ideals you are learning here. But in addition to what is being done or will be done by Government, each one of us has a certain responsibility in showing the masses a way other than Communism out of the very difficult situation in which they undoubtedly find themselves.

Though today about 75 per cent of the students here are non-Christians, I am certain that all you boys I see before me are familiar with the story of the man who fell among thieves and was robbed of everything he had and who was succoured not by a fellow Jew but by a much despised Samaritan and how it was

the latter who is described as being his neighbour and behaving like one.

If we here wish to make our individual contribution to the war that is being carried on without any intermission against Communism, if we wish for the peace and prosperity not merely of our State, our country out of the world at large, each one of us, including you my young friends, has to do our bit in relieving the distress of our neighbours.

The very first word of Shrimat Bhagwat Gita is *dharma-kshetra* used in opposition to *kurukshetra* the battle-field where the armies of the Kurus and Pandavas were facing each other for what, for want of a better word, may be described as the final showdown. One commentator says that in its context this particular word carries the implication that life is a *kshetra*, a field, of *dharma*—a battlefield where good is arrayed against evil with victory for the former at the end of a long drawn out struggle. And Sri Krishna, the adviser of the Pandavas, who were fighting a righteous battle, told them the secret of success. Addressing their foremost warrior he said '*Uttishatha Parantapa*'—'Stand up O, Arjuna'. The Gita teaches not escapism or quietism but the gospel of work which, we should remember, is the message of every vital creed.

This gospel of work in reference to the removal of social injustice should be supplemented by the positive and constructive work of going out of our way to help the masses to improve their condition in every way. This will mean very hard work, the sacrifice of leisure and the giving away of wealth which we have earned through our own exertions and many other equally unpleasant things. No doubt we shall very often fail to live up to our ideals. But that should not discourage us. When we feel dismayed at our lack of success, let us remember what Confucius said many centuries ago—'Our greatest glory is not in never falling but in rising every time we fall.'

The thoughts I have placed before you have been exercising my mind for a long time and I thank the authorities of St. Paul's for giving me an opportunity of placing them before the public. I sincerely trust that I have not taxed the patience of my hearers too far.

ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

24th December, 1953

Dr. Katju, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Members of the Senate, Fellow Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

At the outset I would like to tell you that I do not intend to be academical or didactic in the usual conventional way in my Convocation address as your Chancellor. I wish to confide to you some of the thoughts and ideas which have been occurring to me as I ponder over the economic and cultural situation of our people, and I want to be frankly and freely practical in my approach to a consideration of the functions of a University in its present set-up in our country. I want to discuss with you, in fact, the relationship of the University to the body politic in a Welfare State which it is the aim of all true sons of the motherland to establish.

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It is noteworthy that as early as 1931, the Congress, at its historic session at Karachi, accepted the ideal of the Welfare State interpreting independence not merely as freedom from non-Indian rule but also in terms of economic and social betterment intelligible to the people. This definition of independence as construed by the Congress amounted practically to the realisation of a fundamental change which was slowly, if not always consciously, taking place in the concept of the functions of Government. As against the minimum unavoidable intervention in the normal life of the citizen necessitated by the exigencies of the situation as found in India in those days, when a foreign Government's principal concern was the preservation of 'law and order', the sponsors of this new ideal envisaged a gradually expanding interest in his welfare from infancy to old age.

When the Congress party with its ideals of freedom and progress took up the administration of the country in 1947, its leaders had to think seriously about doing something to redeem the pledges they had given to their countrymen, for confidence in their willingness and their competence to fulfil them had undoubtedly been mainly responsible for the public support which had sent them to office.

Shape was given to the Congress conception of freedom with the establishment, under our Constitution, of what we have called

'the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India'. A study of our Constitution makes it crystal clear that it envisages not merely the enjoyment of equal political status by the people at large but it also emphasises their right to social and economic justice. Included among these are the right of every citizen to work, to adequate wages and education, and to relief in case of sickness, undeserved unemployment and old age. This series of economic rights—and they are nothing else—makes it clear that India aims at gradually turning herself into a Welfare State and if these were included in the Directive Principles which, under our Constitution, are not enforceable by any court of law, it was only because it was realised that the burden would be too heavy for an infant State like ours to carry. Nonetheless, they are characterised in the Constitution as 'fundamental in the governance of the country'.

A beginning had to be made to secure this type of justice to the citizen and hence it was decided that we should evolve and implement a planned economy. Though this implies centralised control, our leaders, with such examples of it before them as Roosevelt's 'New Deal', Truman's 'Fair Deal' in the U.S.A. and the last Labour Government's measures in the United Kingdom for controlling industries of national importance, felt no apprehensions that it would lead to totalitarianism.

While our Five Year Plan for obvious reasons lays emphasis on agricultural and rural development, it is also equally concerned with development of natural resources, industry, labour, social services, public co-operation, rehabilitation of displaced persons, etc. A constructive programme of work, its primary object is to extend economic justice to the common man. To put it in a different way, it is an attempt to rebuild our national life on a new foundation, an experiment with a new way of living not well-known in our country in the past or, even, if known, never before practised on the scale we contemplate doing.

The most outstanding feature of democracy is its ability to throw up leaders ; and success in achieving the objectives of our Five-Year Plan is within our grasp if there is complete and sincere co-operation between the Government and the people which, as we are a democracy, must be voluntary. The common people who have to come forward can be expected to do so only if there is the right kind of leadership at all levels including even the villages.

It is therefore that we have based our democracy on adult franchise, which, to judge by our experience at the last general election, has functioned successfully. On this occasion, about 104 million Indian citizens cast their votes without any untoward

incident to mar its peacefulness or any well-grounded complaint against its fairness.

The voters have elected to the Central and State Legislatures men and women who, they are confident, will ensure to them the full enjoyment of their political, social and economic rights. And there is little doubt that if their representatives discharge their duty conscientiously, they will act as leaders at these levels. We have also to remember that the establishment of *Panchayets* as Local Self-Government units has resulted in the emergence of leaders at even the lowest levels of our corporate life.

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As observed previously, we have accepted the ideal of turning India into a Welfare State and the party now in office is pledged to it. And from what has already been done by it in this direction as well as from the plans it has made to improve the condition of the people, the legitimate inference one can draw is that it is determined to reach the goal it has set itself. If, unfortunately, there is any appreciable slackening in its efforts, it will have to reckon with the common man who is gradually coming to realise the power he enjoys and the influence he can exert on public affairs under democracy at all levels. The different steps taken so far have tended to improve his standard of living. But like the tiger which has once tasted blood, he will not be content with what little he has received but will continue to demand more and more from Government ; or it can be described in another way as the case of little Oliver 'asking for more'. If those in charge of the administration do not on their own initiative strive their hardest to give him more amenities, they will have to either do so under compulsion or to make way for others prepared to carry out the mandate of the people.

If what has been said just now is a correct assessment of the situation and, if indeed, the attainment of our ideal of turning India into a Welfare State will either be the result of a voluntary co-operative effort or forced on us by popular will, it is no less true that, with a gradual expansion in the beneficent activities of the State, there must be a corresponding increase in the number of leaders at all levels. From this it follows that we must from now on not only depend on the present agencies for creating leadership but also deliberately find out new ones to meet the larger needs of the future.

Herein comes the function of the University in a Welfare State.

There can be little doubt that, with necessary modifications and improvements in the Primary and Secondary systems of education, we may legitimately look forward to the emergence of leaders at the lower levels. A thought which has exercised my mind for quite some time is whether Universities in general and our *alma mater* in particular can make any contribution in this direction. The question is whether in addition to the inescapable and intrinsic duty of this University of ours in the matter of advancement and dissemination of pure learning, it cannot also take on itself the task of encouraging the emergence of leadership among its alumni.

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It is undeniable that one of the functions which Universities are expected to perform in a democratic society is to discover and train an intellectual *elite* drawn from all sections of the people which can assume a part, probably a large part, of the responsibility for providing leadership in all walks of life. As talent is not the monopoly of any particular religious, social or economic group, it follows that its search should be conducted over as wide an area as possible, that is to say, the benefits of a University education should be made available to as large a number as possible, as also that the doors of Universities should not be closed to talent because of its inability to meet the cost involved.

In the matter of democratising higher education we might remember that in this State as against a population of 25 millions, there were last year 11,162 students studying for the Bachelor's degree and 1,892 students studying for the Master's degree—total 13,054. There was thus one University student for every 1,923 souls in West Bengal.

Just before the Second World War, there were in Great Britain about 50,000 full-time University students in a population of 45 million, the proportion being one University student for every 900 men and women. It is understood that today the number of full-time University students has risen to 90,000, the proportion of University students to the population being 1 to 450. It also appears that in the United States of America one out of every 100 persons is a University student.

We not only lag far behind the U.S.A. and Great Britain in the matter of popularising higher education but we have such a limited number of courses of study that many of our talented young men and young women do not find adequate facilities for the kind of training for which they have an aptitude and which would benefit them and, through them, their country most.

Before proceeding further, it has to be stated here that however great our desire to popularise University education, neither India nor, for the matter of that, even the wealthiest country in the world can afford to provide necessary facilities at the disposal of everyone, fit and unfit, who seeks it. It has, therefore, been suggested that where the 'seats' are limited, they should be competed for. This has been objected to on the ground that open competitive examinations are not the ideal way of selection because what has been called 'examination nerves' handicap some, while efficient cramming assists those who are in a position to pay for it. As against this, it should be remembered that where the number of places is limited, this method of selection in spite of its drawbacks is probably superior from the standpoint of the interests of the country to one based exclusively or even largely on the financial standing of the parent or guardian.

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A criticism very often levelled against our *alma mater* is that it has encouraged the spread of higher education, without due regard for our actual requirements, in such a way that it has reached people not qualified to benefit from it. One of the undesirable results of this cheapening, so-called, of higher education, it is contended, has been that today we have on our hands very large numbers of unemployed and unemployable graduates. They are suffering from a sense of frustration and some at least among them are becoming trouble-makers and otherwise focal points for radiating discontent. It has therefore been held that the system of University education now in vogue is utterly worthless and that it is desirable to curtail existing facilities for higher education.

To my mind this problem has arisen mainly because our curricula are limited in number with the result that while we have large numbers of University men qualified to undertake successfully certain kinds of work, we have few or none qualified to engage in other kinds of work. The obvious remedy for this state of affairs is the framing of new courses of study which will enable our graduates to qualify themselves for new openings. Times have changed, and our University must take note of the different avenues of useful and lucrative employment which were unknown to its alumni two generations ago.

Hundreds of years ago, a great philosopher observed that any vital system of education must be planned in such a manner as to conform to the existing social structure. As society can

never be static, it follows that any living system of education must constantly adapt itself to changing conditions. To put it in a different way, we must try to instil new ideas and ideals into our system of education and give them a practical shape in accordance with the needs of the present times. It cannot be denied that, from this point of view, we are open to criticism.

It will be readily admitted that the two Western Countries referred to earlier are highly advanced, at least partly because of the spread of education in general and of higher education in particular among all social and economic groups. To suggest that Free India, which is planning to turn itself into a progressive country, has too much of University education is looking at things from the wrong angle.

Let us not forget that, in spite of many defects, this University, like its sisters, has, on the whole, a splendid record of service and achievement to its credit. It has spread light and learning among a section of the people and has produced many efficient and honest administrators as well as scholars, scientists, etc., who have achieved international reputation in their respective spheres of work. It has further been the training ground of leaders in many walks of our national life. I therefore maintain that though certain things may have to be dropped, there are many other things in the present system of higher education which, though old, will still be found useful with necessary modifications here and there. These must be supplemented, however, as already stated, by new courses of study to meet present day needs.

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It is obvious that higher education as a means of training future leaders of our country cannot always be placed within easy reach of the poor and talented youth by merely arranging to impart it to larger numbers and materially adding to existing courses of study. This by itself may lead to the exploitation of these facilities by such second or even third rate students as are in a position to meet the necessary expenses. Talented people have to be picked out and assisted so that when fully trained, they may be an asset to society and to the country.

Different countries have adopted different methods for discovering and training an intellectual *elite* drawn from every level of their society thus enabling poverty-stricken but gifted students to enjoy the advantages no less than the delights of a University education.

From a professor of a Scandanavian University who was

kind enough to call on me, I learnt that the prevalent method of assisting poor but promising students in his country was for the banks to advance them loans after proper investigation and subject to certain safeguards for repayment in case of death or deliberate dishonesty. The student is expected to repay his debt by the time he reaches middle age. The obvious criticism of this system, no doubt admirable in its way, is that it mortgages the future to meet the needs of the present.

In America, the method in vogue is for the student to 'work' his way through his University by earning money in some part-time job. One of my pupils got his Master's and after that his Doctor's degree in one of the State Universities by doing part-time work as a waiter and then as a canvasser of cosmetics and toilet articles, books and appliances for lessening the burden of running a household. I understand that there is an agency which, without charging any fee, recommends hundreds of students of the Harvard University as chauffeurs, house-cleaners, gardeners, etc. While admirable as a highly practical method of encouraging self-reliance, it cannot be denied that it robs the student of much of the time which he might otherwise have profitably spent on his studies.

Under the system adopted in the United Kingdom, a boy or a girl at about the age of 18 can win a scholarship to a University. Some of these scholarships are provided by the Universities themselves. In Oxford, Cambridge and London, they are provided by the colleges of the Universities. Others are provided by the State, the local education authorities and voluntary bodies and funds. The aggregate number of these scholarships, grants, etc., is very large and explains the high percentage of assisted students in the British Universities, meaning students who are able to enrol themselves as University students only because they are recipients of financial assistance in the shape of scholarships or grants and who would have been compelled to go without University education without it.

I was greatly interested to learn that the 13th century Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are not the 'aristocratic' preserves I had imagined them to be nor are their students mainly recruited from the upper classes of the United Kingdom. From a report for the academic year 1934-35, it appears that approximately 42 per cent of the students in the British Universities were 'assisted students'. What is still more noteworthy is that percentage of assisted students in the so-called aristocratic Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in that year was higher still, being 43·4.

In a recent pamphlet on British Universities written by Sir Ernest Barker who started life as a lecturer-tutor in History at Oxford, moved to London as Principal of King's College and ended as Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge, we find that by 1949, the percentage of assisted students was 68 for all the British Universities, while it was as high as 82 for the two supposedly most exclusive Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

In West Bengal today out of the 11,162 young people studying for the Bachelor's degree about 4 per cent are receiving either stipends or scholarships ranging in value from Rs. 20 to Rs. 6 per month, while out of 1,892 students studying for the Master's degree about 21 per cent. are enjoying stipends and scholarships ranging in value from Rs. 50 to Rs. 10 per month. These figures do not take into account stipends and scholarships set apart for students coming from the Anglo-Indian and the Muslim communities and those belonging to the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. It is only fair to add that there might be a few more scholarships or stipends or both which have not been taken into account, but they are not likely to make anything like a marked difference in the percentages given above.

When we look at these figures, the two things which call for comment are the meagre percentage of students benefited and the general paltriness of the amounts given as scholarships and stipends. It is a well-known fact that even where financial assistance is obtained from these sources, the poor student has to do a fairly large amount of private teaching work to meet his expenses. It cannot therefore be disputed that we require a very large increase in both the number and the amount of such scholarships and stipends.

We have to admit that we lag far behind progressive countries of the West in this direction as also that if we wish to reach the same heights that they have done, we should not hesitate to follow the example set by them. Here is an opportunity for those blessed with an abundance of wealth to contribute to the welfare and prosperity of our motherland by creating endowments, the income from which would help poverty-stricken talented young people to obtain University education and in time to develop into leaders.

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As matters stand at present, the influence of our Universities has been confined to an infinitesimal minority of the people

of this country and the vast majority has been left untouched. If and when the suggestions I have put forward are accepted and given effect to, as I am quite sure they will ultimately be, because of steadily increasing pressure by the public, the advantages of higher education will be reaped largely by the children and wards of those who appreciate its benefits and are prepared to undergo hardships to impart it to them. Even so, there will be little direct contact between the Universities and the masses of our people.

Whatever may have been the reasons for this state of affairs in the past, it cannot be allowed to remain so in the changed circumstances of our country and in view of the new requirements of our national life. Henceforth, our Universities must not remain content with educating a small number of people who come to them ; they must go out of their lecture halls and laboratories to bring the advantage and blessings of higher education to the millions of our countrymen and countrywomen who would not normally come to the Universities. Our Universities must play their role in the field of adult education ; they must take their share of the responsibility of educating the adult men and women in whose hands the destiny of our young democracy rests in a sense much more real and vital than many of us realise. In this connection I cannot help remembering the part that British Universities have played in the United Kingdom in this particular direction.

It was towards the close of the nineteenth century that various organisations were brought into existence in Britain with the primary object of enabling working men and women to read, write and cipher—a stage which we have not yet outgrown. As the movement went on from strength to strength and as its leaders came to realise the wide diffusion of talent among the taught, they thought of doing something to provide facilities for higher education for those having the requisite talent.

The first step was taken in this direction by the University of Cambridge which began to provide University Extension Lectures and Courses for popular audiences in 1873. London in 1876 and Oxford in 1878 followed suit and as the more modern British Universities, such as Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Reading, etc., came into being, they also made their contributions to the same end with the result that today every University has what is called an Extra-Mural Department or a Committee to organise extension work in the area from which it draws its students who, being employed in

or close to the locality where the University is situated, have to rely upon it for such facility for higher studies.

These Universities are not only carrying University lectures but also the very excellent University method of the tutorial class to adult students who, while owing allegiance thereto must, nonetheless, spend the major part of their energies in the business of earning their living.

The importance and magnitude of this work have come to be considered so great that today a problem these Universities have to face is how far they should expand it and, if they decide to do so, whether the task should be done through a special staff recruited for the purpose or whether they should rely upon their own ordinary general staff.

The increasing demand for this type of education may be inferred from the fact, that, whereas in the years immediately preceding the Second World War, the number of students taking organised courses in liberal adult education ranged from 50,000 to 60,000, according to a recent report of the British Ministry of Education, in the period 1949-51, it ranged from 1,50,000 to 1,60,000. This conclusively proves that, in the language of the Report, since the war 'a large new section of the adult population of Britain decided to devote a part of its leisure time to systematic self-education'.

Though a majority of the tutors are people who give their part-time services to this work, there is a growing body of teachers in the Universities who are whole-time workers in this particular field. As the importance of their work and that of the department to which they belong are being more generally recognised, their status is tending to approximate more closely to that of their colleagues on the general staff of the Universities, one proof of it being increases in their salaries granted from 1951.

The part played by the British Universities through the Extra-Mural Departments in adult education has indeed been remarkable and it constitutes a glorious chapter in the history of that country. The tutorial class movement set a pattern to all adult education efforts in Britain and provided for them high standards of achievement. This pattern and these standards have influenced the social, cultural and political life of the country to a very great extent.

Initiated originally for the moral and material improvement of the 'working classes' who had only a rudimentary kind of elementary education to serve as the basis of further education, the tutorial classes soon came to be sought as a means for social advancement no less than for the cultural value of the general

education they provided. People who could never go to the Universities would obtain through these classes a type of education which did not compare unfavourably with the type provided within the walls of the Universities. In fact, the tutorial classes have been rightly described as Universities outside their walls. They have been instrumental in diffusing the influence of University education far more widely than what the limited number of students taking internal courses in the Universities could ever hope to do.

The effect of all this on the social and cultural life of Britain has been remarkable. It has contributed in a large measure to the unification of English society and has enabled what for want of a better word I would call English culture to be much more broad-based than it had ever been before. Further, it has given a tone and a certain stability to English democracy and has otherwise made it a living reality.

Indeed, the tutorial class system came to England at a critical period of her history. By the middle of the nineteenth century, England had definitely and fully accepted the new pattern of an industrial civilisation. A new democracy was emerging. What England needed at this juncture of her national life was a cementing social process, an intellectual and spiritual leaven, which could give unity to her social structure, which could speed up the progress of democracy and which could raise the level of the culture of her people sufficiently to make democracy a living force. The tutorial class movement provided that cementing ingredient and that intellectual and spiritual leaven.

Today our needs are almost precisely those which the tutorial class movement sought to fulfil and fulfilled in the social, cultural and political life of England in the second half of the nineteenth century. India today is politically united. We have adopted a democratic constitution for our country. A well-planned programme of industrialisation is rapidly changing the face of our country and also the socio-economic structure of our life. New problems consequent on these active forces are emerging and, unless they are tackled from the beginning, may well disrupt our entire national life. For in spite of the achievement of some sort of political unity, our people are yet far from being socially and culturally unified. There is much of stratification both in our social and cultural growth and, equally, much lack of coherence. The general level of education and culture among our masses is so low that democracy cannot function effectively in this kind of rarefied atmosphere. Indeed

today we badly need a leaven and a cementing force, a leaven to raise the intellectual standards of our people without which their natural intelligence and culture must suffer from frustration, and a cementing force, which will hold them together, which will help us to remove the stratification that exists today and thus bring about the social and cultural integration of our people. When that happens, then only shall we be in a position to broad-base our political unity and establish a truly democratic social order.

That leaven, that force, I submit, should come from our Universities in the form of the tutorial class and University extension movement.

It will be argued that we are not yet ripe for a movement of that nature, that even if we start it, there will be no one to take advantage of it. In a way every movement comes ahead of its time and it comes not only to fulfil the demands that already exist but also to anticipate and create new demands. I am quite confident that if we start the tutorial class movement on the lines indicated above, there will be no dearth of people to take full advantage of it.

I am aware that because of the unhappy connection of University degrees with jobs in this country, most of our young people go to the Universities in search of degrees and not for the sake of education and culture. Happily there are indications that the existing unholy mésalliance of degrees with jobs will disappear before long because, in the near future, University qualifications will not, I understand, be required for most of the jobs. That is as it should be. In that case, I am quite sure there will be many people who will continue to seek higher education for its own sake and if there is provision for such education outside the walls of the Universities, there will be no dearth of people to take advantage of it.

Even as things are today, I do not see why, under certain conditions, particular types of tutorial courses should not lead to University degrees. Possession of knowledge as shown by the possession of degrees is an accepted avenue of social advancement and there is no reason why the avenue of extra-mural tutorial courses should be closed for such advancement to those who could not or who normally would not go to the Universities. Of course the whole thing will have to be properly planned and organised. The standards of higher education will also have to be properly safeguarded. Tutorial classes should not be an easy and cheap way of getting a University degree. I am sure that it is possible for our Universities to safeguard the interests of

higher education and yet offer adequate facilities for such education outside their walls through their extra-mural departments providing various types of tutorial classes and courses.

May I then conclude this part of my address by calling upon our Universities in general and our *alma mater* in particular to take up this challenge of our times, to extend their bounds beyond their walls so as to bestow the advantages of higher education to a much larger portion of our people than they do at present and thus help to lay a broad, strong and abiding foundation for this young democracy of ours?

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Fellow Graduates, the academic career ends with most of you today and probably you have already started thinking about earning your bread. While wishing each and everyone of you every success and happiness in your efforts to win prosperity, I feel it my duty to remind you that the education and training you have received and which will be very largely responsible for whatever success you achieve during the rest of your lives has come to you as a gift, for nearly 40 per cent of the expenses of educating you has been contributed by people who, themselves poor and ignorant, have done so without being aware of it.

Circumstanced as we are today, I am not quite sure whether these people would have willingly agreed to subsidise your University education, seeing that so many among them are practically shut out from the benefits of even elementary education. And if the education you have received, at least partly at their expense, is for the securing of personal ends only, a time may come when, with keener awareness of the failure of duty towards them on your part, your children and grand-children will no longer be permitted to enjoy the advantages we of the past and you of the present generation have been enjoying.

While I cannot say conscientiously that we of the older generation have always thought of our indebtedness to our countrymen in the way I am putting it to you, I would, for your own sake and for the sake of succeeding generations, ask you to regard your education not so much in the light of a spontaneous and cheerful gift as of a debt which it is your duty to discharge even though the lender is not in a position to enforce his rights in a court of law.

In view of the many difficulties which face the masses today, our major task is, in the first instance, to alleviate and, later on, to remove them. This can be done easily if we not only parti-

cipate in the work of national reconstruction but also arouse and release their latent enthusiasm. It is not everyone who is blessed abundantly with the good things of life and hence service of the masses through the giving away of wealth may not be possible for most of you. But even the poorest of the poor among those who aspire to leadership can spend some of his time and energy in relieving the distress we see everywhere round us. Only when through personal service we have won the confidence of the common man can we hope to rouse his enthusiasm and to secure his co-operation.

A temptation to which we are prone to succumb is that of assuming that, as leaders, our work ends with giving directions and passing orders to be carried out by those whom we wrongly regard as our inferiors. The true leader in this work of national reconstruction is he who will set an example to his co-workers whom he must regard as equal to himself in every way.

On one occasion a disciple of Shri Ramakrishna told his Guru how grieved he felt that, after spending his wealth and giving his labour, he had failed in doing any good to the people he had sought to serve. He was cross-examined by the Master as to the motives underlying his activities and had to admit that his desire to serve had been tainted by vanity and the itch to stand well in the opinion of the public. It was then that the Saint gave his advice in the form of a parable. Before an operation, the surgeon, said Shri Ramakrishna, disinfects his hands and also such instruments as he expects to use. Those who want to serve the masses must similarly drive out of themselves each and every selfish thought. As the extent of their work increases, they will find such delight in it that all selfish thoughts will disappear. This is a lesson which might be kept in mind by those desirous of participating in the work of national reconstruction.

At 78, I am old enough to know that it would be foolishness on my part to assume that everyone of the graduates I am appealing to will take up this task. I shall, however, feel quite happy if there is adequate response from even one of them. When very large numbers of his followers felt depressed by the apparent lack of success of their efforts, did not Gandhiji say 'Even a single lamp dispels the deepest darkness?'

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

28th December, 1953

I thank the organisers of the All-India Adult Education Conference for inviting me to inaugurate this Calcutta Session. I trust that when they thought of honouring me by extending this invitation, the consideration that weighed with them was not so much the office I occupy at present in this State as my long association with education here. I have been a teacher all through the active years of my life and the greatest honour my countrymen can do to me is to regard me always as a teacher.

Many a conference will be held during these winter months all over the country. It will perhaps be invidious to institute anything like an assessment in regard to their relative importance. Nonetheless, I cannot help feeling that at this juncture of our national life a conference of workers in the field of adult education must perhaps be regarded as one of supreme importance.

In India we have launched upon a very great experiment of transforming almost overnight a feudal country into a modern democratic state. Only the other day we held our general elections on adult franchise with an electorate numbering over 180 millions. From the point of view of population alone, it is certainly one of the most stupendous experiments in history in nation building. The success of this experiment will depend on how quickly and effectively we can educate this vast adult population to a democratic way of living for the very good reason that democracy postulates universal education, its implications being that every citizen must be able to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the state and fulfil his obligations and exercise his rights in a proper manner.

An illiterate electorate, it will be readily admitted, is totally inconsistent with the ideals of a democratic form of Government. 'Give the franchise to the ignorant and they will fall into anarchy today and despotism tomorrow' is a truly wise saying based not on *a priori* reasoning only but well confirmed by the experience of history. The danger is even greater today than at any time in the past owing to increasing and more effective media of mass communication which science and technology are bringing to the aid of propagandists and demagogues.

In the deplorable context of India's appalling mass illiteracy,

easily inferable from the fact that whereas the annual *per capita* consumption of paper is 350 pounds in the United States of America and 150 pounds in the United Kingdom, it is only *one pound* in India, there can be no two opinions about the desperate urgency of adult education. Our watch-word must therefore be, as it was in England after 1867, we must at all costs educate our masters. It, therefore, follows that when you are discussing adult education you are, as all must concede, discussing no less a matter than the future of our existence as a democratic state.

Wide and generous provision of adult education is much more than an act of mere statesmanship. It is, in fact, our moral obligation to the common man which we must discharge. Education is no longer the close preserve of the priviledged few or a grudging gift to the humble and the low. Today it constitutes a basic human right affirmed by the United Nations Declaration of 1948. Article 26 of Human Rights which enunciates in clear terms every man's right to education is the least contested of all the articles and was adopted by the nations with almost complete unanimity.

To educate the teeming illiterate millions of our country is no doubt a stupendous task—stupendous not so much because of the vastness of our adult population as because it comprises people of all ages, of all degrees of ability, and of varied means, interests and aptitudes. But however vast and baffling the task, it has to be accomplished, and accomplished as expeditiously as practicable.

Since the attainment of independence, Government's attention has been increasingly directed to this problem. Community Development Projects which represent an all-out effort towards the improvement of village society have laid due stress on social education as a powerful engine of social progress. But whatever may have been achieved is meagre compared to what we need to achieve. One State may have gone a little further ahead of another but, on an over-all view, I do not think we can claim to have more than touched the fringe of our vast problem.

We must plan boldly and comprehensively in this regard and must also put our plans into practice with the utmost vigour and energy. In this supreme national task, Governments, Local Bodies, Universities, Educational Associations as well as individuals must take their due share of responsibility and play their proper part. We can advance far if we all march together. Were it possible to organise and employ to this end the services of the large number of our students in schools, colleges and Universities, very substantial progress could surely be expected.

It will not be a day too soon for the State Education Departments, Universities and other appropriate bodies to give serious consideration to this proposition and to formulate practical schemes to this end.

In the progressive countries of the world compulsory primary education has been in vogue long enough to eliminate practically the problem of adult illiteracy. The problem there is to secure for persons over compulsory school age further education and also leisure-time occupation in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements. In our country, however, the problem at the first glance seems far different. For, the initial task that faces us is to make illiterate adults literate and to ensure, by continuous education, that they do not relapse into illiteracy.

Literacy, however, is not an end in itself. It is not enough to be able to read, write, and add up figures. It has been rightly observed that 'men who have merely been taught to read, to write and to count may only be better slaves, and it is probably still more difficult to protect man from half-education than from ignorance'.

Literacy must therefore be the means, which it can very well be, to the achievement of the end, that is, complete education of the man. Secondly it is common experience that the average adult seldom feels attracted to the belated course of adult education unless he feels assured of material gain therefrom or unless it is otherwise made sufficiently attractive for him. The problem, therefore, is to link the literacy campaign and its follow-up with the real needs and interest of the individual and the community.

Thus, in the last analysis, our *modus operandi* is not likely to be, in its broad essentials, fundamentally different from what is followed in advanced countries. It must, however, be flexible enough for adaptation to local needs. We must also constantly plan and experiment to work out the form, the content, and the medium of this education in each locality. But we must not make the mistake of foisting upon a town or village community a complete pre-fabricated plan. As far as possible the organisation must grow from within and according to ideas emanating from the people themselves.

As I see it, the basic assumption in adult education must be respect for the adult as an individual. Here the emphasis is on the words 'respect' and 'individual'. Any one engaged in this work who thinks himself to be a Prometheus capable of kindling the light of knowledge in men's minds will, if he keeps

his eyes and ears open, realise his mistake very soon. Every human being has a certain amount of self-respect and the existing conditions of life lie thick and heavy on him. Very frequently this self-respect is menaced by aggressive social reformers who consider men's minds to be so much plastic material to be moulded into any shape they like, or to change the metaphor, who thinks that education is something like gardening where the seedlings are first spaced out and flower beds are then made to the order and pattern of the gardener. This is not so, for the supreme quality of the human mind is that it has the potentiality for reflection, thought and considered action in the light of experience. It is amenable to training but only up to a degree of discrimination. It is towards the development of this discrimination that all workers in the adult education field should strive.

I know that this problem in our country is beset with a number of difficulties, but whatever the technique we decide upon, the basic assumption should be that we are building up human personality. Today we find that the country is resounding with the communal ego, the provincial ego as against the national ego. While in the world at large the national ego seeks everywhere to submerge the concept of *homo sapiens*, the duty of the adult educationist is to see that mankind is rescued from this sorry plight to enable it build a really civilised world.

From this point of view, an adult education organisation should, besides serving the educational needs of the area, act as its 'power house and festival centre.' It should be the mainspring of all community enterprises and the hub of its cultural and recreational activities. A centre of this kind which provides a meeting place for all men, women and children on terms of perfect equality, promotes not only every individual's material and moral well-being but, above all, teaches him to co-operate with his fellow-men in an atmosphere of peace and harmony besides constantly encouraging him to contribute his mite to the collective good of the people.

I do not think I should go further into detail and anticipate your discussions. But before I close I think it may not altogether be out of place to make a brief reference to what is being done in this particular sphere in our State of West Bengal.

The West Bengal adult education scheme now under operation was adopted on the recommendation of the Adult Education Committee which Government had set up in 1948. It has a three-fold objective, namely, removal of adult illiteracy, retention and stabilisation of the newly-acquired literacy through

post-literacy extension service, and dissemination of social and cultural education through various mass-media. Over 1,500 literacy education units are now at work in different parts of the State mostly in the rural areas with an annual intake of about a lakh of adult men and women. Attempts are being made to extend the scope of literacy instruction by introducing interesting cultural and recreational programmes. The ultimate object is to convert adult education units into lively Community Centres. Already a start has been made in this direction by establishing seven full-fledged community recreational centres, the activities of which are intended to stem the increasing tempo of social tension and disintegration and to restore cohesion and harmony in the life of the community.

The State adult education scheme also attempts at reviving the indigenous and traditional modes of mass edification, such as *yatra, kirtan, kathakata* and other forms of folk entertainment and reorientating them in the light of present-day needs. Modern audio-visual aids—the film and the radio in particular—are being used for promoting education amongst the masses. The public libraries, of which there are over 1,500 in this State, are being gradually given the benefits of Government grants for the purpose of improving and strengthening their services.

Training in constructive leadership and practical social welfare service is being imparted to youths in especially organised open-air work camps. Five youth hostels designed to provide facilities for hiking and mountaineering have been established in the hills of Darjeeling and in the forest areas of Jalpaiguri district.

A People's College has been established with the object of training village-level workers, on whom really rests the onus of successfully carrying out the programme of adult education in the countryside.

Many vital questions relating to adult education must come up for consideration at this conference of adult educators. I have no doubt you will analyse them with clarity and effectiveness. But however much you may 'soar' or 'dive' in your discussions, I once more appeal to you to be realistic. If I may say so, I want you to give us concrete programmes capable of application to our present needs. An ounce of practical wisdom from you will be worth more than a ton of fine theory, of which perhaps there is no dearth at the present moment.

Again, however practical your programme, to my mind an essential condition of its success is to rouse public consciousness and interest regarding it. It is for an all-India organisation like

the Indian Adult Education Association to assume this responsibility increasingly and to bring about a heightened awareness of the value of adult education.

I feel confident that under the able leadership of this Conference, adult education may very well develop into a first class national movement, contributing in no small measure to the success of the present or any other scheme hereafter embarked upon by Government.

I feel equally confident that once education is made accessible to all and the potentialities inherent in the common man brought out and developed, India will not only have her place assured among the democratic nations of the world, but with her ancient traditions and culture, will also make notable contributions to human civilization and culture.

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ANNUAL GENERAL CONVOCATION OF THE BENGAL TEXTILE INSTITUTE, SERAMPORE

27th March, 1954

Clothing forms one of the fundamental necessities of civilised existence. The fibre most commonly used for this purpose in ancient India was cotton which is indigenous to this country. It is, therefore, not at all astonishing that the history of the cultivation, spinning, weaving and dyeing of cotton should be as old as Indian civilisation itself. The earliest reference to this fibre is found in the Rig Veda supposed to have been written between 4000 and 1200 B.C. In the laws of Manu believed to have been written about 800 B.C. it is stated that the sacrificial threads of the Brahmins were made of cotton.

This internal evidence is fully corroborated by evidence from external sources. For instance, Herodotus, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ, wrote about India,—'They possess likewise a kind of plant which, instead of fruit, produces wool of a finer and better quality than that of sheep ; of this the Indians make their cloths.' There were many other references in the writings of ancient authors which leave no room for doubt regarding the great antiquity of cotton in India.

Fortunately, some interesting direct evidence has recently become available on this point. Most of us are no doubt aware of the archaeological excavations at Mohanjo-daro in the valley of the Indus. These excavations have brought to light the remains of three cities containing a vast mass of very valuable information regarding the ancient Indus valley civilisation. In these excavations a small piece of cotton cloth was found adhering to the lid of a small silver vase in association with gold jewellery. A dyed piece of cotton thread was also found in these excavations.

After carefully considering all the available archaeological evidence, Sir John Marshall has assigned the period 3300 B.C. to 2700 B.C. to these cities. This striking piece of direct evidence has fully proved the existence of the cotton spinning, weaving and dyeing industry in India about 5,000 years ago.

From the very earliest times, Indian cotton goods enjoyed an enviable reputation in many foreign countries such as Arabia and the Middle East, Burma and the Far East and the eastern coast of Africa. The available evidence goes to show that India

enjoyed practical monopoly in the production and export of cotton goods up to about 1500 A.D.

This brings us to the question of Dacca muslins of which all of us have heard so much. They were known to the ancient Greeks under the name *Gangitiki* which points to the banks of the river Ganges as the source of their origin. These were the most delicate fabrics made in India, an ancient test of which was for a piece to be drawn through a finger ring. In our literature many references are to be found which leave no room for doubt as to the incredibly fine texture of the muslins. They were, in fact, objects of wonder to the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, the generation of craftsmen who made Dacca famous for its muslins has practically disappeared and so has the practical variety of cotton from which muslins were made. There is no cotton grown in the world at the present time which is fine enough for the production of muslins.

The East India Company first began to export Indian cotton and silk goods to England in 1601. This trade grew rapidly. Even in the eighteenth century the weavers of Blackburn and Bolton imported large quantities of Indian yarn because of its superior quality.

In the meantime, public opinion in England against the policy of permitting such imports steadily grew in volume until parliament was obliged to pass legislation prohibiting the entry of such goods into the country. In fact, two Acts were passed for this purpose—one in 1700 and the other in 1721.

But this was not the only reason for the decline of the Indian cotton industry during the eighteenth century. During this period, certain mechanical inventions destined to revolutionize the cotton industry of the whole world were made in England. Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton and Cartwright amongst others, perfected the modern spinning frame and the power loom during the latter half of the eighteenth century. As a result of this, the production of cotton goods in England greatly increased. In consequence the whole position in relation to India became completely reversed. Instead of being a supplier of finished goods to England, she became merely an exporter of raw materials.

We shall now examine the present position of the cotton industry of India. This is divided into two sections, namely, the handloom industry and the mill industry. We shall consider the position of the hand weaving industry first.

According to the estimate of the Fact-Finding Committee, pre-partition India contained about 20 lakhs of handlooms. According to the same authority each loom requires one full-time

and one and a half part-time workers. On this basis, the total number of full-time and part-time workers required for working these 20 lakhs of looms is 50 lakhs. From these figures it will be obvious that as a means of providing employment particularly in the rural areas—no other industry can compare with the handloom industry. In fact, it may, perhaps, be said without any fear of contradiction that the handloom industry provides more employment than all the other organised industries put together.

Some people may have doubts regarding the future of this industry. The facts before us do not, however, justify pessimism. On the contrary, they conclusively establish the inherent strength and amazing vitality of the handloom industry. As a matter of fact, between 1918 and 1938, the production of handlooms increased by 91 per cent in the face of keen competition from mills. This should set at rest most, if not all, doubts regarding the viability of the handloom industry. There is absolutely no reason to believe that it is a dying industry.

We shall now pass on to a consideration of the Indian Cotton Mill Industry. One may look at it from whatever angle one likes—from the point of view of the number of persons employed, the amount of capital invested or the total value of the output. From everyone of these points of view it will be found to be the foremost organised industry of India.

Bombay is now the main seat of the cotton industry. But she was not the first province to have a cotton mill. This honour goes to Bengal where the first cotton mill was started through British enterprise in or about 1832 at a place near Calcutta, then known as Fort Gloster Estate. This mill is still working under the name 'Bowreah Cotton Mills'. Unfortunately, Bengal has not been able to maintain this lead.

The Indian Union has got 445 cotton mills employing four and a quarter lakhs of people. In 1951, they produced over 400 crores of yards of cloth which is record output since the partition of India. During 1950-51, the export of yarn and cloth also reached record figures, thereby earning a considerable volume of foreign exchange.

Let us now consider the position of the textile industry of West Bengal. This is divided into many sections such as jute, cotton, silk, wool, rayon, flax, hosiery, belting, etc. As a matter of fact, of all the States of the Indian Union, West Bengal has got the most highly diversified textile industry.

As the production of jute was practically the monopoly of undivided Bengal, it is no wonder that the jute industry forms the most important branch of the textile industry of West

Bengal. She now contains about 100 jute mills employing about three lakhs of people.

It is not generally known that there was a time when hand-spinning and weavig of jute used to be a thriving cottage industry all over the jute growing districts of Bengal. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, home-made jute cloth was the common wearing apparel of the people of North Bengal.

Dr. Forbes Royle writing in 1855 quotes the following vivid description of the indigenous industry as it existed about a hundred years ago from Henley, an intelligent merchant from Calcutta.

> But the great trade and principal employ of jute is for the manufacture of gunny *chuts* or *chuttees,* i.e., lengths suitable for making bags. This industry forms the grand domestic manufacture of all the populous eastern districts of lower Bengal. It pervades all classes and penetrates into every household. Men, women and children find occupation therein. Boatmen in their spare moments, husbandmen, palankeen-carriers and domestic servants ; everybody in fact, being Hindoos—for Mussalmans spin cotton only—pass their leisure moments, distaff in hand, spinning gunny twist. Its preparation, together with the weaving into lengths, forms the never-failing resource of that most humble, patient and despised of created beings—the Hindoo widow—saved by law from the pile, but condemned by opinion and custom for the remainder of her days, literally to sack-cloth and ashes, and the lowest domestic drudgery in the very household where once, perhaps, her will was law. This manufacture spares her from being a charge on her family—she can always earn her bread.

Like the first cotton mill, the first jute mill to be started in India was also established in Bengal. As a matter of fact, this mill was started at Rishra, which is contiguous to Serampore, in 1855 by one George Ackland with the financial assistance of a Bengalee gentleman named Bysumber Sen.

D. R. Wallace writing in 1909 gives the following interesting description of this remarkable man and how he came to Serampore.

> George Ackland began his career in the Navy. Quitting the East India Marine Service, he took to coffee planting in Ceylon, where he amassed a large fortune and was for some time a non-official member of the Legislative Council. In the early fifties of the last century, misfortune stepped in. Leaving Ceylon with the remnant of his fortune, he

arrived in Calcutta in 1852-53, where he made the acquaintance of Baboo Bysumber Sen, a native banion, gravitating to Serampore, at which place, by the way, there was then a boat ferry across to Barrackpore connecting the Calcutta side with the Grand Trunk Road to Delhi for all manner of passenger and goods traffic.

This important station, Serampore, was, and had been long before the English took over the Settlement from the Danes in 1845, under whose rule it was known as Fredericksnagar, a noted centre of the native industry in hand-spun jute and san-hemp. It may be noted in passing that Cobbler Carey, of ever-blessed memory, who established the Baptist Mission there at the beginning of the last century, found employment for families of the mission converts in the local industry, which was in full swing when Ackland appeared. But what first drew him to the district was the experiments then being tried with country grasses and fibre plants to improve the quality of paper and cheapen manufacturing costs at the paper mill established by John Marshman, son of the missionary who worked with Carey. This was the first paper mill erected in India.

The mill established by Ackland passed through many vicissitudes. But it is still working under the name 'Wellington Mills'.

Besides being the home of the first jute mill, Serampore is also famous for its belting mills. It is a curious fact that no belting factories have so far been started anywhere outside the area. About half a dozen belting factories in and around Serampore cater for the demand for belting of the whole of India.

Recently a flax mill has been started at Rishra near Serampore. This is the first and only flax mill in India.

So far as the cotton mill industry of West Bengal is concerned, she has now got 33 mills employing about 20,000 hands. As this State is not yet self-sufficient in respect of cotton piece goods and yarn, the stepping up of the production of the existing mills is desirable. There is also room for the starting of new ones.

Another industry which is of considerable importance to West Bengal is her hosiery industry. This branch of textile industry owes its inception to the enterprise of a Bengalee gentleman named Annada Prosad Mukherji. The first hosiery mill to be established in India was started by him at Kidderpore in 1892. Since then, the industry has made rapid strides. West Bengal at present contains about 400 hosiery mills employing

about 10,000 workers. Some of these factories are small and work on the cottage industry basis.

In addition to the above, West Bengal has also got some silk, rayon and woollen mills. The weaving of most of the common textile fibre is also done on handlooms.

From the above brief description it will be seen that the part played by Bengal in the development of the textile industry of India is not insignificant. Besides being the home of the first cotton mill, the first jute mill, the first belting mill, the first hosiery mill and the first flax mill, she has an organised industry based on the utilisation of practically all the important textile fibres. The importance of this industry to the economy of West Bengal cannot be over-emphasised.

It may be pointed out here that West Bengal as at present constituted, is one of the smallest of the States of the Indian Union with, perhaps, the highest density of population. The rapid development of her industries is therefore of vital importance to her in view of her unemployment problem.

The continued prosperity of the textile industry of West Bengal is not only essential to the economy of this State but it is also of considerable importance to the Indian Union as jute manufacturers happen to be one of our best dollar earners.

An industry of the magnitude and importance of the textile industry naturally requires technically trained personnel of different categories to run it. This Institute owes its origin to the recommendation of a Committee appointed by the Government soon after the starting of the anti-partition agitation in Bengal in 1905. It was established in 1908 under the name of 'Government Weaving Institute' with the limited objective of imparting technical instruction in the best and latest methods of hand-weaving.

At the beginning the higher course extended over two years. In 1918, the subject of dyeing was added to the curriculum and a three years' Diploma Course started. The Institute was honoured by the visit of Mahatma Gandhi in 1925. In the following year, the Women's Section, situated in separate premises, became attached to it. This section is probably the pioneer in giving industrial training to the women of Bengal.

During the first twenty years of its existence, the Institute was also responsible for the organisation and supervision of more than forty District and Peripatetic Weaving Schools and Demonstration parties throughout Bengal. As this Institute was the first of its kind in the whole of northern India, students from other provinces also came to study here, many of them with stipends

from their respective Governments. It is also believed that the Governments of several provinces in India have largely followed the scheme introduced by this Institute for the development of their own hand-weaving industry.

The Institute had all along been housed in rented buildings which naturally put a limit to the possibilities of its expansion. To remove these difficulties, the present site was acquired by the Government and the existing buildings erected between 1928 and 1930. They were actually occupied towards the end of 1930.

Up to this time the Institute was mainly concerned with the handloom industry. In 1934, the need for equipping it with modern power-driven machinery became apparent. The Government also recognised this necessity and allotted funds for this purpose from 1935 onwards. The next five years saw rapid development in all the departments of the Institute.

During this period electrically driven machinery were installed in the Cotton and Jute Weaving Sections and also in the Dyeing, Bleaching and Finishing Departmets. The Dyeing and Printing, the Chemical and Testing laboratories were re-equipped and two research sections, namely, the Dyeing Research and the Handloom Research Sections, started. In recognition of the enlarged scope of the activities of the Institute, its name was changed to 'Bengal Textile Institute' by the Government in 1939.

During the period of the second World War, the normal development of the Institute had to be kept in abeyance and all its existing resources utilised for war work. Some of the techniques developed by the Handloom Research Section were found to be of great value in connection with the production of hand-woven goods for the Supply Department. The Dyeing Research Section worked on indigenous vegetable colouring matters and a method for the production of vegetable khaki was worked out. These results have already been published in the form of two bulletins.

While the development of the Institute was going forward at a rapid pace, it was felt that the time had arrived for the raising of the standard of instruction by the introduction of a Degree Course. A scheme was therefore prepared in collaboration with the Bengal Mill Owners Association in 1941. This scheme could not be given effect to due to the World War. But it has since been revived and its implementation in stages is now under the consideration of Government.

The holding of the first Convocation at this Institute last year is a landmark in the history of its development. Let us

hope that this will also mark the beginning of another period of active growth and development in every direction.

One of the most important problems that faces the technical graduates as he passes out of the College is the question of employment. The main parties concerned in this matter are the employer and the prospective employee.

It is worth while remembering in this connection that, under normal conditions of trade, the textile industry is run on a highly competitive basis. In this race, there is no resting on one's oars. One must either go forward or go under. In order to survive, each mill must therefore pay the maximum attention to the question of efficiency of production. It is now fully recognised that a high standard of efficiency can be maintained only with the help of highly trained technical staff. If the majority of our industrial employers could be converted to this view, then there would be no difficulty in finding employment for our technical graduates.

Our young men, on their part, should be fully alive to their future responsibilities. The students of this Institute are preparing for an industrial career which means a life of discipline. As the technical personnel are responsible for enforcing discipline among the other staff, it goes without saying that they should themselves be well disciplined. If, therefore, they get accustomed to discipline during their stay at the Institute there will be less chances of their proving misfits later on.

These are days of severe competition. Our trained men must be able to hold their own against the products of other institutions. They can succeed only if they work hard during their student days to equip themselves with the knowledge that will be required to earn their livelihood. By doing so, they will not only benefit themselves but will also help to raise the status of their *alma mater* in the estimation of the people at large.

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INAUGURATION OF THE XVIII MONTESSORI TRAINING COURSE

(Under the auspices of the Association Montessori Internationale)

9th March, 1954

This training in Montessori Course which I have been asked to inaugurate today is the 18th of its kind in India and the first in Calcutta under the auspices of the Association Montessori Internationale.

We are all familiar with the name of Montessori but few of us have first-hand knowledge of the details of her method and still fewer know that she started her career as an Assistant Doctor in the Mental Clinic in the University of Rome. She was born in Italy in 1870 and was the first woman to take a medical degree in Rome and this at a time when women were debarred from attending lectures in the University. In her capacity as Assistant Doctor in the Mental Clinic, she had occasion to frequent the asylum, to study sick people for purposes of clinical teaching and thus became interested in deficient children.

Dr. Montessori claimed that the question of the defectives was one of pedagogy rather than of medicine and it was at the Educational Conference of Turin in 1898 that she raised this question—the question of the moral education of mentally defective children. The Minister of Education, who was also her teacher, was interested and she was appointed to deliver a course of lectures on the education of mentally defective children for the teachers of the elementary schools in Rome.

Later a Pedagogical Institute was established for the education of idiots and mentally defective children where Madame Montessori carried out an experiment with these children. Into this Institute she also admitted those children who lived abandoned in the streets because, on account of their mental deficiency, they had not been permitted to join the public schools. For two years she dedicated herself to the education of defective children. She was with them from early morning till late evening not as a physician conducting an experiment but as a real teacher. This was the beginning of her interest in education. She says,—'Nothing in fact is so fascinating as to attend the mental awakening of these children who are enslaved by their own inferiority, to witness the happiness that comes to them through every activity in which the hand becomes capable

of achieving something. It is really *man* arising from death to the joy of living.' She found that not only did the pupils learn something but there was an awakening of the personality.

Madame Montessori had remarkable success with her methods with defective children. They made such wonderful progress that they were competing successfully in examinations with normal children from public schools. Whilst everyone was admiring the progress her defectives had made, she was thinking of the reasons which might have reduced the healthy, happy pupils of the ordinary schools to a level as low as that capable of being reached in tests of intelligence by her defective children. It was only later that it struck her that her methods could perhaps be applied with success in infant schools. She argued that little children are like defectives as they are also impossible to educate and inaccessible to teaching not, of course, because they are defectives which they are not always, but because they have not reached a high enough level of maturity. Backward children are judged as being mentally children whose mentality closely resembles that of normal children some years younger, *i.e.*, in technical terms, their mental age is below their chronological age. Hence the comparison was not illogical. This was a significant concluson of Madame Montessori and it led eventually to the evolving of a method in education known popularly as the Montessori Method.

Dr. Montessori started her experiments in the schools known as the "Children's House", in the tenements of Rome with the little children of the tenements who were under school age, *i.e.*, were between 3 and 6 years of age. The first school of this type was opened on the 6th January 1907. It was here that she first made her series of experiments, from the scientific point of view, with children from very poor homes and evolved new methods, for the education of young children, which have become so famous today.

Tiny children are much more intelligent than people are apt to suppose. We all know from our personal experience how quickly a child absorbs from his environment. By the time he is 2, he has learnt to recognise all the persons and things in his environment. The child has also learnt, within this period, the language his parents and people around him speak. Learning a language is a great intellectual acquisition and yet without any trouble at all a language or even languages are learnt by the child by the time he is 2. He knows to perfection the names of things, he knows the verbs, the adjectives, the pronouns, the adverbs, etc.

This is a marvellous phenomenon and any one, who has studied this process of learning in a child, will find that he has a particular time-table and has followed faithfully a severe syllabus imposed on him by nature with such exactitude that even the best school would suffer in comparison. By the time he is 3, he has learnt much more than any school can teach him in that period. It is this fact that lies at the root of Montessori's method. She says,—'Within a child there is a very scrupulous teacher. It is he who achieves these results in every child, no matter in what region he is found.'

The child is therefore endowed by nature with an ability to absorb from his environment and this ability to absorb is in every human being and if it does not work as it should, it is because it has been dulled in the school. The duty of the educator is to so prepare the environment as to enable the power to absorb to function properly. When this is achieved, learning becomes not a fatigue but a pleasure, not an effort but a natural consequence, not something to be disliked but something to be looked forward to. Education is therefore not what the teacher gives but a natural process spontaneously carried out by the human individual . It is not acquired by listening but by experiences acquired from the environment. The task of the teacher is not to talk but to so prepare the environment as to make learning easy.

Dr. Montessori realised that much of children's play is really a series of earnest and laborious physical experiments. From this point of view, play can be justifiably described as work. If we watch a small child of 3, we shall find that he is always playing with something. This means he is elaborating with his hands and putting into his consciousness what his unconscious mind had taken in before. This is education through the hands which are the instruments of human intelligence. This is the activity principle in learning, a very important principle in education, which has world-wide recognition today. It is also at the root of the Basic Education conceived by our great national leader—Mahatma Gandhi.

The Montessori system is thus a system of education in which opportunities for varied activities of everyday life have to be provided through different kinds of materials and the child left not only to choose for himself what he would like to do but also to learn by making mistakes. It recognises the right and capacity of the child to teach himself with the minimum of interference from the teacher. The teacher merely looks on as a spectator and steps in to help only when required to do so.

It is often feared that, in a class of 20 or 30, where each child is free to do what he pleases, as and when he pleases, there may be chaos and disorder and complete lack of discipline. This apprehension is unfounded and based on a false sense of discipline. With freedom and activity, there is order and not anarchy, as popularly assumed. Discipline is an active state of things and cannot be imposed in a direct manner from without. It comes from within by an indirect route by developing activity in spontaneous work. Every individual learns how to control himself through his own efforts. We know when a child has become deeply interested in a piece of work. His face shows it by its expression, and he, by his air of concentration and devotion. He has then entered upon the path of discipline and this discipline which he gradually acquires from within, through various activities, soon becomes part of his very being and the child develops into a disciplined man.

The Montessori system is based on principles and facts which are true of all children, irrespective of race, caste, colour or creed. Our ideas on school and education have undergone a revolutionary change since the last century. Education does not imply any longer the acquiring of knowledge only, nor is the school looked upon today as the centre merely for instruction. It has a much more real and basic function to perform today. Education must enable the individual to fit into his environment by developing to the full the potentialities of every child and the school today cannot be a place set apart for learning lessons only. It is a place where the personality of the child is helped to develop. We must remember that personalities to be effective in action, must be bred and tested in the medium of action and it is for the school to provide that medium. Madame Montessori realised this and based her whole system on it. Education goes on from birth and it is the first few years of a child's life which are most important and should be taken advantage of. Hence the need for infant schools and this method may be profitably carried into primary and secondary schools adapted, naturally enough, to the needs and the requirements of the educated.

Let us pause here to consider what the real contribution of Madame Montessori has been to the cause of education. I have already pointed out how she has laid stress on the fact that education does not imply the imparting of knowledge only, but consideration of and reverence for personality. She transformed the school to suit the child. She also discovered new teaching methods suitable to the growing needs of the child—physiological, intelluctual and psychological. She laid special emphasis on

the environment of the child as an important element in his education and produced her own materials for the purpose. She established beyond doubt that, along with the teacher, there are many objects which co-operate in the education of the child not as aids for the teacher but as aids for the child who, to quote Dr. Montessori, 'chooses them himself, takes possession of them, uses them and employs himself with them according to his own tendencies and needs and just as long as he is interested in them'. The objects therefore are not to be used by the teacher for 'object lessons' of the old style but as means of development. The teacher is merely the connecting link between the child and the objects. She has to explain the use of the objects to the child and the work of education is divided between the teacher and the environment. Dr. Montessori contemplated a new type of teacher who has many functions to fulfil. Her role is that of the guardian and the custodian of the environment through which she will educate.

Dr. Montessori has evolved a method of her own based on the child's power of absorbing from his environment. There is therefore no doubt that the Montessori system of education is based on sound principles. Hence the importance of this training course which I am inaugurating today. It is a great opportunity for those who are interested in developing education along proper lines. It will be seen from the prospectus that the syllabus to be covered in course of the training is divided into three sections—child psychology, the theory of the Montessori Method and demonstration and explanation of the Montessori apparatus. The syllabus, it may be said, has been drawn up scientifically on true Montessori lines. A new type of teacher will have to be the outcome of this training. She must acquire a moral alertness—'a mingling of calm, patience, love and humility', to quote Dr. Montessori. She must develop a new outlook and know exactly what her role as a teacher is. The success of the Montessori method lies with the teacher and hence the need of this training course. If the trainees can be convinced of the efficacy of the methods, they will certainly be transformed into effective Montessori teachers.

To those who will be attending this course and who, I hope, will be new initiates into the Montessori system, I would like to give one piece of advice and that is not to forget that the Montessori method does not end with infants and children between 3 and 6. It is only the beginning of the method and, as Dr. Montessori herself has said, will be equally effective in all stages of education. I would also ask them to remember that

the method as evolved by Dr. Montessori is by no means the last word on the subject nor the apparatuses designed by her the only ones suitable for use. It is her principles which must be remembered. This is why there is need for the study of child psychology. Her apparatuses also may be modified according to resources to suit individual circumstances. In the course of the training, they will study her methods and apparatuses but they must concentrate on the principles which lie behind the discovery of her methods and the invention of her apparatuses. Both were born out of her experiments and experiments can never cease.

To the sponsors of this Training Course and to those who will be imparting the training I would like to say one thing only. If during this training period, they are able to produce an environment for the trainees which will quicken and sharpen their intuition, then the training will be truly Montessorian in character and 'the intuition and awakened interest will be able to follow a new path of progress' as envisaged by Dr. Montessori.

CENTENARY OF THE KRISHNATH COLLEGE AND SCHOOL, BERHAMPORE.

14th March, 1954

Maharajkumar, Sir Jadunath, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a pleasure for me to associate myself with the Centenary celebration of one of the oldest educational institutions of West Bengal. I am not a stranger to this institution. I visited it on several occasions in different capacities. Even last year, I attended the Inter-Collegiate debate held here under the auspices of this College, and I am sorry I missed this interesting performance yesterday because business of a different kind detained me in Calcutta. In welcoming me the Maharajkumar has really welcomed a very old friend of the College and of his distinguished family.

While welcoming Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the Maharajkumar has referred to the fact that I was his pupil more than six decades ago. That is one of the proudest and most cherished memories of a fairly long life. In those days the fascination of unravelling the mysteries of history had not yet commenced to pull him away from literature. He was then a teacher of English though in later years, he became our foremost teacher of history. If I may say so, his wide reading in literature broadened his vision and his mastery of literary criticism made him the greatest critic of historical sources in modern India. We are all grateful to him for the trouble he has taken to join us in this pleasant function. I am sure his presence will inspire the students and teachers of this College to dedicate themselves to the great cause of which his personality is an appropriate symbol—the advancement of learning.

The brief review of the history of the College and the School as presented to us by the Maharajkumar is not a mere parochial summary of local achievements and local aspirations. As we go through the *Centenary Commemoration Volume* published on this occasion, we find fairly elaborate chapters dealing with the problems and achievements of the College and the School during the last hundred years. We also see that the history of Krishnath College is an important element in the history of Western education in Bengal and, in a wider sense, constitutes a chapter in the history of the social and cultural progress of Bengal in the 19th and the 20th centuries. We are celebrating the Centenary of an insti-

tution, the beneficent influence of which has never been confined to the district in which it is situated.

But the catholicity of the culture which this College represented was largely based on local traditions. The district of Murshidabad can boast of a rich cultural heritage. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the *Vaishnava* movement exercised a powerful influence on the life of the people of the *Radh* area and created a remarkable literature. The influence of *Tantra*, though less powerful, was also a force to be reckoned with. Naturally, Sanskrit learning flourished under the patronage of enlightened zemindars like Rani Bhabani of hallowed memory. The Indo-Moslem culture, which had begun to penetrate into this region at the time of the great medieval ruler Hussain Shah, reached its high water mark in the early part of the 18th century when Murshid Quli Khan transferred the capital of Bengal Subah from Dacca to Murshidabad. Learned Muslim scholars and divines settled in or about the new capital adding a new and vigorous element to the variegated and composite cultural pattern of the Murshidabad district.

The establishment of British rule in Bengal naturally created a growing demand for Western education, and Murshidabad did not lag behind any other important intellectual centre in the country. Raja Harinath of Cossimbazar made princely donations to the Hindu College of Calcutta. Christian Missionaries played an important part in the spread of Western education in the Murshidabad district. The Nizamat College of Murshidabad was established in 1826. Originally reserved for Muslim pupils of aristocratic families, it was thrown open to Hindus in 1831. But in 1845, it again became a sectarian institution.

The limited facilities provided by the Missionary Schools and the Nizamat College did not satisfy the growing intellectual hunger of the people of Murshidabad. The problem attracted the attention of a really remarkable advocate of Western education—Raja Krishnath of Cossimbazar. In 1841, when he was a young man of 19, he conceived the bold idea of founding a College with the sale proceeds of his entire property in case he died without leaving an heir. In his first Will, dated the 7th January, 1841, he indicated his desire to found 'one Brihat or extensive and handsome College or House of learning . . . . at station Benjhateah of Moorshidabad . . . . named Rajah Krishtonath's College'. Long before the idea of establishing Universities in India was conceived in official quarters, on the 30th October, 1844, the day previous to his tragic death, he further extended and developed his idea of an academy for higher education by changing the name 'College' into 'University' and made a fresh Will. 'The Krishnath Univer-

sity of Banjatya' was to provide instruction in 'the English, Latin, French, Sanskrit, and common Bengali and the Persian and Arabic languages and sciences'. This ambitious plan could not materialise because the Will was declared invalid by the Supreme Court. But the partial fulfilment of the dream of this idealist became possible with the foundation of 'Berhampore College' in 1853, which, in the fitness of things, was rechristened 'Krishnath College' in 1902 by his worthy nephew, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy.

Maharani Swarnamoyee took a deep interest in the educational progress of Murshidabad and tried in her own way to fulfil the last wishes of her husband. As the Maharajkumar has told us, the largest single contribution to the Berhampore College Fund came from her. For years she offered stipends and free-studentships to deserving students. She was a signatory to the memorial submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal by the people of Murshidabad praying that the College might provide instruction up to the B.A. and Law degrees. And finally, in 1887, when the Government of the day wanted to close down the College on financial grounds, she came forward with her generous offer to maintain it out of the income of her own properties. In a sense, therefore, she was the second founder of the College. In accepting her proposal, the Lieutenant-Governor thanked her 'for her munificent endowment, which is one of a long succession of splendid gifts which she has made for the benefit of the public'. Under her management, the College once again opened B.A. and Law classes, and Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal, who was appointed Principal, inspired thousands of students and helped the institution to win back its lost prestige and popularity.

So great was the Maharani's anxiety for the steady progress of this institution that she wanted to create a permanent annual endowment of Rs. 20,000 for the maintenance of the College. But legal difficulties stood in the way, and her plan was executed after her death by her nephew and successor, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy. The annual contribution of the Maharaja according to the Indenture was Rs. 20,000 only. At that time this amount was considered sufficiently large for the efficient maintenance of the College. But the Maharaja during his life time contributed more than a crore of rupees towards the College and several lakhs towards the School which was separated from the College.

It is not only a debt in the shape of money this institution owes to the generous Maharaja. His anxious care for the development of the institution and his eagerness to attract good teachers and promising students made Krishnath College a name to

conjure with in the academic sphere. As the historian of the College says in the Centenary Commemoration Volume: 'A father's love cannot be gauged by the amount he spends for his child. Nurturing the College with tender affection, the Maharaja breathed new life in the institution.'

For about half a century—in the glorious days of Maharani Swarnamoyee and Maharaja Manindra Chandra—this institution had the privilege of being served by eminent scholars and inspiring teachers. Among the Principals the names of Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal, Janaki Nath Bhattacharyya, Ambika Chandra Mitra, E. A. Murphy, Rev. E. M. Wheeler and C. J. Hamilton remind us of great personalities. Among the Professors of the College were men like Dr. Hiralal Haldar whose reputation travelled beyond the borders of India. They were worthy successors of men like Sir Gurudas Banerjee and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh who had served the College in its early years. The School prospered under the management of able Headmasters like Rev. Lal Behari De, Satish Chandra Mukherjee (of the Dawn Society), Giris Chandra Mitra, Uma Charan Roy and Joseph Arulanantham. The present teachers of the College and the School have inherited a precious legacy which they must try to enrich by their devoted efforts.

I have been closely associated with the Cossimbazar Raj family for three generations, and this pleasant experience enables me to judge how far this institution is a product of their liberality, vision and genuine love of culture. Maharaja Srischandra Nandy whom premature death separated from us two years ago loved the College and the School, of both of which he was a distinguished ex-student, and guided these institutions through critical times. A sympathetic friend of teachers and an affectionate guardian of students, he was a wise and far-sighted pilot whom these institutions must greatly miss today. I am glad to find that Maharajkumar Somendra Chandra has inherited from his illustrious grandfather and father that liberal interest in the progress of education which is so pleasant a characteristic of the Cossimbazar House. Under his enlightened supervision, these two institutions are bound to develop and prosper.

The Maharajkumar has expressed the hope that the State and the public will now come forward with more generous assistance to the College and the School. Zemindars can no longer play a leading role in supporting educational and cultural movements for new political ideas and economic theories have crippled their resources and weakened their social influence. But tradition is, and must remain, an important factor in nation-

building. We shall be untrue to our own heritage if we do not utilise for beneficent purposes the glorious tradition built up by the Cossimbazar Raj Family from the days of Raja Krishnath onwards. Nothing but a socio-political cataclysm can affect our respect for, and confidence in, the cause which Maharaja Manindra Chandra symbolised in his great personality. If that cause now demands increased financial support from the State and the public and the two are identical in a democratic welfare State, I am sure there will be no lack of a generous response. The people of Murshidabad cannot withhold their bounty from an institution which has served them so well for a century. Nor can the ex-students of the College, many of whom have secured well-deserved distinction in many spheres, forget their debt to their *alma mater*.

There is an old and obviously very wise proverb which says that if we want to avoid starvation we should plant corn: if we wish to acquire wealth, we should plant trees: and if we desire to build a great nation, we should plant men. The Krishnath College and School have been rendering inestimable service in nation-building by turning out efficient and honest public servants, eminent jurists, doctors, engineers and famous teachers as well as men engaged in business, commerce and industry. From this point of view, the national service rendered by these two institutions is invaluable. Not only these ex-students but the people of Bengal, both individually and collectively through the State, must repay this debt. I have every confidence that they are prepared to discharge this obligation provided they are approached in an organised manner. With confidence in the generosity of our people, something which I have experienced in an overwhelming way during the last two years, let us hope and pray to the Almighty for strength and guidance so that He may direct us how to proceed to success in a great and worthy cause.

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PRIZE GIVING CEREMONY AND OLD BOYS' GATHERING OF RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAIPUR.

5th February, 1955.

Pandit Shukla, Presidents and Members of the Managing Committee and the General Council, Mr. Principal and Members of the Staff, Old Boys, Ladies and Gentlemen and my Young Friends—

I understand that today marks the completion of sixty years of the existence of the Rajkumar College and I feel it a great honour that I should have been asked to associate myself with you on this auspicious occasion. I am glad to learn that you have, under your consideration, a scheme for celebrating your Diamond Jubilee in a manner worthy of your past achievements and glorious traditions.

I understand that your institution was founded in 1894 by the Rulers of the Chhatisgarh States and the leading Zemindars of the Province with a view to give general education to their sons and relatives as also that its doors were thrown open to all members of the public, irrespective of class, caste or creed in 1939, with the result that today it is drawing its students not only from the adjacent States of Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal but also from other remoter parts of India,—the clearest possible evidence of the appreciation of the valuable work done in your institution. If I may say so, you represent India in miniature, the fundamental unity of India in spite of its apparently great diversity.

Yours is a boarding school with a numerical strength of 132 boys, of whom 6 are students enjoying scholarships under the Merit Scholarship Scheme of the Government of India. It also appears from a note supplied by the Principal, that scholarships ranging in value from Rs. 300 to Rs. 700 per year are awarded to deserving and promising students. The result of the system in force in your institution is that though the annual fees, which include even such items as school clothes, books, stationery, subscriptions, pocket money, etc., is Rs. 1,850,—it is possible for meritorious students belonging to the poorest families of India to find a place in your class rooms. It may, therefore, be said that though the Rajkumar College is primarily meant for the benefit of a particular class of students, the democratic outlook so important in Free India today, has not been lost sight of.

What is most needed by us today, is that those undergoing education should have an all-India outlook, be able to meet their fellows from other parts of India as friends, learn to appreciate one another's good qualities and have a common love for our beloved motherland. Further, misunderstandings due to the professing of different faiths must disappear and there should be not only tolerance but also respect for every religion.

I am more than glad to find that these very great purposes are being served here mainly through the wise guidance of those in authority who have seen to it that the students not only study together but also play and eat together, in addition to engaging themselves in educational, cultural and recreational activities. A policy such as this not only breaks down religious prejudices among students but also class distinctions based on their economic position.

From what I have learnt about your institution it seems that you have more than ample accommodation, taking into account the smallness of the number of boys who are being educated here. This situation also is one calculated to stimulate the intellect and fire the imagination. So far as the environments and what may be called the material facilities are concerned, there are not many educational institutions which can offer something equal to what is available here.

The curriculum—so far as one may judge from the qualifications of the members of the staff—is a well thought-out one and, if pursued faithfully, should impart an all-round education to the students. These are given opportunities to not only acquire essential information in respect of arts and science subjects but in addition they get training in cultural subjects. Facilities are also available for participating in athletics, sports, games and social service work. Your aim, it appears to me, is not merely to give academic training to your pupils but also to make them physically fit, to stimulate the growth of their cultural and social service aptitudes and urges and, in fact, to develop in them manliness, character and, in particular, leadership.

The Principal has, it seems to me, been rather apologetic in regard to the not too brilliant results achieved by those students of this institution who appeared in the School Certificate Examination in December, 1953.

As an educationist I would point out that all the students here, except a few, are drawn from very rich or rich families which are free from the stimulus of poverty. Naturally enough, the boys coming from them have not yet realised the necessity of utilising academic education and training as a means of

earning their livelihood which, to my mind, explains the poor show they have made.

As against this, let us not forget that here students are being trained in the equally if not the much more valuable tradition of skill in games, good sportsmanship, good manners and discipline. I am quite clear in my mind that these latter qualities are much more useful in the battle of life than merely academic success. I would also point out that the presence of the holders of the Merit and other Scholarships will undoubtedly tend to promote greater attention to scholastic studies which no doubt will be attended with corresponding success in examinations.

That this institution has won the loyalty of its old students is evident from what we have been told by the Principal. It has, if I am not mistaken, been an object of affection on their part,—a fact proved by the personnel of the Governing Body and the General Council. On top of that I find from the Principal's report that last year no less than eight Rulers, all Old Boys, visited the School and offered constructive suggestions for its improvement. I am sure that they would not have taken this trouble if they had not loved the institution with which they had been connected for years. Their interest is not, however, confined to this kind of activity only as is evident from the fact that all the expenses for the erection and equipment of the dining hall have been borne by the Raja Sahib of Sarangarh and which, therefore, has been rightly named after him. Similarly, a donation of Rs. 20,000 has been promised by the Maharaja of Baster. These gifts I regard as the best and the most satisfactory proof of the love and affection borne for this institution by its former pupils.

I sincerely trust that this institution will continue to serve the people of our motherland for many years to come and that the good work done by it will be emulated by the people of other States through the establishment of similar institutions in their own areas.

In this connection I would take the liberty of pointing out as an old educationist that one reason why we require public schools is that as they are what we call independent schools which do not normally depend upon grants, either capital or recurring, from either the Central or the State Governments for their existence or maintenance, they are free to make experiments in their curricula and in their methods and techniques for the training of students in academic studies and extra-curricular activities. These naturally enough would not be feasible in educational institutions controlled by the State which obviously would be expected to adhere to standard rules and regulations laid down

by those supplying either the whole or a major part of the necessary finances. Nonetheless no country can make progress unless risks are taken and new systems tried out. They are worth taking even if some only among them yield satisfactory results because when this happens, educational institutions controlled by Government in the manner mentioned above always profit by the experience and knowledge thus acquired. It is, therefore, that I would plead for the establishment of a large number of public schools all over the country.

Another important function which public schools are in a position to perform is the training in leadership. I would not like to labour this point in view of what has been happening in the United Kingdom, the one western country with which we are most familiar. It is a well-known fact that here leaders of commerce and industry, great political personages, writers, explorers and empire-builders have been supplied either directly from the alumni of public schools or from the Universities which in days past drew their students mainly from institutions of your type. There is no reason why, given the same kind of organisation, the public schools of India, few as they are today, should not become more numerous in future and give us the same type of men which have been supplied by the public schools of England.

When we gave ourselves a democratic constitution, those who framed it realised that it could neither exist nor function without economic and social justice. Keeping this in view not merely the Central but also our State Governments have enacted legislation, the purpose of which is to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and to ensure a wider distribution of wealth among a large number of people. In this connection I might refer to two measures only—the passing of legislation to enforce death duties and the abolition of the Zemindary system. Our aim at present is to achieve socialistic pattern of society and a welfare State where the extra wealth of the rich, where available would be utilised for raising the standard of living of the masses by giving them more amenities so that they might live with at least the minimum of comfort.

But taxing the rich people for the benefit of the poor will not by itself solve this problem. We have to adopt other means also. This explains why, under the First and Second Five-Year Plans, both the Central and the State Govrnments have adopted various projects to develop our economic potential in such spheres as agriculture, industry, public health, commerce, transport, communication and numerous other nation-building acti-

vities. Attention in particular may be drawn to the Community Project Scheme.

It is conceded that people properly trained will be required for implementing all these schemes and that those immediately engaged in putting them through must be men of special training such as doctors, engineers, technologists, etc. But we also require honest and efficicent administrators. I feel that this type of men who will have a broad outlook and who traditionally have been trained in the handling of men and in whom leadership may be said to be almost hereditary in character are to be found in fairly large number among the sons and daughters of our old ruling classes always provided that they imbibe and act according to the new outlook we are developing in Free India.

I am looking forward to the time when these will enter the Defence Forces, the Foreign and the Administrative Services in large numbers not through any special reservation for them but on a purely competitive basis. This can be achieved only if, in addition to being educated in institutions of the type of Rajkumar College, they also make up their minds to join institutions for higher studies and training catering for all classes of students and where they are bound to be in a minority. I am sure that when they face competition in such institutions, it is not at all likely that everyone of them will, after their training is over, be able to secure very remunerative and highly responsible positions. It is also likely that many of them being unable or unwilling to enter the services will have to adopt other professions or callings in life which also I should say their education in institutions like the Rajkumar College should stand them in good stead. Nonetheless, if they desire to serve their motherland, they should welcome not only positions of responsibility and leadership but also comparatively humble positions. Neither should they feel ashamed or backward in accepting the latter for one serves both God and his motherland not merely by occupying high positions and discharging heavy responsibilities but also by doing the humblest type of work.

In this connection I would draw attention to a parable once told to his disciples by Swami Vivekananda whose name must be familiar to every Indian no matter what religion he professes.

On one occasion, said Swamiji, a Sannyasi who had achieved a high position through *tapasya* left his *ashram* in the Himalayas and came down to the plains in order to mix with and impart religious instruction to the common people. He did not bring his disciples with him but travelled like an ordinary mendicant clad in saffron-coloured robes. In the course of his travels, he

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came to a town one morning when he was very hungry. He stood at the door of a householder and asked for some food at the top of his voice. The lady of the house was then very busy and asked the Sannyasi to wait which he had to do for a long time. When at last he saw that she brought a small amount of very plainly cooked food in her hand, the Sannyasi lost patience and asked her, 'Do you know who I am? Are you not ashamed to keep me waiting for such a long time after which you offer this much only to me?' The lady replied, 'The work I have to do is no less exacting and important than your *tapasya*. My husband is ill and I was engaged in looking after him. I could not cook anything at night for my children last night and after making my husband comfortable I was engaged in persuading them to keep quiet so as not to disturb him. The religion for the house-holder is to look after his household, a lesson taught me by my Guru'. The Sannyasi asked her, 'Who is your Guru?' The reply was, 'Go to the market-place where you will find my Guru who is an outcast and by profession a seller of the meat of the animals he kills in forests.' The Sannyasi who could not persuade himself to believe that a killer of animals and a seller of their flesh for gains as to be qualified to impart religious instruction, went to the market-place and saw the hunter clad in blood-stained garments selling the flesh of the animals he had slaughtered to the public.

More to ascertain whether this man had really something to give his disciples rather than in the hope of learning some new religious truth, the Sannyasi asked the hunter to enlighten him. The hunter told the Sannyasi to wait till he had finished his work and then told him the fundamental lessons of *Karma Yoga*. Enlightenment came to this Sannyasi and he admitted that *Karma Yoga* was no less satisfying an answer to man's eternal search after truth and happiness than the other forms of *Yoga*.

What Swami Vivekananda wanted to impress upon his hearers was that there is no difference between what we regard as more important and what we regard as less important work: that all work is honourable and no work dishonourable: that both are the service of God. When a man does a particular job either because he is paid for it or because he is afraid of being punished by his superiors, that work is not acceptable to God. In whatever way we do, we have to realise that we are doing God's work and in doing it we must not be afraid of criticism or punishment: neither should we expect any reward for discharging our duty.

This is the message I would like to leave with the student of this College all of whom may God bless!

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CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS OF THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

15th June, 1955.

Today we celebrate the hundredth anniversary of one of the most important of dates in the history of education in Bengal, I may also say, of India,—the conversion of the Hindu College into the Presidency College, Calcutta, on the fifteenth of June 1855.

The Hindu College was founded in 1817 by a body of enterprising Indians and Europeans interested in the spread of western education, headed by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, David Hare, Gopee Mohan Deb and Maharaja Tejchand Bahadur of Burdwan. Its avowed object was to disseminate knowledge of English literature, modern European philosophy and western science. Although the Hindu College gradually evolved into a prosperous educational institution, its outlook was certainly narrow, for as its name implied, it was open only to young people of the Hindu community. This denominationalism ran counter to its professed ideal, for if modern science, philosophy and literature have any single prominent characteristic, it is their non-sectarian secularism.

It was, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that when on the 15th June 1855, Government formally took over the management, the name of the institution was changed and it was thrown open to students of all classes and communities. Since then, it has been imparting instruction to Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Parsees, Jains and others and has come to play an important part in the socio-cultural life of Bengal and, according to some, of India also to a certain extent.

Looking at the history of the College from yet another point of view, we find that it had for many years a Law Department attached to it. The Engineering College once formed part of it. It had for several years commercial classes and also for some time a class in music. All this shows that the Presidency College, Calcutta, has not only been the home of learning in arts and science but has also been something like a fountain from which has followed many educational, professional and cultural streams.

The institution has all along maintained a high level of scholarship as our premier College. In 1917, it suffered a temporary loss of prestige when, as a result of the starting of the centralised Post-Graduate Department of the University of Calcutta, it was reduced practically to the status of an under-graduate Col-

lege, but many of its members went on working as part-time teachers of the University. Today under the Calcutta University Act of 1951, it has regained its old status by getting recognition as a Constituent College of our University.

Many of its teachers—Sir J. C. Bose, Acharya P. C. Ray, Sir J. C. Coyajee, Dr. P. K. Ray, Dr. C. E. Cullis, Professors Holland, Percival, Mann, M. Ghosh, Bepin Bihari Gupta and Benoyendra Nath Sen, to name only a few—attained fame in India and in the wider field lying beyond her shores. It had, too, some very distinguished Principals, like Messrs. Sutcliffe, Tawney, Rowe and James.

So far as its students are concerned, it has been claimed with pardonable exaggeration that anybody who is somebody in Bengal has been connected with the Presidency College. The great Bankim Chandra Chatterji was one of its first two graduates, Indian leaders of the Bench and the Bar were most of them its alumni, and so were Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and other great Indian educationists. The College claims, too, among its old boys Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as also the first President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, whom we are privileged to have in our midst today to preside over the meeting, no less than many of India's leading men in science and arts and her foremost historian, my revered teacher, who, happily, is present here to take part in today's function.

In our days, it was our good fortune to sit at the feet of some of the eminent teachers, whose names have been just mentioned, to not only lay up a store of useful knowledge but also to derive inspiration from and through them. More than that, they let us loose in the library and encouraged us to browse in this rich treasure house. It was thus that we were insensibly trained to grope, to analyse and to think for ourselves and to arrive at our own conclusions which, let me add, were not always correct.

There was still another factor which had the effect of making us refuse to accept generally-held orthodox views simply because they emanated from highly respectable quarters. For hours together, some of us would congregate in a corner of the library or, more frequently, in the room of a classmate in the Hindu Hostel and, huddled in uncomfortable groups, would drink cup after cup of tea, some smoking all the time, and either attack or defend almost every conceivable orthodox opinion. The excellent training thus acquired prevented us from accepting blindly what other people, however highly placed and eminent, said and enabled us to keep all the windows, so to say, of our mind open. It also taught us intellectual honesty and the courage to radically alter or to

modify our views when we considered them incorrect. Looking back at what I learnt from participating in these discussions nearly 60 years ago, I feel that the time spent in thinking, arguing and questioning stands out decidedly as time very well and profitably spent.

Though for years past I have ceased to have direct contact with my old College, I sincerely trust that the tradition established in our days continues to play a vital role in shaping the minds of its students today.

This is an occasion which makes one think not only of past achievements but also of future possibilities. I hope that students of this College will continue to win laurels in the University examinations as well as in the spheres of athletics, sports and games in which I notice to my regret a noticeable falling off in recent years, that not content with securing academic distinctions and shields, cups and other trophies, they will develop into worthy citizens of a free country and that Presidency College will continue to be a centre of learning, a nursery of scholars and, more than that, a creator of national leaders.

I may be excused if I close on a personal note. More than half a century ago, I entered this College as an obscure and very shy youth who always deliberately refrained from availing himself of such facilities as existed in those days of coming in contact with his teachers. Nonetheless, I remember with gratitude that I was compelled to come out of my shell and to participate in the academic, athletic and other extra-mural activities of my College. That is why I still cherish with a deep sense of thankfulness my association with this great seat of learning and the centre of (what was in those days) wholesome and absolutely clean sport. I also take this opportunity of acknowledging my gratitude for the inspiration I received from and through my teachers and the influence exercised by them on my life and character all through the long years after I left this College in 1898.

I hope that the teachers of today will remember the tradition sought to be established by their illustrious predecessors and that all its future alumni will have cause to remember their connection with this institution with the same affection and gratitude with which I look back to the happy time spent within its walls.

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INAUGURATION OF THE 18TH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS.

(Under the Auspices of the University of Calcutta).

30th December, 1955.

Mr. President and Members of the Indian History Congress, Members of the Reception Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deeply appreciate the honour you have done me in inviting me to inaugurate the 18th Session of the Indian History Congress in this historic city. Although I have no pretentions to historical scholarship, I have a natural interest in the history of my country and I am extremely grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of associating myself with your momentous deliberations. I am sure, under the able guidance of your distinguished President, you will succeed in throwing new light on some of the dark corners of our national history.

I am not one of those who believe that our ancestors had no historical sense and did not leave for us authentic material for historical studies on critical lines. Their concept of history was different from ours, but they were not at all indifferent to political and social ups and downs around them and they recorded the panorama of historical evolution in their own way. It would obviously be wrong for us to interpret the past in the light of our present day ideas. We must try to look at the ancient and medieval ages through the eyes of the people of those times. I believe it is possible to reconstruct the past, with a fair degree of accuracy, if we really succeed in getting rid of prejudices and personal predilections. In that case, the apparently inadequate and unsatisfactory historical material inherited by us, will yield a rich harvest, to the painstaking and conscientious historian.

I understand the Indian History Congress has launched an ambitious scheme for the preparation and publication of a 'Comprehensive History of India' in twelve volumes covering the whole range of Indian history from the earliest times to the present day. It is to be hoped that this great enterprise will be successfully accomplished within a few years, so that this ancient land may have a history worthy of its traditions and its contributions to the progress of mankind. Not being a professional student of the subject, I do not share the orthodoxy of any particular school of

thought and historical interpretation ; but I believe history should give an integrated picture of national development and emphasise those aspects of a nation's thought and action, which exercised more than a passing influence on the march of humanity.

From this point of view, those foreign invasions and internal struggles which figure so prominently in books on Indian history, are not the really important historical facts, for the genius of India lies in harmony and not in strife. Far be it from me to suggest that we should create in our imagination, an idealised picture of the past. War and massacre, intrigue and treachery disfigure the history of all countries and, despite her great spiritual traditions, India cannot claim to be an exception. But these unhappy lapses from the abiding values of life do not reveal the India which has survived so many storms, during the milleniums that have passed. India lives, and will continue to live, because external vicissitudes have not affected her soul. To my mind, it would be unhistorical to ignore that creative stream of idealism which runs through Indian history. If a layman may offer any advice to experts, I would suggest that the 'Comprehensive History' which is being prepared under your auspices, should be written in such a way, as to reveal the real strength of India and the permanent value of her contributions to human progress.

Today, the historians of India are called upon to perform a very difficult task. Those European writers and scholars who were the pioneers in the field of Indology, rendered a service which no Indian can forget. The Asiatic Society, not far from the temple of learning where we are assembled now, perpetuates the memory of Sir William Jones, who not only founded the science of Comparative Philology but also initiated the systematic study of Indian antiquities. It is to a British scholar-administrator, Prinsep, that we owe the first attempt to decipher the inscriptions of Ashoka. The foundations were well and truly laid, and an imposing superstructure was raised later on, by great scholars like Cunningham and Marshall. So far as the medieval period is concerned, the wealth of historical material buried in Persian manuscripts scattered throughout the country, was rescued and brought to light, through the medium of English by a busy administrator, Sir Henry Elliot. Writers like Mill, Grant Duff, Tod, Wilks and Cunningham dealt exhaustively with the history of the British period.

Some European writers may have suffered from party prejudice and racial arrogance and converted our history into a handmaid of factional or political interest, but there were others who wrote with scholarly competence and evident sympathy with a fallen people. Who could be more sympathetic to the Rajputs

than Tod, or to the Sikhs than Cunningham? We have, therefore, on the whole, a precious inheritance to fall back upon. This imposes upon us the inescapable duty of maintaining the high standard laid down by the best European writers and of avoiding the defects which disfigure the writings of the worst among them. We have no clean slate to write upon ; we have one tradition to follow and another tradition to forget.

In this connection, we can hardly ignore the fact that even the best among European writers on Indian history, approached their task from a particular point of view which could not do full justice to the subject. They were concerned primarily with the political and military aspects of Indian history and it was quite natural for them to overlook, to a great extent, the vital role played by social, economic and cultural forces, in shaping the life of the people.

Admittedly, historical material revealing socio-economic and cultural developments in ancient and medieval India, is not as plentiful as one could wish ; but we cannot remain satisfied with mere chronicles of dynasties and wars. Those who have devoted themselves to the exploration of the past must direct their attention to the life of the people and assign paramount importance to those non-political factors which have influenced Indian history as much as—probably more than—the stereotyped political forces. Where sources are not adequate, as in the case of the ancient and medieval periods, we cannot expect anything better than a rough outline ; even that, however, is worth having, for we are desirous of looking back to our decidedly glorious past, in order to derive sustenance from it. So far as the modern period is concerned, the available materials are probably more voluminous than one generation of historians could utilise. Here, I believe, the problem is one of selection and emphasis ; and critical judgment is the quality primarily called for. I hope scholars associated with the Indian History Congress will give us a fairly comprehensive account of the people's history, so that the growing citizens of our democratic Republic may know what their ancestors lived and fought for, in those spheres of human activity which count most in the long run.

This naturally brings us to the controversial question as to whether contemporary history should be, and can be, written. Obviously, writers of contemporary history must suffer, at least to some extent, from a lack of perspective, for the long-term consequences of forces, released during one's life-time, cannot be visualised at the moment. Moreover, contemporary history naturally suffers from passions, emotions and prejudices—personal, national, racial, ideological—which affect the judgment and

obscure the vision of writers and readers alike. And so far as the latest age—our own times—is concerned, documents throwing light on hidden motives and secret springs of action, are not available even to the most careful and industrious historian and, consequently, he is compelled to base his narrative on incomplete, and probably one-sided, sources. While it is neither advisable nor possible to ignore or minimise these serious difficulties, I believe contemporary history deserves more attention than is usually given to it by historians.

This is particularly true of our own country where contemporary history has a special significance in view of the fact that it is primarily the history of our struggle for emancipation, not only from political bondage, but also from social prejudices, intellectual stagnation and economic exploitation. I may recall to you in this connection the following observations of our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the Nagpur Session of this Congress: —

> Cannot a history written with understanding and sympathy and having full record of the events as they occurred from day to day in our non-violent struggle, be of equal value to us as to others in future? It was an experiment as Mahatma Gandhi would have called it, but it proved an experiment which was successful. Who knows that the world will not some day accept that principle, and adopt that strategy, which Mahatma Gandhi taught and applied, and with the help of which, we won our freedom? To one who believes in the efficacy of that principle and who has faith in its strength and universality, this history is of tremendous value not only for this country but for the world at large which, in these days of frustration and helplessness despite the great advances of science is, I fancy, looking for such guidance.

A carefully written history of our national struggle would thus be a proud record of an achievement unique in the history of the world and would provide lessons of inestimable value to other nations in their quest for peace and progress. Surely, the writing of such a history should not be postponed simply because the conventional arguments against compilation of contemporary history are not without force.

I have tried to draw the attention of this august body, to the layman's point of view, in regard to certain problems, connected with our national history. I believe history written with understanding and sympathy, can be a source of instruction as well as

of inspiration. And I am sure an organisation like the Indian History Congress can serve a truly national purpose by indicating the lines on which national history should be written.

May the Source of all wisdom give you faith and vision and bless your enterprise!

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SUBHAS BOSE AS A PATRIOT.

(*Broadcast from the All-India Radio, Calcutta*).

23rd January, 1952.

Although the occasion is the birthday of a great patriot and I am, on that account, duly happy, my rejoicing is intermingled with a variety of thoughts and associations, as much national as personal. Those that the Gods love die young, and Subhas died young. Men loved him too, and thus it is sad to speak of the dead ; sadder when one has to speak of a man, who died when so many others who had come earlier remained, when so many others could have been spared so much more easily.

While I wholeheartedly associate myself with the national remembrance of the birth of a great patriot, I hope to be forgiven if, against this somewhat personal background, I fail to dissociate personal memories from those national, and if, in consequence, my own respectful affection for Subhas *the man* is lovingly recalled with the national reverence in which Subhas *the patriot* is held by his countrymen, among whom I am proud to count myself.

It is believed by some that the silence of the dead has a numbing effect ; you have lost the race before it started, you will never get hold of him as he was. Speaking about a dead friend, they say, is speaking against time, a chase after a receding image. There is, undoubtedly, a great deal of truth in this.

The legend-forming mechanism *does* get to work much too soon after death, and the real man, as he was, *does* begin to be hidden away from view under a mass of opaque myths, even as his dead body had been, under a heap of flowers and wreaths. It *is* a race against time, a chase after a receding image.

All this is very true, but I think, only in the case of ordinary men and women whose lives are of significance only to their immediate proximate surroundings.

Quite contrary is the case with unusual men, men whose significance is historical rather than personal. In their case, as frequently as not, it is not the legend-forming mechanism that gets to work after their death, it rather strips them of the legends that surrounded them in their life time. Not every leader of man survives this ruthless process of legend-shedding. That is why so many of them are forgotten so soon after their bodies have succumbed to the inescapable demand of time, while some others,

shorn of their legends, look so pathetically bare before the bar of history.

There are others, however, whose images do not recede after their death. If anything, they loom larger and larger as time goes by, and such a one was the man whose birthday we have the honour to celebrate today. In his case too, legends grew and died, but the one clear picture that emerges from the blinding haloes and the whispered legends that have, from time to time, been heaped upon a number of Subhas Boses, is that of Subhas the patriot.

On various occasions and on various questions many had their differences with Subhas. They reflect no shame on either party. What never was in question was Subhas's passionate love for his country, his burning patriotism. When, on occasion, Subhas parted ways with friends he loved, it is not that he loved them less but that he loved India more. This love for his country was in his case accompanied by an extraordinary courage of conviction. It is not given to man to be infallible ; he serves the purpose of his life well enough, when he serves his country to the best of his own lights. And this Subhas always did, no matter what risk it involved in terms of personal advantage, reputation or even physical safety.

The struggle for freedom in this country proceeded on lines rather different from any other recorded in history. Subhas's own idea of our struggle conformed more to the familiar pattern. In consequence, Subhas's acceptance of the Gandhian way, I suspect, was less than whole-hearted. Here again, it is not that he loved the Mahatma less but that he loved India more. This difference did not, however, prevent Subhas from placing himself entirely at the disposal of Gandhiji, once he had been persuaded that the Gandhian way was more native to the genius of this country than any imported method. It called for patience ; occasionally it called for apparent inaction in the shape of superficial passivity—qualities not ordinarily associated with youth. Of youth, however, Subhas, to the last of his days, had an inexhaustible fund.

Coming to this concluding chapter of his life, the glory of which is obvious but the details are not, there is one factor which strikes me more than any other. The organising capacity he had displayed, earlier in life during the visit to India of the then Prince of Wales and, still more strikingly, in connection with the momentous session of the Indian National Congress held in this city in 1928 when, for the first time, the goal of complete independence was sought to be set before the country, was now to be put to its supreme test. He came out with flying colours. That was his finest hour.

Out of men who had lost heart, he built up an organisation whose chief resource was faith in the free future of their country. On these men, he reimposed discipline, even as he had imposed it upon himself most rigorously. And, what is more, he welded these men belonging to different racial groups and communities and professing diverse faiths and creeds, who had originally chosen a military career more or less in the spirit of mercenaries, into one homogeneous unit, fired by his own lofty ardour, his fervent national outlook and his inflexibility of purpose for the liberation of their common motherland from foreign domination.

Being a follower of Gandhiji, I regard the putting on of military uniform as a necessary evil in the nature of armed preparedness against the organised violence of predatory nations, that is to say, as a purely temporary compromise with violence, only to defeat it. When, however, I look at the photograph of Subhas in his uniform, I think not of bloodshed and war, which I detest, but of those entirely admirable soldierly qualities like discipline and sacrifice of which this great son of India set such a worthy example, and of which I wish I could say we have proved ourselves worthy. Let us remember him, not only on this day, but every day, for his great qualities of disciplined service and leadership. We can pay no greater tribute to him than to emulate his example in this respect. Our remembrance of this great patriot on his birthday will otherwise be rank hypocrisy, worse than forgetting him altogether.

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"THE GREAT LEADER"

(Broadcast from All-India Radio, Calcutta, on the Death Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi)

30th January, 1952.

Vande-Mataram:

For Mahatma Gandhi Truth was God. Let us, then, be truthful. Today, four years ago, the Father of the Nation did not die. He was killed, and by one of his own sons. Today, therefore, it is for us a day of expiation, for the mad young man whose hand struck down the great leader was one of our own, even as Gandhiji was one of our own. If we, therefore, claim a share in the virtues of Mahatma Gandhi, and we would be poor indeed without it, we cannot disown our share in the guilt of another of our countrymen, namely, the man who assassinated Mahatma Gandhi.

For Gandhiji himself, he was not afraid of death. He had long recognised it to be 'the necessary end' it is. And then, the only fear he knew, was the fear of God to whom he had dedicated his life and surrendered his right to question His will. When God in His infinite mercy decided to take His chosen son to His bosom, the son can scarcely have complained. He had done his duty. He had attempted unceasingly to seek the Kingdom of God within him and to establish it all around him. When the time came to pass on to the Great Beyond, he passed on in obedience to the same Divine will guiding his long and glorious journey through life. At the time of departure, he had no questions to ask.

But, for us, he has left a multitude of questions we must constantly ask ourselves. Here had come amongst us, a great leader of men—not of men's bodies but of men's minds—and, having been thus favoured, to what extent did we endeavour to deserve this favour? When he arrived on the Indian scene, he found his countrymen in the grip of a paralysing fear. He later removed that fear from our minds and the reward was our national freedom. Are we sure some sort of fear has not again taken possession of our minds?

When Gandhiji took upon himself the leadership of the country, he found our society defiled by untouchability. Today,

we have made it a punishable offence, but men are not made virtuous by legislation. Are we sure we have banished untouchability not only in form but also in spirit?

These are but some of the questions every Indian must ask himself on this day and every day. A great leader had been born among us, so great that his leadership survives his death, and, however, imperfectly, if all of us continue to strive to prove ourselves worthy of that leadership, we shall not be long in reaching our goal.

What, I have often wondered, was the essence of that unparalleled leadership? His great organising ability is only part of the answer, and a small part it is. His great influence over the mind of the masses is a possible cue, but how was this influence achieved? I am reminded of a passage in the celebrated 'Appeal To Every Englishman' he issued in 1920. In it he said,—

> I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hands. You know we are powerless to do that ; for you have ensured our incapacity to fight, in open, an honourable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us.

This, the bravery of the soul, is, I think, the real secret of the role Mahatma Gandhi played in history. Leaders of bravery in battle, honourable or otherwise, are to be found in history by the score. Rarer are the brave of the soul. Rarer still, the triumphant enlistment of that bravery for purposes temporal, thus raising politics itself to a higher level where it is identified with the pursuit of truth and the vindication of justice.

Freedom he loved. God knows no man loved it more, but he pursued it because it seemed to him that the denial of freedom to India was immoral, that it was the negation of truth. Freedom to him was no more political concept. As he put it himself, 'to see the universal and all-pervading spirit of truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself and a man who aspires after that, cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to truth has drawn me into the field of politics'. The means was political but the end was not.

Again to quote Gandhiji, 'I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth, I am striving for the Kingdom of Heaven, which is spiritual deliverance. For me the road to salvation lies through incessant toil in the service of my country and of

humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives.' For this he lived, and for this he died.

Between the glorious beginning, with which God had favoured us, and the inglorious end, to which we brought that life, Mahatma Gandhi achieved all that we had desired, namely, our freedom, but not all that *he* had desired. The fulfilment of the latter has been left in our hands. Successors of slavery, we are also the inheritors of freedom, freedom not only from alien rule but also freedom from fear, freedom from hatred, from anger, from all that is base. In a word, freedom of the spirit.

Four days ago, we celebrated the second anniversary of our Indian Republic. Let us today begin to build upon the foundations of Love the Beloved Republic bequeathed to us by Mahatma Gandhi. It is a great charge. It is also a great privilege. God grant we may not be found unequal to it.

Mahatma Gandhi is dead. Long live Mahatma Gandhi.

Jai Hind!

UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE BRONZE BUST OF LATE ACHARYA PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY IN THE PREMISES OF THE BENGAL CHEMICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS LTD.

17th April, 1952.

Acharya Prafulla Chandra was the illustrious founder of this great national undertaking, which he himself christened as 'The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works' and he continued to be intimately associated with it for very nearly the rest of his life.

The story of this concern—how it came to be started in a small way in a humble dwelling just to mark the realisation of a youthful dream of this great scientist and how it came to be expanded and developed by him against heavy odds with the co-operation of a band of selfless workers that gathered round him till it was put on a sound footing and established for itself a reputation throughout the length and breadth of this country —reads really like a romance and has been related briefly in the brochure circulated amongst those who have assembled here today to do honour to him. Many of you, who have worked for or are otherwise connected with the concern, have had the privilege of coming into close contact with the great savant and know many things about him. It is, therefore, not for me to say anything new to you as to what his relationship with 'Bengal Chemical' was. But I may give you my own impression and observations about the Great Man, viewed in the broader canvas of his life.

It is often found that when a man becomes great the principal point of his greatness is curiously enough over-shadowed by his other qualities which are thrown into greater relief. I believe the same thing happened in the case of Acharya Prafulla Chandra. Many of us know him to have been great as a scientist and as a master builder of industries. But then there is no dearth of scientists and industrialists today in this country. Judged thus, he will be but one amongst the many even though as a pioneer in the field of scientific research and what we may call one of the first Swadeshi enterprises in the direction of a great manufacturing industry. That way surely does not lie his real greatness. In other words, his greatness as a scientist or as a builder of industries was greatness acquired by him.

In all these matters he could very well have varied his line of activities if he so chose. I think it was not impossible for him to be a great historian instead of a scientist or to devote his energies to the agricultural progress of the country instead of to its industrial progress. As a matter of fact, he is known to have said not infrequently in his later life that he became a chemist by mistake, for he wished he could have builded a literary career instead.

But there was just one thing in which he was exceptionally great and in this he had no equal, so to say. What I mean to say is that he was by nature a great lover of mankind—a great humanitarian—a soul entirely dedicated to the cause of suffering humanity. He could never forsake stricken man, however great his other pursuits might be. In fact, his unbounded love for man was the fountain-head of all his activities. He was an eminent scientist, but scientific knowledge or scholarship as such had very little meaning for him unless it could be utilised for the welfare of man. It is well-known how Acharya Prafulla Chandra strongly disliked the scholasticism of the Indian pandits for what he considered their indulgence in metaphysical juggleries 'while humanity was rotting outside.' He also exhorted the educated youths of the country, particularly of Bengal to give up their craze for University degrees and diplomas and to apply whatever knowledge they acquired to pursuits like business enterprises for their own material well-being as well as for that of the country.

I have come to know that 'Bengal Chemical' was started by Acharya Prafulla Chandra with an initial capital of Rs. 700 only. The question arises as to why he undertook this apparently impossible task. Not certainly for his personal gain as other industrialists are wont to do. The fact, however, can be explained in this way. He looked around and saw the ghastly picture of poverty and squalor in his own country. At the same time, he saw how people of the countries of the West achieved material prosperity by means of industrialisation. He felt an irresistible urge for serving his countrymen with a view to ameliorating their condition by the same process. It is no wonder, therefore, that Acharya Prafulla Chandra who was an eminent chemist harnessed his branch of science to industry resulting as it did in a chemical concern of the type of 'Bengal Chemical'. One of his main objects in starting and developing this concern was, as I know, to provide a new avenue of employment for educated Bengali youths.

Of the innumerable examples of Acharya Prafulla Chandra's

spirit of service, some have almost passed into legend and folk-lore. Whenever there was a famine or other natural calamity like a cyclone or flood in any part of the country, the Acharya would at once come out of his cloistered cell in the Science College with a begging bowl. He would contribute his last farthing if there was need of money for a hospital or an orphanage or for a school and a college. If a youngman approached him with a plan for a business undertaking and asked for money, he would give freely whatever he could spare without any mental reservation.

Today when I find distress abounding in the country, I feel like saying—'Acharya, thou shouldst be living at this hour'. So on this solemn occasion of the unveiling of the bust of the Great Departed, the best way in which we can show respect to his memory, is to imbibe his spirit of service. To the management and the workers of Bengal Chemical, I need hardly say that mere installation of the bust of Acharya Ray is not enough. The country expects them to do their part well so that this concern, the creation of the great Acharya which he held so dear unto his heart may grow from strength to strength in the manner desired by him.

UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE STATUE OF SHRI NALINI RANJAN SARKER, HINDUSTHAN BUILDING, CALCUTTA.

25th January, 1953.

Mr. Chairman, I sincerely thank you and the Board of Directors of the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society for giving me this opportunity of associating myself with this function. For me it is a great pleasure to undertake the very agreeable task of unveiling the statue of Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarker for whom I entertain great love and esteem.

I value this privilege all the more because it gives me an opportunity—and I should have felt happier if this opportunity had come to me earlier—of giving public expression to my feelings about him and his services which, I have not the slightest doubt, must also be shared by large numbers of people throughout the country.

For me particularly, the occasion has a special charm and significance. Many among those present here may not know that Nalini Ranjan was a pupil of mine in the City College when I was a teacher there. And with pardonable pedagogic pride, I have always watched with keen interest his steady climb on the ascending spiral of success and distinction. 'Victory is desired in every sphere except over the son and the pupil'—is a wise saying the significance of which only a father and a teacher can truly comprehend. So I need not tell you how profoundly happy I feel to honour one who so richly deserves it.

You, Kumar Bahadur, have tried to explain in a somewhat apologetic vein the reasons which prompted the Board of Directors of your organisation to put up a statue of Nalini Ranjan in the Hindusthan Buildings during his life-time. I feel no explanation is necessary. We should honour the living no less than the dead. And standing here in this magnificent building and reflecting on the rise, growth and development of the Hindusthan, its extensive ramifications in far-flung corners of India and the East, its accumulated fund of over 17 crores, its annual premium income of nearly 4 crores, its payment of claims amounting to over 7 crores and a half, its land development projects successfully executed on a large scale adding to the civic beauty of Calcutta and rendering conspicuous community service, and, last but not the least, the vast opportunity it has created for employment of Indians irrespective of their domicile, I feel convinced that by honouring a person

who made all this possible, with no adventitious circumstances to assist him, we are only honouring ourselves. I, therefore, appreciate the feelings of love, esteem and gratitude which have prompted the Directors of the Hindusthan to instal the statue of Nalini Ranjan in this building which, in itself, stands as the greatest monument to his constructive genius.

I am aware that the names of Nalini Ranjan and the Hindusthan have become synonymous ; one cannot think of the one without the other. Nonetheless, there is, what I would characterise as incomplete and imperfect realisation of what Nalini has actually done in building up this great institution. Like many business institutions started as the result of the Swadeshi movement, the Hindusthan, in its early years, was a queer amalgam of business and idealism. Bengalis were then just entering organised business, they lacked experience, they lacked business traditions. Hardly had the concern come out of its swaddling clothes, its defects, both in conception as well as in its structural basis, began to be apparent and it was soon felt that its doors would have to be closed. It was at this juncture that Nalini Ranjan emerged as its saviour ; and with superhuman energy and driving force, he gave it new life and vigour. Of the business institutions started in the wake of the Swadeshi movement, not a few were still-born ; and of the handful that survived and achieved success, Hindusthan is easily the most important and the most imposing. And at every stage of this epic period of struggle, stability and consolidation, Nalini Ranjan was the pilot at the helm, leading the ship to the haven of safety and security.

Had Nalini Ranjan stopped at that and rested on his oars, even then that would have sufficed to earn him his reputation as a successful businessman. He could have easily enjoyed the peace and happiness which worldly success and affluence can give, for the rest of his life. To Nalini Ranjan such a life held out no attractions. Work was the dominant passion all through his life and he allowed himself to be consumed inch by inch by its fire till his body gave way. It has surprised me nevertheless that even in his sick bed, he allows himself no more rest than what his frail body barely needs and, today, does an amount of work that would appear normally heavy for a less energetic man. His love for work, steadfastness of purpose and genius for quick comprehension and grasp made him the counsellor and the confident of men like *Deshbandhu* Chitta Ranjan Das and they explain why today he is one of the most respected leaders of the Indian business community.

To me, Nalini Ranjan's life is interesting for more reasons than one. Objectively speaking, I consider him as one of the

representative men of the new democracy that burst in upon us in the first decade of this century in the wake of the Swadeshi movement which threw up persons of fine mettle and sturdy fibre.

Nalini Ranjan came to Calcutta, a friendless and unknown young man with the purpose of winning his proper position in life ; nothing adventitious operated in his favour. He got into the Hindusthan at the lowest rung of the ladder, made himself felt in its affairs and came to occupy the highest and the most responsible position in it. He then entered politics, made his mark and became a live-wire politician, joined commercial politics a green-horn ; astonished the old leaders by his drive and aggressiveness, and eventually came at the top. Later on, he became a Minister, and at once confounded everybody by becoming one of the ablest provincial Finance Ministers of India. At a later stage in his political career, he became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, one of the highest posts under the British Crown, made his mark in the Council by his ability, drive and forthrightness and then threw up the job. In fact, as soon as he achieved one success, he made it the jumping ground for yet a higher one and, in this process of self-instruction and self-realisation, turned himself into a man of deep and wide culture. In all this, he upset the smug old traditions hitherto holding sway and represented the new democratic order. Speaking of him, I feel tempted to quote Rudyard Kipling's words—'He has walked with kings yet kept the common touch'.

From what I have seen of him—and I have seen quite a lot of him—I do not think Nalini Ranjan is the type that is satisfied with mere worldly success. Of that he has had enough. A realist by temperament but an idealist in aim, he has an insatiable thirst for knowledge. He feels that in this little known and vastly unknown world, knowledge is power ; and not least in the sphere of business, knowledge is really power. That is why early in life, while still struggling to find his feet, he began ceaselessly to equip himself through study and to prepare himself for greater things to come. Today, he is acknowledged as one of the leaders of economic thought in our country whose pronouncements and opinions on financial and economic matters are heard with respect and taken into account before coming to decisions by both government and the public. As a one-time University teacher, I feel happy that Nalini Ranjan has achieved the almost impossible task of bringing Clive Street and College Street together ; this understanding between the two has opened up new and fruitful possibilities of collaboration in diverse directions.

As the head of the State, I have had some opportunity of

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3 *Son*
Sudhir Coomar Mookerjee

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4 *Signing the Oath on installation as Governor of West Bengal*

5 *After installation ceremony*

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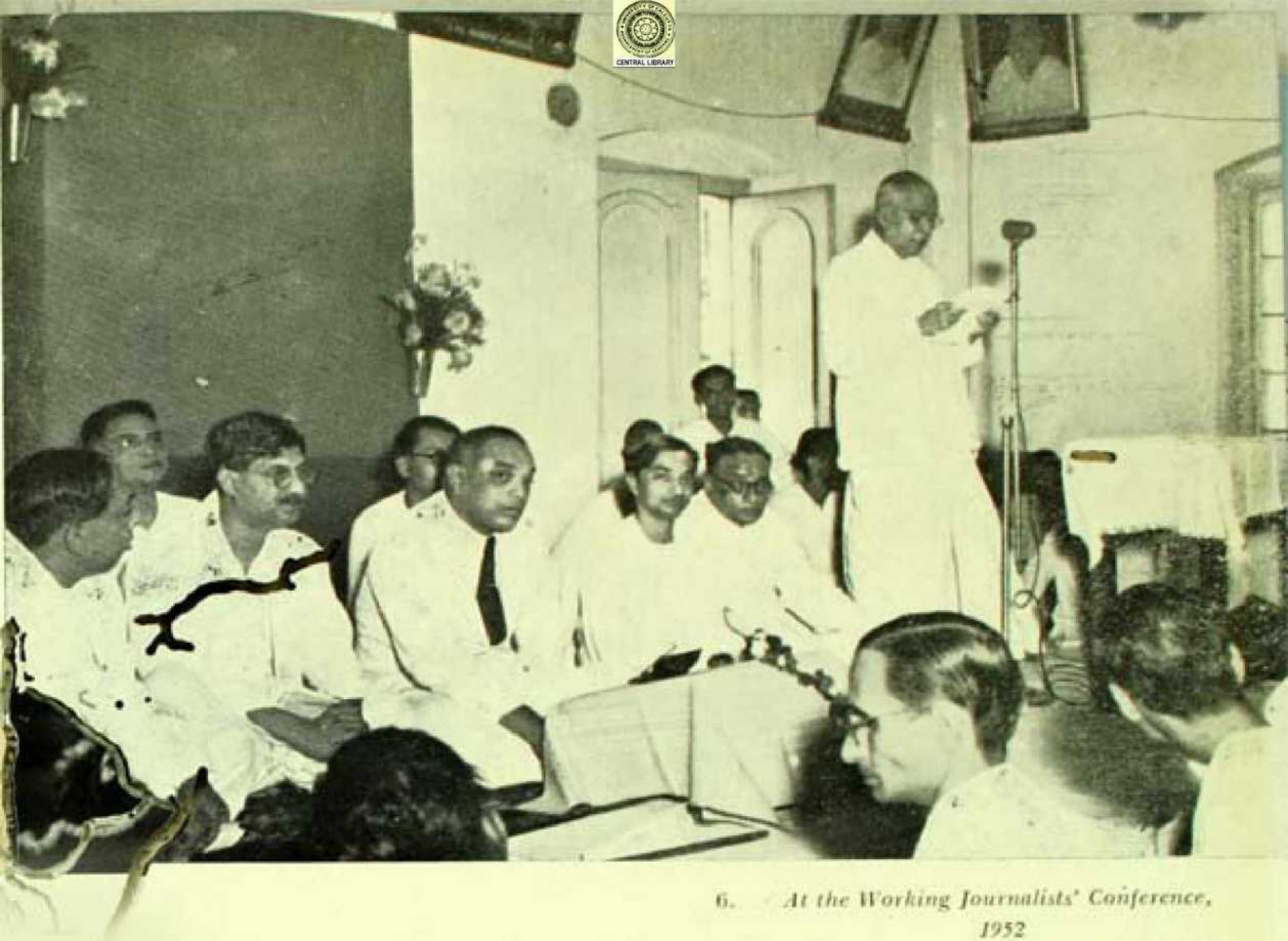

6. *At the Working Journalists' Conference, 1952*

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7 *Indian Science Congress, C*
1952

8 *Indian Science Congress, 1952*
another view

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9 *Indian Science Congress, 1952*
another view

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10 *With Marshal Tito (Tito clapping)*

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11 *Calcutta University Convocation, 1952, Senators entering in procession*

12 *Centenary Meeting, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, 1953*

watching Nalini as an administrator and a statesman. Nalini, the politician, the live-wire chief whip of the Swaraj Party whose exploits have passed into legend, is already well-known. Being an idealist in aim but a realist in action, he has a severely practical way of looking at administrative problems, and whenever he touches one, he at once illumines it by the light of his intellect and knowledge. His vast experience, forthrightness, clear vision, statesmanship and flair for details have combined to make him one of the ablest administrators that this State has so far produced. Unbending in matters of principle and unswerving in his loyalties —he is one of the finest colleagues to work with. I can also tell you from personal knowledge how much we in Bengal owe to him for what he did for the non-Muslim when he was a Minister under the then League Ministry. From inside the citadel of communal reaction, he frustrated many an evil design of the communalists and saved the Hindu community from various encroachments on their rights. Although I was in the Opposition at the time, I know with what sincere feelings of appreciation many of us used to admire him for his gallant and often successful fight against odds. A man cast in a softer mould would have been overwhelmed ; but he stuck to his unpleasant and difficult job and deserves our gratitude.

All this does not, however, exhaust the sum-total of his achievements in diverse spheres of life, for there is hardly any practical field which he did not enter and which he has not enriched by his unbounded energy, intellect and wisdom. Such a life is worth emulation by our young men ; it is indeed a treasure-house for those who want to conquer life by nothing but sheer personal qualities and solid and devoted work. I can, with a teacher's pride, present this life to the coming generation to cherish in their memory and to emulate.

I think I express the feelings of all present here when I say that we are profoundly grateful to Providence that Nalini is still with us. Our only regret is that he is not strong enough to be with us here and that the country has been deprived of his valuable services. On this occasion when we have assembled here to honour him, let us pray to God with all sincerity that He may in His infinite mercy be pleased to spare Nalini Ranjan to us for many years to come so that he may complete his yet unfinished work to the lasting benefit of the country and to the joy and satisfaction of us all.

DEATH OF DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE.

(At a meeting of the citizens of Calcutta convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta).

20th June, 1953.

We have met here today under the shadow of a national calamity—the sudden and premature passing away of a truly great son of mother India, born in this city of West Bengal. Syamaprasad—a name to conjure with—has been snatched away in the fulness of his manhood, with its immense potentialities, regard being had to his glorious record of past achievements in the service of the country in various fields, by the cruel hand of death.

What has added to the poignancy of our grief is that he died in detention, while still seeking to serve the country according to his own lights, far away from his home and from his near and dear ones, including his old mother, for whose presence by his bedside he seemed to have expressed a passionate yearning in his last moments.

It has fallen to my lot as the titular head of this State to give expression to the profound sorrow and sense of irreparable loss surging in the hearts of the citizens of Calcutta and the people of West Bengal in general over this tragic happening. It is an unenviable lot that I should have been called upon to perform this melancholy duty. For, not only as his teacher during the formative years of his life did I stand *in loco parentis* to the departed great but he maintained the ties so formed of the closest association and intimate personal touch with me till his end. I am weighed down with a sense of personal bereavement and overwhelmed as I am by my own emotions, I feel unequal to the task which I have to discharge in my representative capacity.

I need hardly remind you of the Sanskrit adage about the natural ambition of a father or a teacher to see his son or pupil surpass him. My ambition in this respect had its fulfilment in Syamaprasad in abundant measure, when I lived to see him grow to an immense stature, towering head and shoulders above his fellow-beings, including myself. But, then, it is against the order of nature that I of the older generation, having had the rare privilege of experiencing this unalloyed joy should also live to mourn his loss.

It is in the fitness of things that we have assembled together to pay our loving homage and respectful tribute to his memory

here in this Senate Hall which witnessed his earliest triumphs as a student and his maturer achievements as an administrator of outstanding merit in the educational sphere. Born at the turn of the century, viz., in 1901, when Bengal still claimed the leadership of India, as the second son of the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee of hallowed memory, who was rightly regarded as the main architect of the Calcutta University and acclaimed as a jurist of international renown, Syamaprasad impressed everybody even in his teens as a chip of the old block, having a career full of promise, and soon distinguished himself with a string of academic successes, taking the top place at almost every examination.

His long association with the administration of the Calcutta University, which was to be so fruitful of results, commenced in 1924, when, at the early age of 23, he became a member of the Senate. And very soon it became apparent that the mantle of his illustrious father had fallen upon his shoulders in this sphere. He made the University his own, even as his distinguished father had done before him, serving it with single-minded devotion for more than two decades in various capacities as President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts and Science, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Vice-Chancellor, and making unparalleled contributions to the cause of advancement of learning, its declared motto.

Having realised that 'University education originated in this country not in the desire for conservation and betterment of our traditional culture, our arts, crafts and industries, but mainly for imparting to us western ideas through the medium of a foreign tongue' and for 'ensuring a regular supply of an indigenous machinery for the smooth working of a powerful bureaucracy', as he himself said in his Convocation speech as Vice-Chancellor in 1938, he wanted 'to see the syllabus and courses of studies so remodelled, system of training and examinations so reorganised that the young learner may grow up not as a mechanised recorder of information and theories, not as a dry specialist, but as one whose latent power is well roused, whose critical judgment is strengthened and whose capacity for wide thinking and application of knowledge to problems of life is developed to the fullest extent', and also 'to see such an education being imparted through the language of the province in all stages without neglecting a study of the English language'.

During the four years of his service as the Vice-Chancellor, Syamaprasad did not spare time, energy, health, convenience, or anything worth having in life, where they stood in the way of the performance of what he considered his duty and this he did

against the advice of his doctors. He initiated certain new departments and courses and developed and improved existing ones. The Departments of Science are particularly indebted to him ; the untiring labours of the son fulfilled the dream of Sir Ashutosh —the dream of Departments claiming, as a matter of right, the admiration of the world. In the Department of Arts, he introduced various reforms all aimed at broadening the basis of culture, liberalising, in the process, library facilities and, above all, adopting Bengali as the medium of teaching and examination.

Without any encouragement from the Government of the day, he put into effect a scheme for agricultural education and introduced the Diploma Course in Agriculture. He was deeply interested in women's education and implemented a noteworthy scheme with the endowment of the late Viharilal Mitra.

The organisation of the Teachers' Training Department and the introduction of Short Term Training Courses including a Vacation Course to provide trained teachers for our schools, the establishment of Chinese and Tibetan studies, the foundation of the Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art and Fine Arts Gallery, the work of archæological excavations undertaken by the University, the establishment of the Appointment and Information Board, the construction of the new Central Library Hall with research and reading room facilities on modern lines, the introduction of Hindi in the B.A. course and of Honours courses in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu as Second Languages—these were some of his achievements.

At his instance, a *Bengali Paribhasha* of scientific terms was prepared and published and a special scheme for training students for Public Services Examinations was put through.

A special series of Bengali publications in different branches of knowledge was undertaken. The series was intended for the benefit of students and general readers. Bengali spellings were standardised on his initiative.

The college code was formulated for the first time during his Vice-Chancellorship and the new Matriculation Regulations were framed and the age restriction of students abolished.

The system of Compartmental Examinations and concessions to failed students for appearing at examinations without getting themselves admitted into colleges were introduced during the tenure of his office.

The question of giving military training to our students engaged his serious attention and, in spite of discouraging factors; he succeeded in initiating military training courses in our scheme

of studies. This was no mean achievement in the days when he was Vice-Chancellor.

The welfare of the younger generation and of the country at large was the ideal he set before himself and with single-minded devotion he laboured hard to attain it. To this end, he took steps to improve and expand the Students' Welfare Department for the promotion of the physical health of our pupils and abolished hostels reserved for students coming from the so-called backward classes providing accommodation for them in the general hostels and messes attached to colleges. Primarily intended to create the spirit of brotherhood among them, Syamaprasad saw that special reduced seat-rents were charged from them.

It was during his Vice-Chancellorship that the University Foundation (*i.e.*, 24th January) was celebrated every year. Students of different colleges attended the ceremony with banners and badges and teachers of colleges and schools also attended it. This was an attempt at bringing teachers and students into closer personal relationship.

During his time, a scheme was initiated in the Applied Chemistry Department for imparting training in large scale production of certain industrial goods.

His wide interest in the promotion of cultural fellowship and human brotherhood was manifested in the work done by him as President of the Maha Bodhi Society.

In all that he did, Syamaprasad, while facing every problem courageously, knew how to act in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and was eminently successful not merely in maintaining but enhancing the prestige and reputation of his *alma mater*.

What has been said just now may appear a dry and not very interesting catalogue of the achievements of my late pupil. It is admittedly so, for it would take a large volume to give some idea of the implications, immediate and remote, of the improvements he introduced in the Calcutta University. But I am quite clear in my mind that as years roll by, the people of Bengal will not only feel more and more grateful to him for what he did for them but that they will see the ideas behind the different steps he took finding approval from and acceptance by other centres of learning. And, in this sphere at least, Syamaprasad, though dead, will continue to live in our memory and to maintain the prestige of the people of this State for generations to come.

Syamaprasad joined the legal profession in his early manhood, first as a vakil and then as a member of the English Bar

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but, fortunately for the country as a whole, he did not take this career at the Calcutta High Court very seriously. With his keen intellect, devastating logic and great gift of eloquence—he was probably the last of the great giants which Bengal produced in the field of oratory—he could have easily risen to the top of the profession and shone as a luminary in the legal firmament, as his father had done but law is a jealous mistress and, from the point of view of the interests of our motherland, he certainly made a better choice, as the present Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court—another distinguished pupil of mine—has said in course of a reference to his death, by refusing to be content with only pleading for justice for his clients and preferring to make justice to the whole of India his special concern and for that justice not only to plead but to fight 'with all the great powers which he possessed and all the capacity for leadership which has made his name famous with everybody.'

Syamaprasad started on his political career in a small way in 1929 when he entered the Bengal Legislative Council as the member representing the University constituency. Gradually he drifted into the fold of the Hindu Mahasabha, which he galvanised into new life as an instrument for the service of the country. His association with the Hindu Mahasabha was the outcome of his strong reaction to the communal politics of the Muslim League and the anti-national and disruptive forces let loose by it.

Syamaprasad was himself imbued with an intense patriotic fervour and his own outlook was always a national one—never communal or parochial. There was nothing reactionary about him. He espoused the ideals of the Congress and fought for the realisation thereof in his own way, whenever these were in accord with his personal convictions. And be it remembered that he wanted to see the Mahasabha turn itself into a cultural organisation in the post-independence period and that he severed his connection with it immediately after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Even as a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, he joined the cabinet of Mr. Fazlul Huq in 1941 as Finance Minister of undivided Bengal with the object *inter alia* of fighting the communal menace then stalking the land. He expressed himself later in these terms in his famous letter of the 16th November 1942, to Sir John Herbert, the then Governor of Bengal, when resigning from his office:

> When I accepted office nearly a year ago, I was fully aware of the difficulties of the task I was undertaking. The

province was then surcharged with communal tension almost unprecedented in its history.

* * * *

I have striven during the period of my office to maintain a healthy communal atmosphere, believing as I do that this province can never advance unless the two great communities comprised within it feel that its administration is being carried on in a fair and just manner.

In his letter of the same date addressed to Chief Minister he said:

Whatever may happen in future, I hope you and I will be able to work together for the protection of popular rights and for maintaining a healthy communal atmosphere in the province.

That his national outlook was never blurred by his association with the Hindu Mahasabha and that he yielded to none in his desire to free India from alien rule is borne out by the following extracts from his letter of the 12th August 1942 to the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow:

The demand of the Congress as embodied in its last resolution virtually constitutes the national demand of India as a whole. It is regrettable that a campaign of misrepresentation is being carried on in some sections of the foreign press characterising the Congress demand as a virtual invitation to Japan and a surrender to chaos and confusion. . . . . Repression is not the remedy at this critical hour. Indeed the history of all countries struggling for freedom amply discloses that the greater the repression from the ruling power, the more intense is the spirit of resistance of the people who regard themselves as oppressed and downtrodden.

* * * *

I therefore appeal to you to take a realistic view of the Indian situation which must be examined in the light of rapidly-changing world movements. There is none who is satisfied with the present Indian administration and an immediate transfer of power is essential for the solution of the Indian deadlock. The substance of the Congress demand is nothing more than this.

* * * *

What is regarded as the most unfortunate decision on the part of the British Government was its refusal to negotiate with Mahatma Gandhi even after he gave his emphatic assurance that the movement would not start until all avenues for an honourable settlement had been explored.

I have intimated to the Governor of Bengal that I have disapproved of the policy launched by the British Government and their representatives at the present juncture. I am making this appeal to you in the hope that you will not allow false prestige to stand in the way, but take immediate action for solving the deadlock. In case, however, you feel that the British Government should not move further but allow the present impasse to continue, I must regretfully ask my Governor to relieve me of my duties as Minister, so that I may have full freedom to help to mobilise public opinion in demanding a settlement.

Syamaprasad expressed himself more or less in identically emphatic terms in his letter of the 16th November 1942, by which he tendered resignation of his office, as the following extracts will show:

If it is a crime to see one's country free and shake off foreign domination, including British, every self-respecting Indian is a criminal. There are administrators in India who dream constantly of fifth columnists walking on the roads and lanes of Indian towns and villages. These estimable gentlemen themselves belong to this category, if treachery to India's genuine interests is the real criterion of a fifth columnist in India.

* * * *

The doctrine of benevolent trusteeship stands exploded and you can no more throw dust into our eyes. Indian representatives therefore demand that the policy of administration of their country in all spheres, political, economic and cultural, must be determined by Indians themselves, unfettered by irritating acts of unsympathetic bureaucrats and bungling Governors.

* * * *

Instead of doing what is just and natural, for three months Government has carried on a reign of repression, which will serve as a good model to those deeply attached to totalitarian rules of conduct and whose alleged misdeeds are

widely circulated through British agencies. During these months people have lost their fear of bullets. What can possibly be your next sanction to hold India in chains?

Among the immediate causes of his resignation, apart from the failure of the British Government to come to a reasonable settlement with the Indian leaders for transfer of power into their hands with a view to the successful prosecution of the war, were the refusal of the Governor to take the Ministry into confidence in respect of such matters arising out of the war, as the Denial Policy, the repression carried on in the district of Midnapore as a counterblast to the disturbances connected with the August 1942 movement and the extreme callousness of the Government in the matter of rendering relief to the victims of the unprecedented havoc caused in that district by the cyclone and tidal wave of the 16th October, even the news whereof was suppressed for over a fortnight for fear of the Japanese taking advantage of the situation to land an invading army there. In his letter of resignation to the Governor he referred to them in these terms:

> The Congress movement in Midnapore took a very serious turn and none can say anything in respect of any legitimate measures taken to deal with the persons guilty of serious offences against the law. But in Midnapore repression has been carried on in a manner which resembles the activities of Germans in occupied territories as advertised by British agencies. Hundreds of houses have been burnt down by the police and the armed forces. Reports of outrages on women have reached us. Orders were issued from Calcutta that it was not the policy of Government that houses should be burnt by persons in charge of law and order. I have ample evidence to show this order was not carried into effect and even after the unprecedented havoc caused by the cyclone on the 16th October and our visit to the affected areas a fortnight later, the burning of houses and looting were continued in some parts of the district. Apart from the manner in which people were fired at and killed, these acts of outrage committed by Government agencies are abominable in character.
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> * * * *
>
> The reports which I have received about the callousness and indifference of some of the officers even after the cyclone perhaps find no parallel in the annals of civilised

administration. The suppression of news of the havoc by Government and even of appeals for help, for more than a fortnight was criminal.

* * * *

After the cyclone, curfew orders are continuing even in areas where people offered every co-operation. Our intervention in this respect proved fruitless. Transport facilities and movements were extremely restricted even when we visited the district a fortnight later.

* * * *

One officer's report in writing to Government was that relief, whether organised by Government or any private agency, should be withheld for a month and thereby people taught a permanent lesson. Relief measures adopted by local officers were utterly inadequate. Even bonafide private relief workers from Calcutta, though they produced their credentials, found themselves in jail under the Defence of India Rules. There is no chance on our part to get these officers removed from that area because prestige will then suffer. There is no chance of any enquiry being held . . . . . for then again prestige will suffer. The only chance that people of this province apparently have is to suffer patiently at the hands of the upholders of law and order and wait for the day when nemesis is bound to come.

Having freed himself from the shackles of office, Syamaprasad threw himself heart and soul into the task of organising effective relief for the unfortunate victims of the cyclone in Midnapore through non-official agencies. In the following year, when, Bengal as a whole, was in the grip of what was probably the worst famine in recorded human history, at least partly because of the Denial Policy and other erroneous war measures, he again rose to the occasion and did his best to alleviate the widespread distress and mitigate the horrors which followed in its wake. His activities at this critical juncture were typical of the large-hearted humanitarianism which was one of the essential ingredients of the character of this born fighter. It should be remembered that most of the Congress leaders were behind prison bars at this time and as such, could take no part in giving succour to suffering humanity. Bengal can never, therefore, forget how Syamaprasad stood by her in the dark days of this devastating famine when she was so sorely in need of relief from every quarter,

I need not recount in detail Syamaprasad's activities during the last decade, these being matters of recent history with which everybody is familiar. Briefly speaking, although he was an ardent believer in the integrity of the country that he loved so well, when he found that the emergence of Pakistan had become inevitable, he joined with similarly minded leaders in saving a part of Bengal for the Indian Union.

Thereafter Syamaprasad accepted the position of a Union Minister and was placed in charge of the Supply and Industries Department. He proved an able administrator and according to many, there is at least some justification for the view that he was primarily responsible for the adoption by India of the policy of mixed economy in the industrial field, which is still in vogue and forms the keynote of the recommendations of the Planning Commission. But he was not made of the stuff that would agree to a compromise with one's convictions for love of pelf or power. He was not the sort to succumb to the lure of office. He had therefore no hesitation in resigning from the Cabinet when he found himself unable to subscribe to the policy which resulted in the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Agreement in connection with the upheaval of 1950 in East Pakistan.

Here again, it is necessary to remember that Syamaprasad took pains to make it clear in his letter to our Prime Minister that the stand taken by him was not a communal one. He considered the problem to be a purely political one and differed from the Prime Minister as regards the approach to a solution thereof.

Syamaprasad, thereafter, became the most outstanding figure in our Parliament on the side of the Opposition. He formed a new party known as the Jana Sangha on the eve of the last general elections and virtually became the leader of the opposition in the re-constituted Parliament. A strong but informed and responsible opposition is the very foundation of parliamentary democracy and this was furnished by Syamaprasad in recent years. As the *Statesman* has put it, he was the chief assayer of Government policies and measures and his searching analysis and criticism the principal safeguard against complacency on the part of the party in power by reason of its large and comfortable majority.

As regards the last phase of his political career, which concerns his participation in the Jammu Parishad agitation, I should only like to say that he did not launch upon it for the sake of anything in the nature of a political stunt designed to earn cheap popularity for himself and create embarrassment to

the powers that be. Knowing him as I do, I cannot but assert that he joined the movement from the purest of motives and in the sincerest belief that he could thus bring about an effective solution of the problem. He had the courage of his convictions and was prepared to stake his life for them. Again, there was no communal mentality behind his move. The effect of his activities might conceivably be regarded by the authorities as being conducive to communalism but that must have been far from his intention.

We may recall in this connection that the non-co-operation movement launched more than once by Mahatma Gandhi with the purest of motives had to be judged by the British Government as an indirect incitement to mass disturbances, lawlessness and hooliganism, not altogether without reason.

Considered from his own point of view, Syamaprasad will be regarded by many as having died a martyr's death in Kashmir. In any case, it is in the nature of a grim tragedy that a great patriot of his stature should have died while in detention without trial.

Occupying the position I do, it would be improper on my part to criticise in even the most temperate language the actions of those responsible for the administration of what we all regard as a sister State. Moreover, as a sincere believer in allegiance both in letter and in spirit to the principle of clarity under all circumstances, it would be wrong to express any opinion until and unless the other side in what is admittedly a painful and controversial matter has had an opportunity of stating its position and explaining its conduct.

Nonetheless, as the mouthpiece here of all sections of the people of West Bengal, I desire to make it absolutely clear that even those who were unable to see eye to eye with my late pupil in his last public activity, maintain that it is unfortunate that a man like Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, with a large number of very close relatives, thousands of devoted followers and lakhs of admirers, should have passed away without anyone of them being present beside him at the hour of death. This very largely explains the feelings of grief and soreness felt today by every son and daughter of Bengal.

UNVEILING OF THE PORTRAIT OF MAHARAJA MANINDRA CHANDRA NANDY OF COSSIMBAZAR AT THE MAHARAJA MANINDRA CHANDRA COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

12th November, 1953.

It is indeed a great privilege to be called upon to unveil the portrait of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, one of the greatest sons of modern Bengal, whose name and fame continue to remain a household word today, even though his death took place nearly a quarter of a century ago—to be exact on the 12th November, 1929.

In the fast changing society of truncated Bengal, the ideals and traditions of the past are in danger of being overlooked or forgotten. It will be readily admitted that it would be suicidal for us to drift away from our old moorings. If this is conceded, it is necessary that we should try to forge a link with the seemingly dead past through communion with the spirit of our great predecessors. Let us remember the ideals they pursued with faith and courage. Let us try to imitate their qualities of head and heart and let us carry on the work which they began. An occasion such as this reminds us once again of our inescapable duty to dedicate our humble efforts to the realisation of the ideals embodied in the character and achievements of men like the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy.

It is quite in the fitness of things that the portrait of this princely patron of learning should be unveiled in an educational institution located in the house in which he was born more than ninety years ago—on the 29th May, 1860. During his long and fruitful public career he spent over a crore of rupees for the advancement of education only, not only in his own province, but also in centres of learnig like Banaras outside it. The Banaras Hindu University received from him a large sum of money and named after him a Professorship in Ancient Indian History. He was a generous patron of the Ranchi Brahmacharya Vidyalaya. In his own town Berhampore—the K. N. College and the attached high school owed their development to his lavish generosity. For the benefit of his tenants, he established and maintained several high schools in the rural areas in the districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan. To the Carmichael College at Rangpur—a district in which he had large estates—he contributed generously. The Hindu Academy of Daulatpur (in the

district of Khulna) counted him among its patrons. In Calcutta the Bose Institute, the National Council of Education, the Deaf and Dumb School and the Blind School enjoyed his support. Here, in North Calcutta, he established and maintained the Polytechnic school known as the Maharaja Cossimbazar Polytechnic Institute. And twelve years after his death his worthy son, the late lamented Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, made over the building where we are today to the Governing Body of this College—a fitting tribute to the memory of his illustrious father.

I can add many other items to this brief catalogue of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy's contribution to the sacred cause of education. But my main purpose is to emphasise the role he played in the educational progress of our country. It is often said that Bengal owes most of her educational institutions to the idealism, initiative and sacrifices of her own sons. It is doubtful whether our old rulers ever realised the necessity of establishing a Welfare State probably because its necessity had not been realised in even their own homeland. Nor did they conceive of education as an essential element in the development of the average citizen's personality.

Naturally, those leaders of Indian society, who viewed education from this angle were compelled to take on the responsibility of educating their fellow-citizens. This explains why the making of provision for education was, in the context of the political and social conditions of those days, a particularly fruitful expression of patriotism. And no one can deny that, from this point of view, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy was a true patriot. The educational institutions patronised by him offered opportunities and facilities which the State did not provide. By raising the intellectual and cultural level of our society he strengthened it, not only for survival, but also for resistance against alien domination. I hope the students of this College and of those institutions which the late Maharaja founded or maintained, will remember what they no less than Bengali society as a whole, owe to the generosity of that far-sighted and munificent zemindar.

It is not only in the field of University education that the enlightened vision of the Maharaja revealed itself. A true *Vaishnava,* he encouraged well-known Sanskrit scholars to edit standard Sanskrit works on the *Bhakti* cult. He was a generous patron of Bengali Literature as well. The first session of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan was held in 1910 at his invitation at Cossimbazar. The imposing building of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in Upper Circular Road stands on a large plot of land

donated by him. Many promising writers and scholars received financial assistance from him. While fully appreciating the value of western education, he realised the urgency of developing our own languages and of revitalising our national culture. His broad mind and liberal outlook brought about an easy and natural harmony between the East and the West.

Academic and cultural interests did not have the effect of making him forget wants and sufferings of the masses. He was a generous contributor to the Albert Victor Hospital at Belgachia (Calcutta) and founded the Curzon Charitable Hospital at Cossimbazar. By completing the waterworks of Berhampore, he improved public health and sanitation considerably in that growing town. As Chairman of the Berhampore Municipality and of the Murshidabad District Board for many years, he set an example of selfless public service.

It is somewhat surprising to find that this soft-hearted idealist was also a stern realist in certain directions. Zemindars are traditionally associated with agriculture, but Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy grasped fully the vital importance of industrial development for the economic regeneration of his country. He opened the first Industrial Exhibition in Calcutta oragnised by the Indian National Congress. His financial support enabled many Bengali young men to go to England, America, Japan and other countries for technical education. He himself was a pioneer among industrialists in Bengal. Potteries, clay mines and collieries claimed his interest and support. I hope that students reading in the commerce classes of this College will not fail to pay particular attention to this aspect of the Maharaja's achievement and try to follow his example in their necessarily limited spheres.

Although his position as a leader of the landed aristocracy brought the Maharaja into close contact with the British bureaucracy and made him to some extent dependent on its support, he never hesitated to stand on the side of his countrymen on crucial issues. When *Swadeshi* was adopted as a political cult during the exciting anti-partition days, he attended a momentous meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall to lend his wholehearted support to that movement. He was, for many years, a leading member of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Imperial Legislative Council and the Council of State. On all occasions and in all fields, he was an eloquent supporter of national demands. That is why Bengal continues to cherish his memory as a staunch patriot.

Although the Maharaja was an indefatigable and successful worker in many spheres and though he suffered crushing bereavements and vicissitudes of fortune, he never lost his sweetness of

temper and in particular that spirit of calm resignation to the Divine Will which were among the most remarkable traits of his character. He derived his strength as well as his inspiration from an abiding faith in, and devotion to, his Maker. When Providence brought him a fortune he regarded himself as a trustee whose sacred duty it was to devote his wealth to the service of the people. Even during his lifetime, he was described as a *Rajarshi*, for, in the midst of pomp and splendour, he lived a simple life of absolute detachment. The man was certainly greater than the self-appointed tasks he performed.

Before I conclude I should like to emphasise two great traits in the character of the late Maharaja which mark him off from even the most generous among the numerous benefactors of Bengal or even of India.

It is a well-known fact that, ordinarily, charitably disposed persons indicate in their last wills and testaments the institutions they desire to help together with the amounts to be given to them. Under these circumstances, there seems some justification for the cynical view that such benefactors do not deny themselves the enjoyment derivable from all the wealth at their disposal and that they are charitable at the expense of their heirs, some of whom at any rate feel no pleasure at the thought that they are getting less than what they feel they had the right to inherit.

From this point of view, we must all agree that Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy set a unique example by his nobly charitable disposition to deprive himself of lakhs and lakhs of rupees during his own lifetime, thereby proving that his was a soul which had learnt and practised in daily life the sublime lesson of self-sacrifice.

The second thought which comes to me when I think of his wide charities is the catholicity of his gifts and their wide range. Ordinarily, charitable men are interested in one or other variety of human want or suffering and when they give away their money or their labour, they do so for the mitigation or removal of the particular type of human need or misery which appeals to them. As against the argument that this concentration of their charity is the inevitable result of the limited funds at their disposal, it may be pointed out that this tendency to confine charity for the attainment of definite ends, which it is conceded is certainly worthy of the highest praise, is also to be found among those who can afford to be more catholic in their beneficent activities.

It has been made quite clear from the observations already made that the late Maharaja was a man of a different type altogether. It is perhaps correct to assume that he could have produced

a more profound effect on the public mind if all the vast sums he gave away had been canalised for the attainment of a limited objective. But such was the largeness of his mind, so wide his range of interest that he distributed his charity with a lavish hand over such widely separated areas as education, medical relief, encouragement of arts and letters, of large and small scale industries, to mention only a few of the many channels through which the stream of his generosity flowed till it had the effect of even embarrassing him financially.

Those who are associated with this College named after the great Maharaja are trustees in charge of an inspiring tradition. It is their moral duty to make this institution worthy of the great name it bears. For its further expansion and growth they must solicit the support of the State and the community. Its rapid progress during the last twelve years proves that it is rendering useful service to the residents of North Calcutta and the northern suburbs.

The immediate needs of the College, I am given to understand, are new buildings for the accommodation of the growing number of students and the opening of B.Sc. classes.

Let the rich people of Calcutta—of North Calcutta in particular—emulate the example of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy and contribute generously to the Development Fund of this College. Let those students who received their education here come forward to assist their *alma mater* to grow and develop. Let all of us pay our homage to the memory of the great Maharaja, not through words alone, but through service to the people.

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BIRTH CENTENARY OF ACHARYA GIRIS CHANDRA BOSE.

22nd January, 1954.

It is a matter of great significance that we have met here today to remember with gratitude and reverence the services of Acharya Giris Chandra Bose to the cause of education in this land and his contributions to the building up of a national consciousness in the mind of his countrymen. It is just a century back that he was born and it is worth while to recount the social and political condition of our country at that time. For a proper valuation of the work of Giris Chandra can be made only in the perspective presented by the events and circumstances obtaining at the time of his birth and his early youth.

The full impact of the English administrative machinery had a corroding effect on the educational system of the time and its influence was powerfully felt in almost every sphere of life. As we survey these years we are conscious how all the creative and constructive activity of the nation was at a dead level and the few educated men of the time when Giris Chandra was born were mostly anglicised being fed and nourished on the civilisation of the West.

Pandit Iswar Chandra was a shining example of how a man could be truly national in spirit with all the accomplishments of western civilisation. Giris Chandra was a true inheritor of this spirit and when he came back from England with all the glamour of an England-educated young man, he did not become an outcaste as the majority of such young men of the time used to be, both literally and spiritually. He was inspired with the vision of making his country not a mere copy of England but an India revived and revitalised. The letters he wrote from England breathe the spirit and yearning of a man who desired to pour this new spirit into the inert and devitalised life of his countrymen.

Circumstances combined to create a situation which gave him scope for the activities for which he was destined. He began his career as a journalist with the publication of a technical periodical with the aim of popularising his newly gained knowledge of modern agriculture and allied sciences. But his activities really began when he started a school with only twelve students on the roll. The present position of Bangabasi College—School and College—which sprang out of his early attempts as an educationist proves the correctness of his vision, his powers of organisation no less than of his administrative efficiency.

The methods of teaching introduced by Giris Chandra were something refreshingly new and inspiring and many in this gathering may remember how this great teacher used to lecture to his students in Bengali thus evoking keen interest in the subjects of study and, particularly, in Botany his special subject. He popularised the study of science by his inimitable way of teaching and his direct approach to the subject. His advocacy of the need of the study of Bengali as a subject in University Examinations is well-known and he was one of the pioneers in the line.

Being a man of strong personality, he knew what he wanted and could make his influence felt in any gathering. His speeches and debates at the meetings of the Calcutta University Senate and Syndicate of which he was a member for some time evinced his spirit of independence and uncommon courage of conviction. He was described by the English educationists of the time as the 'irrepressible Mr. Bose'.

These were remarkable qualities no doubt but the real worth of the man lay in his nationalistic outlook and sympathy for the underdog. He made his college an asylum for the politically suspect young men of the time. It required something more than ordinary courage to take in young men who were regarded as undesirables by the then Government thereby incurring its displeasure. For years, Bangabasi College was blacklisted by the Government of the day being looked upon with distrust as an institution for seditionists. No assistance ever came to him from that side and unaided, single handed, he continued the work which he had accepted as his life's mission. A fearless man, undeterred by frowns or unsapped by favour he carried on the appointed task of his life and ultimately had the satisfaction of seeing it crowned with success. But the man was greater than his work. He represented the ideal of plain living and high thinking in all its details. He gave up his English costume soon after he landed in India. He was always clad in plain *dhoti* and shirt with a white *chaddar* on. In this simple national costume, he used to shine by the brilliance of his personality in the midst of men clothed in non-Indian clothes. He was accessible to all at all hours and was never rigid in respect of formalities. He had sympathy for all and lent a helping hand to all cases of distress, particularly among the students. A man of tact, he possessed that unerring sense of how to enforce discipline among the numerous students who came to his college from different parts of India and Burma. If Giris Chandra had been alive today, he would certainly have wondered at the breaches of discipline among students of the present generation. He knew how to take a long view of things

and regarded no problem as insoluble. Because he knew how to feel the pulse of his students, he could mould them in the way he thought best for them. Even when he reached old age, he never lost his insight into the mind of the youth of the country and never found himself out of element in their midst. He could very often infuse his enthusiasm and his zest for life and its work into the minds of young men. The strength of his mind never failed him and he had an iron hand under a velvet glove. In him was found the living expression of the ancient ideal of বজ্রাদপি কঠোরাণি মৃদূনি কুসুমাদপি।

Giris Chandra lived to a fairly old age and the secret of his health and his unbounded zeal for work lay in his habits of temperance and self-control. He used to express his wonder when some junior members of his staff fell ill, by naively remarking that youth and ill-health could go ill together. He was a true artist of life and knew how to grow old gracefully. It was a delight to observe the octogenarian-chief going up the long staircase of his college building with firm steps and unruffled dignity. He worked vigorously till within a month of his final passing away so that he may well be said to have died in harness.

Giris Chandra had the supreme satisfaction of seeing the institution which symbolised his life's achievement safe in the hand of his son and a worthy group of teachers who were practically made by him. There is a feeling attached to institutions built up through years of patient work by one man that they do not survive their founders. Bangabasi College presents a case which proves the incorrectness of this generally held view.

In conclusion I may be permitted to say that this great man may well be described as one of our nation builders and it is on that basis that the proper estimate of Giris Chandra and his work has to be made. Quite a large number of his students have made their mark in life, and they all remember with affection the debt they owe to the departed great man who was their friend, philosopher and guide. My blessings and good wishes will always go to this institution, a fitting memorial to Acharya Giris Chandra Bose. Men of his stamp never die and this centenary of his birth is a reminder of his ideals and his work which, I am sure, will provide an inspiration for the future.

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RELIGION AND WORLD UNITY.

(Under the auspices of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and Fraternity of Faiths Organisations).

25th August, 1952.

It is generally correct to hold that the founders of all the great religions were personages who had more of the divine spark in them than those by whom they were surrounded, who saw their weaknesses with an unerring eye and who therefore felt that the moral and ethical environment in which they found themselves needed a change and a change for the better. Such people were also fully alive to the fact that the improvements they desired to introduce would be resented by those they sought to benefit. Nonetheless, they persisted in the course of action they had marked out for themselves, courted unpopularity, hatred and sometimes even death.

The value of their teachings was realised, in the first instance, by a handful of earnest and sincere people, who might be described as their first disciples and who, after their disappearance from this earth, carried on the work of their masters with vigour and enthusiasm.

With the passage of time, there were accretions to the original teachings of those great personages. Some were due to the interpretations put on their teachings, others were additions in the shape of rites and ceremonies, the aim of which was, if one may say so, to standardise the way of life and the manner of worship. The living of life in strict accordance with the teachings of the founders of religions being certainly more difficult than the observance of rites and ceremonies which had become associated with them later on, the adherents unconsciously confounded the two and tended to substitute the latter for the former.

I do not know how others feel but, personally, I have no objection to orthodoxy if it implies close adherence in one's daily life to the teachings of the founder of a religion plus strict observance of the rites and ceremonies associated with it. I say this because I have seen hundreds of cases where such people have proved themselves to be better men than those who follow no religion and also ridicule what they regard as old and useless superstition. I also believe that human nature being weak, there are bound to be lapses, but if an honest attempt is made to carry out the teachings in the spirit as well as in the letter and if there

is genuine repentance for departures from the standards laid down as well as making reparations where practicable, then indeed all that is possible for a man to do has been done, and he may indeed expect to be pardoned for his sins.

Every one is aware that while many forms of worship regarded as crude have come and gone, there also persist in this world of ours equally crude ones which ought to have disappeared long ago and yet have not done so. We can also trace how, generally speaking, there has been progress in religious thought so that its cruder forms have been gradually replaced by less objectionable ones. Religious persecution and attempts at wiping out religions have failed so far and we have realised the wisdom of toleration. Even if we cannot iron out our doctrinal differences, of which I do not see much chance today, we can at least emphasise the points of agreement which, on examination, will be found to be more important and fundamental than the points of difference. It is here that we can reach agreement and stand shoulder to shoulder to carry on our duty as children of God who has laid on us the clear duty to fight evil wherever and in whatever form it is found in this world.

I maintain that not enough emphasis has been placed by the followers of most religions on the attempt that has to be made to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth. This implies that life has to be spiritualised and made better not through those outward means with which rites and ceremonies or even theoretical acceptance of religious teachings are concerned, but by transformation from within leading to actively fighting evil in all its various forms.

During the middle ages, sections of the most devout among Christians retired to monasteries and nunneries whilst theologians preached that the contamination of the world was something from which man must flee. Buddhism in its preachings laid stress on the conquest of desire and the attainment of non-birth. The effect of preachings of this type was that the best men and women retired to monasteries and nunneries to lead what they regarded as holy lives away from the world. The doctrine of Maya established by the lofty intellect of Sankaracharya and introduced later into Hinduism had the similar effect of turning men's minds away from their social duties and striving for individual perfection through rejection of the world as illusory. The result was that all these religious systems lost their dynamic power of swaying men's mind, and many hold that the rapid rise of Islam was due to its emphasis on society and life and its political outlook.

The cessation of war and a happier united humanity has been the dream of man throughout the ages, but the recent expansion of science, which has put immense powers of destruction in his hands and, in particular, the use of atomic power in the last war for the attainment of quick victory, have made the subject of world peace a most insistent problem. Modern warfare is no longer restricted to the battle-field but affects large masses of peaceful people who, without any voice of their own in the matter, are called upon to die or to suffer unimaginable torture and mutilation or, at the best, to live during the war years in constant fear of imminent annihilation. Under these circumstances, men are seriously asking themselves the question as to whether the maintenance of the nation idea with its implication of separatism is worth all this sacrifice.

In this connection let us remember that this idea of a World Union of States was a result of the shock administered by the last great war because people came to realise the sheer necessity of a common existence for mankind which must inevitably take place if it is to exist. Whether this World State will be born through mutual understanding, by force of circumstance or by disaster and futile war remains to be seen, but its birth seems inevitable. Again, there are two alternative possibilities as to whether the World State will be founded on the principle of freedom allowing scope for individual variation or whether it will be founded on centralisation and formal uniformity.

A question which, naturally enough, suggests itself under these circumstances is whether religion has anything to offer to ease the situation or to solve the problem. In answer, it may be pointed out that it is wrong to think that the heights of religion are above the struggles of this world. For instance, Christianity teaches man to resist wrong and evil even unto death, but whether the resistance is active as in the Gita or passive as in Christ's teachings, the struggle is there and there is no fleeing. The heroes, the martyrs of God, must struggle, must fight till the world is one for God, till truth is established and falsehood killed, till knowledge dawns and ignorance is dissipated. Through error and ignorance, the *zeitgeist* (time spirit) is leading man inexorably towards a newer and happier synthesis.

Man's intellect through the instrumentality of science is fighting death, disease, poverty and humiliation. The danger, however, is in the egoism, the mental arrogance which to all appearances is leading man through an unenlightened use of science to certain destruction. Only the power of the spirit can save him in this crisis. Today the question is whether the reli-

gions of the world will stand in splendid isolation fighting one another on points of dogma and creed or will sacrifice individual differences to the greater good of humanity.

The work of religion through the ages has been to build the spiritual foundations of humanity which alone has the strength to withstand the shocks of individual life. The means for this end is inculcation of the spirit of self-sacrifice. It is through sacrifice that man gradually evolves from a self-regarding animal to a selfless entity. As man has, through sacrifice of his individual interest, been able to build up society and nation, so man can, by sacrifice of his national interest, attain to the ideal of world unity. As religion has helped mankind to conquer his individual ego, so religion must help man to conquer their national ego. It must teach them to work for the good of humanity as in the past they have been taught to work for the good of the nation. A world unity built upon political organisation cannot last or survive the shocks of national egoism unless, behind it and supporting it, there is harmony of the peoples of the earth.

It is time that we all ask ourselves whether religion can play any effective part in bringing about this much-needed world unity. As an instrument for the propagation of this idea, there can be no better agency than religion if only for the reason that it has always surpassed the bounds of national units and taken its stand on the betterment of the individual and the human race. But if the great world religions are to be the means of the salvation of the human race from total destruction, they must re-orient their outlook, issue from the narrow grooves into which they have fallen and re-ignite themselves from the common source from which they have taken birth during different ages to fulfil the divine purpose. 'Religion is one though religions may be many.' All the great religions are there to bring about this one spirit of religion and, in the world of today, their main function must be to bring peace and goodwill on earth.

We should not feel discouraged if we do not achieve immediate success for experience has shown the undoubted existence of a constant tendency to progress through what may somewhat crudely be called the establishment of a balance between two contrary and inevitable movements of humanity, one upward and the other downward. We have seen how, at one particular time, an upward direction is given by the rise of a faith which holds the wheel of progress from regression and how this is followed later on by the loss of the ground thus gained through a retreat regarded incorrectly as a defeat.

As we watch this alternate advance and setback in history,

we very often succumb to the temptation of fixing our eyes on the details, assessing our losses and gains and attaching greater importance to the former than to the latter. And it is because we are not either willing or able to concentrate our attention on the inevitable tendency towards progress and fulfilment, that we grieve over each retreat as a defeat. But if our dream which awaits fulfilment is to be realised, the eye of faith must divine the unplumbed future and we must patiently wait till, in the fullness of time, the Kingdom of God is established on this earth.

NINETEENTH CENTURY OF THE REPUTED ARRIVAL OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE IN INDIA IN 52 A.D.

(Organised by the Syrian Christian Church).

23rd November, 1952.

It gives me and my wife great pleasure to be present with you this afternoon, and so I wish to thank you first of all for asking me to preside over your celebrations.

You are celebrating today the arrival in Kerala of the Apostle Thomas. I understand that different sections of the Syrian Church have joined together in arranging this celebration in Calcutta and that similar functions are being held in Travancore-Cochin and other parts of India. I understand further that not only the members of the Syrian Church but also the Roman Catholics of Kerala are taking an active part in organising such functions in honour of St. Thomas the Apostle.

I do not propose to express any opinion on the tradition of the apostolic foundation of your Church—a view very strongly held by many of you and yet on which the judgment of historians at present is far from unanimous. It may well be that St. Thomas visited Kerala in 52 A.D. as you believe, but to my knowledge it has not yet been firmly established as a historical fact.

Whether the origin of your Church can be traced so far back as the middle of the first century may be a matter of dispute, but there is no doubt that you represent the earliest section of the Christian Church in India. Protestant missionaries came to India in the 18th century and Roman Catholics in the 16th, but your ancestors were Christians long before the British and some other European nations had embraced the Christian faith. You have been professing the Christian faith for centuries together and this faith reached the shores of India and received a welcome in our country long before the Parsis and the Moslems set foot on Indian soil. No other immigrant faith has such a long history and, consequently, none may claim more confidently than Christians the rights and privileges that belong to the children of the soil.

I have had the pleasure of visiting Kerala more than once and of coming in touch with leaders of all sections and classes of society in your country. I have worked with the leaders of your Church in the Indian Christian Conferences and in the Constituent Assembly. From my knowledge of your people and of

your Church, I wish to say one or two things and I hope you will accept my remarks as those of a sincere well-wisher and friend.

The first thing I would like to emphasise is that the Syrian Church has proved that there need not be any conflict between Christianity and Indian culture. Your Church is Indian in membership, in leadership, in financial support, in worship and in its general outlook. You have priests and bishops drawn from your own people. It is an admirable feature of your Church that you do not depend upon foreign support for carrying on its activities. Your Church has clearly proved the incorrectness of the view prevalent in certain quarters that Christianity denationalises Indians and makes them disloyal to their cultural heritage. I recall the fact with gratification and pride that among the patriots who suffered and sacrificed in the fight for India's freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji was one of your illustrious leaders, Mr. George Joseph, Bar-at-Law at Madurai.

As writers, poets and artists, Christians in Kerala have enriched literature and art in Kerala. I am also aware that in the field of journalism your men are today playing no mean part and are thus influencing public opinion throughout Kerala and outside. In the fight against illiteracy and in the emancipation of women from the shackles of unhealthy social customs and conventions, Travancore and Cochin occupy what most would regard as the foremost place in India. This, in no small measure, has been ascribed to the influence on society of the Christian Churches in Kerala. It is a remarkable fact that, in your long history, there have been very few instances of a clash with other religious groups in Kerala. Again, India has, all through her history, cherished the ideal of plain living and I am glad to note that a majority of your men and women have followed this ideal in their general outlook on life.

India stands in need today of the qualities of character you have developed in the course of your long history—love of simple living, capacity for hard work, faithfulness in social relationships, and an attitude of 'live and let live' between different communities. You have borrowed many things from the Hindu way of life and you have contributed something in return. It is only in this form of give and take that cultures and civilisations can flourish. I wish and pray therefore that your example may be better known and appreciated throughout this land so that social groups and religious communities may live together in peace and concord in our motherland.

I wish to appeal to you, and through you, to the Churches in Kerala to maintain in the words of the Apostle, 'Unity of spirit

in the bond of peace.' * * * I do not wish to suggest that unity should be purchased at the cost of truth or that an imposing facade of unity or uniformity in organisation is preferable to freedom of thought and expression in matters of faith and ritual. If I may offer a piece of friendly advice, I should like to say that the different sections of the Syrian Church in Travancore-Cochin should promote more friendly relations with one another in the interests of all that Christianity stands for in this country. A Church with a litigant and factious spirit is a poor compliment to the Prince of Peace, its reputed head.

I should like to conclude with an appeal to the Syrian Church of Malabar to develop an All-India outlook in the matter of social and humanitarian service. Our country is passing through a time of trial and tribulation. There is shortage of food in certain areas. There is the problem of refugees in West Bengal. There is unemployment and unrest among industrial workers, including workers in cottage industries in Kerala. In such a situation, the Christian Church has an inescapable duty. It must bear its legitimate burden in relieving distress and, particularly, in administering the healing touch to those parts of the body politic which need it most sorely. Capital and labour, land-owners and landless men should be brought together on a platform of social justice and the 'haves' should be made to realise their duty towards the 'have nots.' Relief of suffering by itself is, however, no permanent solution of the ills of society, which must be treated at their very roots. For this, the conscience must be illumined and the heart humanised. In this noble task, all men who believe in God and who believe in the Kingdom of righteousness and truth have a part to play.

Your men have made their mark in Government service, in business enterprises and some have become captains of agriculture and industry. I put it to you that it is high time that your young men should choose a career of social and humanitarian service on an All-India scale and thus begin to serve the nation in a way that will stimulate friendly rivalry with other groups. The Church of Christ is set in India to guide the nation into paths of good-will and service. There are wide open doors for such service today in West Bengal as in other parts of India.

I appeal to the young men and young women belonging to the Syrian Church to come forward in their hundreds and to dedicate themselves to the service of their motherland. This is one of the best ways I can think of in which you will be able to honour the name of the Apostle associated with your Church in Kerala and with this function today in Calcutta.

INAUGURATION OF THE EXPOSITION CEREMONY OF SACRED RELICS OF ARAHANTS SARIPUTTA AND MAHA MOGGALLANA.

23rd November, 1952.

I consider it a great honour to be invited to open this exposition of the relics of Arahants Sariputta and Maha Moggallana, two of the foremost disciples of the Buddha. The Enlightened one was one of the immortals of history to whom not merely the Buddhist but the whole world has remained indebted as one of the first champions of moral life for its own sake. To that great master, his teachings and the Sangha were attracted down the ages some of the greatest men and women who carried his doctrines to the whole world.

If Buddha's life contains his most authentic message, the lives of these two Arahants provided the noblest commentaries thereon. It is rarely that the relics of men, however eminent, are honoured more than brilliant and able living human beings. If the instances of these two Arahants are an exception, it is because of the lives they led and the fame that survived their passing away.

On an occasion like this, it is only appropriate that I should say something about these two great men and about Sanchi where the relics were enshrined.

Ancient India is one of the countries whose great men dedicated themselves to attaining the Deathless. These two Arahants, sons of Bihar, very early in life, consciously recognised that they would be content with nothing less. In this pursuit, they sought master after master according to the honoured tradition of India which holds that this most difficult of the pursuits of life becomes comparatively easy provided one has the rare privilege of finding his Guru.

When these two Arahants were at the ancient city of Rajagriha (present Rajgir), to that city came Assaji, one of the first batch of sixty of the disciples of Buddha. It was not by mere accident that Sariputta and Maha Moggallana came to accept him as their master. When they heard that he himself was but a disciple of the Noble one, they decided to join him.

This is the beginning of their dedication so fruitful and so long. The anecdotes of these two that have come down to us are very moving, and those who have read them will be the first to admit that their greatness is second only to that of the Blessed One.

It was given to both of them to be associated in the noble work almost to the end of the passing away of the great Master. Sariputta as well as Maha Moggallana predeceased the Buddha in the same year. Moggallana was beaten to death which may be regarded as the Indian equivalent of crucifixion a fortnight after the death of Sariputta. He joined therefore, in a special sense, the immortals of history having preceded Socrates and Jesus Christ and being succeeded in our time by the Father of our Nation.

It was a common custom in ancient India to enshrine the relics of the great dead in stupas which both from their massiveness and peculiar shape could weather the ravages of time. At a time when literacy was the exception rather than the rule and when dialects were as numerous and as variable as kingdoms, any other way of commemoration would not perhaps have served the purpose. When the Names and Forms are reduced to the very constituent elements, what remains is only the perfume of the noble lives led by those represented by the relics. It was therefore that stupas were erected over the relics of these two Arahants at the time of the Buddha: to Sariputta at Sravasti and to Maha Moggallana near Rajagriha.

Within a few hundred years of the passing away of the great Master, India had the Emperor Asoka, the like of whom the world has yet to see. He was an emperor who scrupulously followed Buddhist ideals. In the words of H. G. Wells 'Asoka is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory. . . . He declared, in certain inscriptions that still exist, that he would no longer seek conquest by war, ... Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness.'

Numerous inscriptions found throughout India from Lumbini in the North-East and Girnar in Gujarat, from the distant north down to the plateaux of Mysore, bear testimony to Asoka's zeal. He also erected stupas in which were enshrined *dhathus* of the Buddha and of his two disciples. Sanchi was one such place. It is situated within a few miles of Vedisa in the ancient kingdom of Ujjain. Ujjain will be remembered so long as the *Navaratnas* of Vikramaditya's court, Kalidasa the dramatist, Varahamihira the astronomer, the Dhanvantari the physician, to mention only a few, are remembered.

Asoka himself was the Viceroy of Ujjain before he ascended

the throne of Patna. He married a princess of Vedisa, the mother of Mahinda and Sanghmitta to both of whom Ceylon owes her conversion to Buddhism. When he took up as his mission in life the spread of the *Dharma* of the Blessed One, he had stupas erected as part of the task he had set himself. Probably the most important of them is the one that has come down to us with the relics of the two Arahants situated at Sanchi. Stupa after stupa was erected on the hill right up to the 11th century A.D. Then jungle and decay claimed the hill as their own.

After about twenty-three centuries, Sir Alexander Cunningham, at that time Archaeological Commissioner of India, did us the very great service of discovering the steatiti caskets containing the relics of these two great disciples of the Blessed One in one of the stupas. Like many other of our most precious historic possessions, they were removed, without any reference to our wishes in the matter, to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and their return to the country to which they legitimately belonged was probably never contemplated.

Thanks to the labours of archæologists and Indologists such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Sir John Marshall, Professor and Mrs. Rhys David, Professor Max Müller and others too numerous to mention, interest in Buddhism revived among thinkers, scholars and sometimes even among ordinary men in both the East and the West. One indication of this new spirit was the foundation of the Maha Bodhi Society under the leadership of Angharika Dharmapala for the avowed purpose of the revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth. His success, though primarily due to his strong religious convictions, would not have been so pronounced but for the backing received from the public.

One of the inevitable results of the interest felt in Buddhism by large numbers of Indians was the emergence of the feeling that such manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures, Buddhist relics, etc., as had gone outside India should come back to us. And it was the General Secretary of this Society, Shri Devapriya Valisinha, who, in 1939, crystallised this sentiment in the shape of a formal request to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum for the return of the relics we have with us today. Times had changed and the request was most gracefully acceded to. Some delay in getting them back to India was inevitable as the Second World War had not yet ended and the relics were too precious to be exposed to the risk of loss through destruction of the ship carrying them.

With the end of hostilities, the privilege of conveying the relics to India *via* Ceylon was accorded to Shri Daya Hewavitarane

of the Ceylon Maha Bodhi Society. They were made over to him in a special ceremony by the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, and were exposed for public worship in Ceylon for several weeks. Our beloved Prime Minister received them in Calcutta in 1949 and handed them over to the Maha Bodhi Society.

The original plan was to enshrine these relics at the Vihara of New Delhi not because it was a place in any way superior to their original home but because the Delhi Vihara was there and the authorities of the Maha Bodhi Society were doubtful about their ability to collect sufficient funds to erect a new stupa or even to repair and renovate the old one at Sanchi in such a manner as to be worthy of the sacred relics.

It is to the lasting credit of the Bhopal Government that they have made it possible to enshrine the relics where they had been kept till their removal in 1851 by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

The making ready of the stupa at Sanchi was a long affair. This time was utilised by sending the relics before their permanent enshrinement to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Burma, Assam, Ladakh, Nepal, Tibet and Combodia where they were welcomed with unprecedented enthusiasm.

Now that the stupa, thanks to the generosity of the Bhopal Government, is ready, the relics are going to Sanchi for permanent enshrinement on the 27th of this month. This explains why, as the official Head of this State, I find myself associated with what may be regarded as the beginning of a new and, I hope, a most important chapter, in the glorious history of our motherland.

Let us not forget that the permanent enshrinement of the relics of these two Arahants symbolises not merely the home-coming of two of India's great sons known and respected all through the Buddhist world but that, in addition, it lends emphasis to the feeling that our acceptance of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath as our national emblem and seal is a frank and clear expression of our deliberate adherence as a nation to all those ideals of compassion, goodwill and peace, of the conquest of hatred by forgiveness and love and of *ahimsa* for which the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha have stood all through the ages.

As your first servant in this our State of West Bengal, I declare this exposition open and feel every confidence that it will bring peace not merely to our motherland but also throughout the world.

INAUGURATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

24th January, 1954.

On first thought I felt great diffidence to preside over a religious convention of this type. But then, an inspiration helped me to overcome it and I welcome this opportunity of joining a gathering of this importance in common remembrance of and submission to the Spirit that resides in every religion, great and small. I am happy to have this privilege of doing a solemn and supreme duty to humanity, for fellowship of faiths is the foundation of peace among men.

We in India have recently passed through the tragic consequence of a war of faiths, of fatal antagonism born of differences in religions. And yet the surpassing irony of the situation is that India is the traditional land of religious accommodation and tolerance. And the irony had its origin in the fact that we applied religion to politics.

Mention may appropriately be made of the fact that accommodation of political beliefs is no less necessary than religious ones, for failure in either case is disastrous. In fact, the Christian nations of Europe plunged into two most devastating world wars on account of their inability to recognise the role of fellowship in human affairs.

The United Nations Organisation has sprung from this recognition. It is a recognition of the spiritual necessity of ensuring human associations on the broadest possible platform. It is an endeavour to apply the ideal of human brotherhood to the political alliance of different nations.

The idea of a kind of political union to preserve peace is very much older than the U.N.O. Dante in his De Monarchio, published early in the 14th century, pleaded for the organisation of the Christian world in the interest of unity and peace. At the close of the 18th Century, the German philosopher Immanual Kant propounded a plan of 'perpetual peace' and collective security.

Leaving aside poets and philosophers, if we turn to politicians, we find that Austria, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain, having emerged victorious from the Napoleonic wars, formed the Quadruple Alliance to secure peace by consulting one another. Later, France under the astute leadership of Talleyrand, joined this

alliance. The League of Nations was an organisation of the victorious nations of World War I for the defence of peace. The United Nations Organisation was started by the allied powers before the close of World War II in order to create an atmosphere for their victory and keep it secure when it might be won. Soon after the victory, however, the two more important ones among the allied powers bifurcated, and there is now raging, while each of them pleads for world peace, a tearing nerve war for the supremacy of the one over the other.

This is one vital aspect of fellowship—that of nations in the sphere of politics. Returning to fellowship in the sphere of faiths, we find that here, too, there has been an active movement for long. The Old Testament might have spoken of a jealous God but the New Testament stood for the worship of the one benign God. But during the medieval period of history, religion became a decadent affair and a force for disruption. Fellowship yielded to factions among Protestants and Catholics. Christianity, whose doctrine is love, broke out in a fury of persecution and vengeance even within its own fold. Likewise, Islam, preaching the mercy of God, brandished almost a merciless sword against non-Islamic religions and peoples. Hinduism in India expelled Buddhism out of its borders and developed into a domineering doctrine.

Fellowship of men is thus something that we persistently miss or a goal towards which we advance and from which we recede by fits and starts. It is a reality in a sense, for, without an inherent sense of fellowship, men would not make efforts to maintain it. Again, it is an ideal which is too often and readily ignored, and in more ways than one. It should then be a matter of the most tender care that fellowship should be cultivated in every walk of life, in every sphere of relationship. For peace among man is frustrated and assailed whenever and wherever there is any tension, any accentuation of difference—whether in religious beliefs, in political ideologies or in economic interests. We know that and yet we forget, and also prevent its growth and fruition.

We need then fellowship of faiths, fellowship of nations, fellowship of men in material prosperity. Yet knowingly we act against the fulfilment of these needs and promote prolific conflicts all along the line. And that is how and why the world of our day is rent with strange contradictions.

Take one instance. The technology of transportation and communication has brought different parts of the world, far and near, advanced and backward, into intimate contact and close interdependence. But the reaction thereof has been one of simultaneous attraction and repulsion. On the one hand, men are

conscious of interdependence—even of alliance, at the same time, the habit of being absorbed in self-interest fosters a disinclination to see the other man's point of view and this attitude not only does not disappear but breaks out into fits of fatal rivalry, leading to large scale destruction of life and ideals. Sometimes, attraction and repulsion play together in bewildering disharmony. No wonder that most of our efforts to improve human relations are underlined with fear of domination on the part of some and desire for domination on the part of others.

All aspects of human culture transcend national boundaries and reflect cosmopolitan tendencies in human activities, interests and loyalties. Yet men are almost always in the grip of narrowness and self-assertion, thus yielding to terrific passions for gaining and exercising power at the cost of one another. And it is this antagonism lurking in the background of organisations for fellowship that is producing frustrations. It so happens because we are only half-hearted in our efforts to build world peace. Often, therefore, a larger and a stronger group or union gains its objective at the cost of smaller and weaker people. Peace and unity must be universal, if we really mean peace and unity.

What we intellectually recognise we emotionally refuse to act up to. Our heart is partly with ourselves and partly with the rest of the world. But peace is progressive only so far as the self is in union with others. There can be universal peace only when this union is universal.

As long as this union is partial and half-hearted, we talk of peace and war in the same breath ; we seek understanding while we are still full of prejudices ; we make spasmodic sacrifices in one direction and indulge in determined aggression in another.

There are contradictions lurking within our aims and, again, between aims and actions. Our thoughts are as confusing as our actions conflicting. We think now in one way and now in the very opposite way and then, we think in one way and act in another. We pursue right and wrong aims at the same time, and again, between ends and means we maintain a studied diversity. When one belief is pitted against another of the opposite variety, the finer one is undermined by the grosser one. And such behaviour in turn poisons our lingering beliefs at the very sources thereof ; for, behaviour is as potent to affect belief as belief to affect behaviour.

The need, then, is a supreme heroic effort to dissolve these contradictions in an unwavering recognition of the unity of men and in an unflinching will to do what leads to the realisation of that unity. Only then we shall not have the heart to be engaged

in any fight with another for pride of superiority or fear of inferiority, for any exclusive supremacy in religion, politics or economics.

The projection or expansion of self, of the ego, is the way to resolve conflicts. When all is within you, you have none left outside to fight with. Thus peace carries with it a sublimation of personality. It is a broadening of feeling due to the emergence of some deep metaphysical insight. To see everyone with the eye of oneness is to see the end of disunity, and when disunity is gone, gone is every form of conflict, for conflict is the product of dualism.

Common humanity must emerge before our clear vision to make us realise that all men are His children and that their brotherhood is derived from this sense of equal affinity to Him. Once we have this sense, fellowship of men will be felt as a tangible reality. The ideal of brotherhood must not be merely emotionally visualised but also intellectually understood and practically applied to the every day business of human relations.

This belief in common humanity is the teaching of all religions and provides the foundation for fellowship of faiths. The religion of the Avesta and the Vedas, of Buddhism and Jainism, of Taoism and Confucianism, of Christianity and Islam all alike owe allegiance to the cardinal doctrine of common humanity.

And in India, as in many other countries, there was a time when the doctrine did not remain confined to books. It was for long a living and active article of faith. When the Vedas spoke that 'only in name of the gods are many but the Reality is one', a pointed expression was given to the essential fellowship of faiths, derived from the ultimate oneness of the object of worship. Every religion was given its place of reverence, but, behind them all, stood the abiding unity of their fundamentals. Fellowship of faiths was thus freely, frankly and fervently admitted. The dispute between forms of worship and demonstrations of faith was settled not by rejection of religion but by recognition of the essential and inherent identity of all religions.

Practical observance of this loyalty to the essentials of religion is to be found in the teachings of the saints and *sadhus, faquirs* and *dervishes* of medieval India who practised non-denominational religion in order to resolve the clash of beliefs between the Hindus and Muslims of India. Kabir and Nanak, Dadu and Babalal and a host of other saints of both communities all over Northern and Western India waved their banners of peace over the tumult of conflicting loyalties in the name of religion. In Bengal, Sri Chaitanya preached the impassioned religion of love and drowned in its joyous notes the din of disunity among Hindus and Muslims.

All these great saints brought the masses of the people round to the central creed—the religion of man in relation to his Maker, not his sect.

In the early years of the impact of western civilisation on India under British rule, Raja Ram Mohan Ray rediscovered the religion of the One and founded a synthesis of faiths based on the teaching of the formless God of the Upanishads, and with a fair degree of success resisted the glamour of the West, established a self-respecting outlook in respect of culture, and, above all, instilled tolerance of different faiths—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, each claiming at the time an exclusive superiority of its own.

In very recent times, Sri Ramakrishna practised in perfect simplicity and sincerity a religion based on fellowship of faiths, respecting the worth of every individual faith and even its form. Last, though least, we must remember our twin great leaders of modern thought—Gurudev Rabindra Nath and Mahatma Gandhi —who were both men of intense religious belief in the midst of overpowering materialism. Rabindranath stood for the Religion of Man and Gandhiji lived a life of transparent belief in God. Not abolition but harmony of religions was the watchword of both, though they acted in different spheres of appeal and utility.

I fear I must hasten to finish, for, we must now listen to the many learned and devout exponents of religion and thought who have graced this convention by their presence. But, before I do so, I would like very much to close my salutation to the Fellowship of Faiths with a reverent reference to Emperor Asoka who represents the ideal held by our independent India ; this great Emperor loved to promulgate not the religion of any sect but what he called 'the essence of all religions'.

THE NEED FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION

(Broadcast from All-India Radio, Calcutta).

15th November, 1951.

The Social Education Organisation has arranged with the All-India Radio, Calcutta Station, for a series of broadcast talks on social education and I have been asked to inaugurate it by speaking to you tonight on 'The Need for Social Education'.

The problem of social education in a vast country like ours, inhabited by people of diverse races and creeds, in various stages of development, and with a high degree of illiteracy, is indeed a staggering one and there may be no unanimity of opinion as to what means and methods should be adopted to tackle it. My task is, however, a simple one, since there can be nothing like a difference of opinion in regard to the need for social education. In fact, the need for it becomes manifest to even the meanest intellect as soon as what it stands for is stated. It would also be conceded universally that social education is a matter of supreme national importance in Free India.

In its broadest sense, social education implies the education which a man should have as a social being, that is to say, as a member of a community, so that he may get to know his rights and duties as a citizen, develop his personality in order to increase his usefulness and pursue a course of conduct consistent with, and conducive to, the progress and welfare of his community as a whole. Man is a social animal and hence the need for this education. It can be dispensed with only in the case of one who has decided to live the life of a recluse or, if that is possible today, to remain outside the pale of society.

Literacy is to be regarded as only a convenient medium for imparting the knowledge that is necessary for this education, but it is not the only means to attain this objective. As a matter of fact, there have always been men of the highest enlightenment and vision among those who cannot by any means be described as literate. Akbar, Sivaji and Ranjit Singh may be cited as classic examples. On the other hand, there are many men who after enjoying all the benefits of literary education continue to be deficient in an elementary sense of social responsibility.

To our great shame, we must confess to an inadequate development of the civic sense in our country. How often do we find

a man or woman failing to turn off the tap after filling a pitcher or bucket with water at a street hydrant. Few out of the hundreds who pass by the place thereafter give any thought to preventing the wastage of water so urgently required by some other fellow-being thus deprived of his legitimate share of it. We see one pedestrian after another coming up against an obstruction in a badly lighted public thoroughfare and passing round it, with a shower of curses for the person responsible for it, without any of them thinking of removing it so as to save others from stumbling against it and injuring themselves in the process. These are only two very obvious instances of the inadequate development of a social conscience. There are men amongst us who would be shocked at the very idea of depriving any one of his dues and yet they feel no hesitation in dodging taxes due to the State or a corporate body. Among the hordes of our ticketless travellers, there are, I believe, some men who consider themselves fundamentally honest. We have charitably disposed persons, noted for large public benefactions, indulging, without the least compunction, in such anti-social practices as blackmarketing. We find men with a grievance against constituted authority seeking to draw attention to it by holding up trains or burning tramcars, regardless of the inconvenience and hardship thereby caused to hundreds of innocent persons and economic loss to the community.

We have given to ourselves a Constitution which provides for adult franchise. Considering the size of the country and the conditions prevailing in it today this is perhaps the biggest experiment in the history of democracy. This can succeed only if we can arrange for adequate social education for the teeming millions who have been enfranchised. Otherwise, it will mean that, once in five years, most of the voters will be led to the polling booths like cattle by interested men uttering a few political shibboleths for their own aggrandisement. We should not forget that democracy does not mean the mere counting of heads ; it is equally concerned with the development of the grey matter within those heads. Otherwise, to quote from Bishop Grundtvig, the originator of the Danish People's College Movement, 'the guardians of freedom and culture swallow them both up, so that the people for all their labour get only the proud tyrant to obey, to support and, if that can comfort them, to admire and deify'.

It is in our rural areas that the need for social education is the sorest. Our nation lives in villages but it is a moribund life that the people there lead, steeped, as they are, in the morass of ignorance, poverty, disease and superstition, and deprived of the leadership of intellectuals who generally migrate to towns owing

to their superior attractions. The cry of 'back to the villages' raised in Free India cannot mean anything unless life in the countryside is made clean, healthy, pleasant and economically worthwhile. The villages have got to be re-vitalized and made the ultimate source from which all culture, energy and power should flow into the seats of governmental authority. This can be achieved only if we ardently desire to have a really virile democracy —a Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The Government of West Bengal have been fully alive to the importance of social education and have in that connection prepared a five-year plan. There are now over 500 centres for social education maintained by it. In addition voluntary organisations, which were running about 400 centres, have been assisted to open 100 new centres. The total number of social education centres at the end of the current year is expected to exceed 1,100, out of which nearly 400 will be fully-equipped ones, providing training in social education as well as in the removal of illiteracy. Many of the centres will provide for the cultural education, free libraries, open-air theatres, recreational activities besides audio-visual instruction. Among the voluntary organisations working in the field, special mention may be made of the Vishva Bharati, Sri Niketan, Ramakrishna Sarada Pith, Bengal Bratachari Society and Jatiya Kriya-O-Sakti Sangha. The Social Education Organisation is also aiming at a co-ordinated effort for the propagation of social education, particularly in the countryside. The task is one which it is impossible for Government to implement by themselves. Success can be looked for only if voluntary effort on the part of organised groups of social workers supplements the activities of Government.

I, therefore, appeal to those amongst you who can spare the time and who have been fortunate in the matter of getting a liberal education in our schools and colleges to undertake the important and by no means easy task of lighting up homes where darkness, ignorance and superstition still prevail. You cannot rid yourself of the menace of malaria by spraying DDT in your own house. Immunity can be ensured only when you take care of the cess-pool in your neighbour's compound which breeds mosquitoes. This is true of the larger fields of social activity. Remember that where higher motives fail, even intelligent self-interest should impel all to co-operate with Government agencies to extend and to popularise social education among our less fortunate brethren. And to this great task I summon all of you.—*Jai Hind !*

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

(Broadcast from All-India Radio, Calcutta).

10th December, 1951.

E. M. Forster, a humanist and a liberal among present-day writers, has recently indicated, by the title of his latest book, that for him two cheers are quite enough for democracy. I understand his pained disappointment without sharing it. In this country many have recently, again pardonably, declined to extend more than a single cheer to the United Nations, which today celebrates the third anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It would be idle to pretend that the United Nations has achieved much success in its primary objective, namely the establishment of peace in the war-torn world it was born in. In our very natural obsession with the thoughts of war and peace, we tend too often to forget that, in the house of the United Nations, there are many mansions. In some of them very valuable work is being accomplished of which we take too little notice.

It is only recently that the activities of such United Nations bodies as the World Health Organisation are becoming known among the people. As for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO for short, its benefits come, like the day of the Lord, as a thief in the night and, generally, in the minds and hearts of men, outside the glare of the arc-lamps of news-reel cameramen.

I am not, however, unduly dismayed at the lack of loud enthusiasm about the activities of the UNESCO. I neither expect nor wish a peace cry to be as shrill as a war cry. Thus, it is not to shout a third cheer for democracy that I have come to the microphone. I am speaking tonight more to reiterate India's unshakable faith in the declaration of Human Rights. Not all those rights exist in all the countries in the world today. The declaration is largely a question of faith and, to me, faith is also the answer to many problems.

To the extent that it is permissible to single out a problem for describing it as the most outstanding confronting an age, I think I am right in saying that the challenge of our own time is the one relating to man's inalienable rights in relation to authority, to his neighbours and to his environments, including the

large organisations he has himself helped build and which now threaten him as an individual. The problem has many aspects, political as well as economic but, as I see it, the problem is basically moral.

Some time back a writer (you see how hard it is to get out of the habit of a lifetime of teaching of English literature) posed the question in the form of a story. Imagine that a group of four persons is traversing a certain distance in some out-of-the-way place where outside help is unobtainable. By way of rations the group has about what would keep three alive, and that only for the number of days minimally necessary for three very fast walkers. Unfortunately the fourth man in the party, for whom there is no ration any way, has also given way to exhaustion. Not only is he a claimant to the inadequate resources of his party, his disability is also sure to slow down the pace of the party as a whole and making it a virtual certainty that all four will perish. By rational calculation the leader of the party would say to himself that, in leaving the limping companion by the wayside, he would be perfectly justified, inasmuch as he would thereby help save three lives. By the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number, his decision may even appear to be morally right. Yet, like the writer I have quoted, I like to think that, contrary to all reason and arithmetical calculation, a just and kind leader would rather risk the destruction of all four than decide in cold blood to throw the fourth friend into the jaws of certain death.

Mankind today is in a condition not unlike that of the travellers in the story I have just related, except that the decision confronting us is in many ways less difficult. In the world around us, different nations are differently placed. Some are technically so advanced that materially their prosperity is ever on the increase, whilst there are others who are imprisoned in poverty. The question confronting the former is not possible death if they lend the latter a helping hand. In point of fact, the contrary is the case if only a long-term view is taken of the fatal consequences of plenitude for a few and penury for the many co-existing in the same world.

I have so far dwelt on the question of material imbalance in the world today because I believe that moral principles do not thrive best in conditions of enforced starvation, because I believe that all ethical disquisition on ends and means is of very limited interest to the hungry man.

Having thus emphasised the great importance that the world must attach to early satisfaction of the needs of the flesh,

I must hasten to add that the needs of the spirit are even more important. The life of a well-fed slave is lived purely on the animal level which, for man, is degradation itself. The very first clause of the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family, is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, which leads to the first clause of the declaration which says 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood'.

Outwardly it is not much that India can contribute to the rest of the world today. Indeed in many respects she finds herself obliged to ask for help from outside. In the moral sphere, however, this country has a great contribution to make, for if there is anything this country has ever been taught by its greatest sons from the earliest sages to Mahatma Gandhi in our own time, it is the teaching of love, of amity, of brotherhood, of the constant awareness that above all is *man*, the individual. It is not merely on the rarefied levels of metaphysical enunciation or spiritual realisation that we have sought to learn this message ; it has worked its way down to the sub-conscious mind of the nation so that one of our folk poets said in one line what I think is a fair summary of the entire declaration of human rights. He said "সবার উপরে মানুষ সত্য, তাহার উপরে নাই।"

With the thirty articles of the declaration most of my listeners, I take it, are already familiar. As I have said before, this document is more a reaffirmation of faith in democratic freedom than a definite plan of action, although even here its value is very considerable. What, it may be said, is the use of adding one more declaration to the many pious ones already on paper like the Magna Carta in England, or the American Declaration of Independence, or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man? My own answer is that these declarations lie not only on paper, but also on the conscience of man. And that is the beginning of good and just action.

So far as I am concerned, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitutes a worthy code of conduct for nations and individuals and, in the years to come, every State will be judged by the extent to which it achieves or moves in the direction of achieving the high ideals set forth in this Declaration.

NAVY DAY

(Broadcast from the All-India Radio, Calcutta)

22nd December, 1951.

Today is Navy Day. The object of observing Navy Day is primarily to foster what may be called 'navy mindedness' among the people, to help us understand the great part played by our ships in guarding our coast in times of war and in maintaining our overseas trade in peace. Our navy, the oldest of India's three services, may well be described as the country's first line of defence.

India's seafaring tradition is as ancient as it is remarkable. The sea has, since the days of yore, greatly influenced India's trade and culture and we all know what a great maritime power India once was between the 4th and the 13th centuries A.D. Coming to later times, India has had a regular Navy for more than three centuries, tracing its origin from the formation of the East India Company's Marine in 1612, when it played its part in the wars against the Portuguese and the Dutch. It was not till 1934, however, that the Royal Indian Navy, predecessor to the Indian Navy of today, came into being, and during the first and the second world wars, it proved its mettle in many a sea combat against a formidable foe. The outstanding feat of H. M. I. S. BENGAL in sinking one of the two heavily armed Japanese raiders which attacked her while she was escorting a tanker in the Indian Ocean in September 1942 is well known. In surveying and charting the seas also Indian ships have done excellent work.

What, it may be asked, is the use of a navy in the free India of today, wedded as she is to non-violence? The answer is clear and unequivocal: India needs a first class navy, not to take what belongs to others but to keep what is rightly and rightfully hers. It would take a strong naval force indeed to guard our two thousand mile coast-line and to keep the sea communications open and safe for shipping. Not being economically self-sufficient yet, we have to rely, to a great extent, on our imports of essential commodities; exports of course are also as necessary for striking a balance. Needless to say that in the event of aggression, the protection of these life lines will be the navy's first charge. For this it is essential that India should possess a navy which is

absolutely first rate, equipped and trained on the most modern lines.

Compared to her needs India's present navy is quite inadequate and, therefore, ever since the attainment of Independence, Government have been trying their utmost to develop and modernise the fleet. Concurrently with the expansion of the fleet, new training centres have been established in various parts of the country. As a result of partition, India was unfortunately deprived of an important naval training centre at Karachi as well as a part of the Fleet. Government had, however, taken immediate steps to make good the loss by creating fresh training facilities and also acquiring ships from abroad. India's navy has since been steadily reinforced and its expansion has been truly amazing. It has been the first among the services to receive the President's Colours—an event which signified the founding of new traditions to inspire and guide future generations.

It is, however, not equipment alone that determines efficiency, and in the case of a navy, as in so many other cases, it is the personnel that counts most. For the ships to be 'hearts of oak', those who man them must also be built of the same stuff, in fact, more so.

The navy thus offers one of the finest careers for our young men. Without minimising the hazards of a sailor's life which are in fact the very stuff of adventure it can be safely said that life in the navy offers the finest opportunities of developing courage, presence of mind and above all, discipline and the team spirit. Our Prime Minister himself was greatly impressed by the fellow-feeling he found among sailors during his cruise on the 'Delhi'. The ship's company comprised men from all parts of India who lived and worked together in complete harmony. It was indeed an image of India on a small scale and as such it was the best representative that India could send abroad.

In fact, the Indian navy has already cruised a great deal on good-will missions. Only last year they had been to Indonesia and Malaya and this year some of our warships visited Iran, Iraq and Arabia, and were enthusiastically welcomed everywhere. They truly served as our 'unofficial ambassadors'. Is it not then a proud privilege to belong to an India ship—to become a sailor under the Indian flag?

The navy today needs the services of all manner of men: Engineers who are responsible for the ship's movement; electricians for the running and maintenace of electrical machinery—and a large part of the machinery in modern ships is electrical. Another important class of workers are the artificers. They are

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employed both on the ship and ashore and are responsible for the repair of all kinds of equipment including boilers, refrigerating plants, engines, radios and even guns. They are also concerned with first-aid and anti-gas measures. In addition to these, there are those who perform clerical or secretarial jobs, maintaining stores, keeping accounts, etc. The medical branch comprises doctors, dispensary attendants, nurses and masseurs. Then there are the wireless telegraphists and signalmen who belong to the communications branch which may be described as the eyes and ears of the navy, for it is through the communications branch that information can reach a ship or be passed from one ship to another as well as between ships and shore stations.

A ship, therefore, offers a very wide choice of work. Needless to say that to maintain a high standard of efficiency, it is necessary to select the best type of men and, once selected, the navy sees to it that they are properly looked after and provided with all facilities and prospects.

It will be wrong, however, to think that for sailors it is all work and no play. Apart from the fact that they are often allowed to go ashore, there are adequate arrangements for their recreation. Sports and game are a common feature of life in the navy and concert parties also are often arranged in which officers and ratings take alike part. In addition, there are cinema shows, and entertainment is provided through films in English and Indian languages. For the literary minded, there is a library in each ship. Above all, food is good and plentiful.

What I have said, and that is only a part of the story, should be sufficient attraction for intelligent young men to want a career in the navy. The myth of the martial races has been finally exploded and belonging to a particular part of the country is no longer a bar to joining the defence forces. Modern warfare is not a matter of brawn alone. Mechanisation has changed all that. Brains play an increasingly important part in the battles of today. Brawn or brains there is no lack of either in this vast country of ours. There is no reason therefore why we should not reach the very top in the sphere of naval warfare. India has always condemned violence and the very thought of war is repugnant to her. But, as I have already said, India's Armed Forces are for defence and for defence only.

Let us then renew our acquaintance with our navy today and resolve to cherish it as we cherish our other treasured possessions. May the Navy grow from strength to strength and ever uphold India's honour and, what is more important, let it dedicate itself anew to the task of defending the weak against

the strong, good against evil and right against wrong. Let us prove that *'Ekada jahar vijay senani helay Lanka karila jay'* (একদা যাহার বিজয়সেনানী হেলায় লঙ্কা করিল জয়) is no myth, but a well-earned tribute to our naval prowess.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CALCUTTA BRANCH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION.

10th April, 1952.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I wish first of all to express my gratitude to the members of the United Kingdom Citizens' Association, Calcutta, for inviting me to address them on this occasion. I am profoundly moved by the honour shown to me and the terms in which you, Mr. Chairman, have introduced me to your members. I am so greatly overwhelmed by the cordiality of your reception and the generous words with which I have been welcomed, that I am at a loss to find language with which to thank you adequately. But may I, in all seriousness, tell you that I consider the opportunity given me for meeting your members a really great privilege? I believe firmly that it is only through such contact that real understanding between people can be reached.

I feel inadequate to the assignment, the more so when you remind me that only Mahatma Gandhi and Sir B. L. Mitter had, in the past, been invited to address your annual gathering and that I am the third Indian national to receive this honour. I, however, derive inspiration and strength from the fact that everything that I stand for today, is mostly the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Sir Brojendra was a great constitutional lawyer and one of the authors of the plan of Federated India. I can, therefore, reasonably hope to say something which may be an amplification of what my illustrious Indian predecessors had then said under far different circumstances.

Every sensible Indian recognises the fact that Britons have, in the past, played a notable part in the economic development not merely of Calcutta or Bengal but of India as a whole. Bengal has always occupied a position of special importance in the economic development of India. Calcutta itself is one of the largest, if not the largest, centre of industry in India and a port of international importance.

Though people of all nationalities have helped in building up the capital of this State, and infusing into it a truly cosmopolitan spirit, it cannot be denied that to you Britons belongs the major part of the credit. Members of your Association have taken the lead in trade and industry, provided expert planners for major projects, helped in creating and maintaining the

highest and the noblest traditions of an independent judiciary, and in establishing institutions of learning, centres of arts and crafts and of medical relief and research. Some of your members have preached the noblest lessons of the brotherhood of man ; I am of course referring to Christian missionaries in particular. All this may be due to historic reasons, nonetheless, praise must be given where it is due.

Our indebtedness to Britons is not, however, confined to the economic sphere. You have given us something more valuable and abiding. Apart from what we have learnt from you during the last 175 years or so, and most of which has undoubtedly been of great benefit to us, we cannot forget that you are the representatives of a great country. In yourselves, you symbolize the full meaning of the word 'freedom'. Whatever the contributions of other western races may be or may have been to the modern concept of 'freedom', it is your great country that has largely shaped its form and content, up to the present day. Posterity will not be able to understand the word 'freedom,' if future historians fail to associate it with your great country.

Future historian will also record that your fathers and yourselves have fought for freedom as very few nations have done. Can history ever forget the unforgettable days of 1940 when the British race stood foursquare against the savage onslaughts of the dreaded curse of Hitlerism? Can civilisation ever forget the days, after Dunkirk, when you rallied all your powers to continue the battle of freedom, almost single-handed, against the powers of evil? And that is why we in India welcome you in our midst as good friends and co-workers in the cause of freedom.

Since the end of the last war, mankind has been trying to find a formula for the creation of what we call 'One World'. On the remains of the League of Nations, we are now trying the experiment of the United Nations Organisation, upon the progress of which the future of the world depends. But I believe personally that the United Kingdom has itself given a lead in this matter which may, in time, be the foundation for that dream of ours of 'One World'. I am referring to your creation of the Commonwealth of which India is a member. If there is development on proper lines, with due respect to the special conditions of each unit, a bond of fellowship and friendship will be created which will not only enhance material interests, but will also establish a spiritual link between them.

We in India have also made our contribution towards building up of the One World idea.

In our view this idea presupposes first the elimination of

war and its causes, such as ambition for territorial expansion, distrust and misunderstanding; secondly, the settlement of differences through negotiation; and thirdly, co-operation with all nations, including even those with whom we do not see eye to eye, for the realisation of laudable objects, such as fighting starvation, illiteracy, disease, etc.

As soon as we emerged as a free nation, we made it clear that we are no believers in aggression and that we have no desire to enlarge our boundaries. Our records will show that not only have we welcomed, but also sent out, various cultural missions with the sole object of removing prejudices and establishing friendly relations with different nations. In spite of grave provocation, we have steadfastly refused to be drawn into armed conflict with any nation. It is also common knowledge, how we have gone out of our way to co-operate with every agency created for the removal of human misery in all its aspects. I am also compelled, rather unwillingly, to refer to what is called our vacillating foreign policy, at the back of which lie two principles —first and foremost the desire to judge every issue on its own merits, and secondly, unwillingness to so closely identify ourselves with any particular group as to lead to the disappearance of friendship with other groups. Without compromising certain standards of uprightness which we have set for ourselves as a nation, we have, without interfering with the affairs of other nations in any way, tried our best to act as friendly peace-makers.

We also believe that the One World idea implies not merely loyal adherence to the principle referred to above, but also the legitimate safeguarding of the economic interests of people who come to our country to engage in commerce and industry. And this for the very simple reason that discrimination against non-Indians is bound to be a fruitful cause of mistrust and misunderstanding which, so often in the past, have led to war. In this connection I would like to draw your attention to our attitude to foreign capital.

You must all be aware that India is today making gigantic efforts at reconstruction and development of her agriculture and industry. The Five-Year Plan (or Six-year Plan as it may now be) has emerged from a dream into a design, and a definite programme has been drawn up for execution thereof in stages, with due regard to the financial and other resources which can reasonably be made available for the purpose. The plan aims at mobilising the people's urge for progress and canalising it into constructive channels for achieving certain social and economic targets. The particular aspect of the Five-Year Plan, which will

naturally interest you most, is the scope of investment of foreign capital.

The need for foreign capital and technical knowledge now arises from the basic fact of a large and growing population alongside of low and stagnant production. There is little margin of domestic savings. The Planning Commission have, therefore, recommended that the inflow of foreign capital should be encouraged. Besides supplying much-needed capital goods, foreign capital will bring in its train modern techniques and tools.

Government's policy on this subject has been outlined by the Hon'ble Prime Minister. The main elements of this policy are that no discrimination would be made between Indian and foreign undertakings, that reasonable facilities would be given for the remittance of profits and the repatriation of capital, and that fair and equitable compensation would be given in the event of nationalisation.

The Commission have also indicated certain fields where the inflow of foreign capital would be specially welcome. The Hon'ble Prime Minister has made it clear that foreign capital has a place in the country's economy to the extent that it serves the interests of the people. Every undertaking financed by foreign capital is therefore to be judged by how much it benefits the people and helps them in raising their standard of living.

Hundreds of families of U. K. citizens have lived here for generations and have cherished the same feelings of affection and loyalty to this country as any Indian, even though they may not have made this country their permanent home. Toleration is inherent in the ancient culture of this land. I would, therefore, appeal to those of you who may be now here and to those of you who owe much of your wealth and prosperity to this country, to work in harmony with your Indian compeers for the promotion of the welfare of the people. If you take the industrial and commercial undertakings in which you are engaged as something more than money-earning enterprises, you will find opening up to you a large field of common endeavour to raise the standard of living of the common man.

I have been greatly comforted by your assurance, Mr. Chairman, that I am free to speak my mind 'without fear or favour' and that if I state 'a few home truths, no offence will be taken'. Believing as I do in the sincerity of these statements, I should like to place before you certain ideas of mine which, if accepted and given effect to, by Britons resident in India, would, I think, have the effect of strengthening the links already binding our two countries thus benefiting ourselves, securing the solidarity of the

Commonwealth and encouraging the acceptance of the ideal of One World.

With all possible respect to different views on the subject, I submit that the time has come when Britons in this country should cease to live in watertight compartment, when they must give serious thought to get in closer touch with the people of this country, at the social level. Generally speaking, each community, whenever necessary, gets together during working hours and, also, generally speaking, these contacts cease thereafter.

I plead with you, as also with my countrymen, that men and women of Britain and men and women of India should get together more frequently, not only for purposes of commerce and business, but also socially, culturally and in all other ways possible. I do not for a moment blame our British friends for what happened in the past ; and fault may be just as much theirs as our own. But why harp on the past? Why not let us think of the future, and work sincerely for the establishment of conditions which will make possible greater and more frequent social contacts between peoples of both countries?

During the war years, we saw the heartening spectacle of men and women of both countries, literally rubbing shoulders with one another, for the amelioration of the sufferings of the distressed. We have not forgotten the days when Bengal was overwhelmed by famine and when business and professional men of many countries combined together to render practical help, with their own hands, for the relief of the distressed. Need we wait for such world-shaking catastrophes, to awaken us to a feeling of oneness with all other human beings? Can we not repeat these acts during peace time? Opportunities stare us all in the face.

To take a single instance, the refugee problem in the State of West Bengal is a great avenue for service, personal or otherwise, for all of us, whether we are British or Indian. I feel myself that if some of the former unite with Indians in studying the problem on their own and devising ways and means whereby we can supplement what is being done by Government, not only shall we have done a great deal of good to the people of this country, but also to ourselves on the higher level of existence, which I, as a humble follower of my Lord and Master, believe in.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I earnestly request that your Association gives its serious attention to the establishment of such projects. Any assistance I can personally give you is always yours to command.

It has been said, and very correctly said, that the seeds of much of Britain's greatness have been sown on the playing fields

of Eton aud Harrow. In other words, this means that the greatness of your country depends upon the character of the people themselves. If this character, therefore, has been formed on playing fields, why not share this with the people of this country? Instead of having separate teams consisting exclusively of Europeans and Indians, for playing football and cricket, etc., is it not possible to have combined teams? This will not only make for better conditions in sport, but also for healthier relations in other spheres of life.

May I repeat, and repeat again, that it is only through getting together, in as many activities as we can, that we get opportunities for understanding one another, sympathising with one another and thereby evolving a common creed for our ideal of progress?

There is one other point which I would like to place before you for your consideration. Industrial labour suffers from various hardships. Housing accommodation is scarce and in the existing circumstances, it is not possible for the employer or the State to undertake any extensive programme of housing for workers. It strikes everyone, however, that although the management, the executive and labour live mostly in close proximity to one another in our existing mills and factories, the psychological factors, arising from such conditions, have not been receiving adequate attention. One may suggest that closer social contact between the management and the executive and their families on the one hand, and workers and their families on the other, should be of great value in fostering a better understanding and even affectionate relations between them. In this connection, I would like to refer to the welfare activities of British ladies in the coal mining areas to the value of which I can bear personal testimony. There is infinite room for social welfare work among the working-class families in all British-controlled industries, to which you can make lasting contributions. Here you can continue to supply much-needed leadership to the management and executive of Indian industries. After all, we cannot especially in these days, forget that the human factor still continues to be the greatest thing, even in this age of mechanisation.

Many other thoughts crowd into my mind at this stage, but I shall briefly touch on a few.

In the higher spheres of commerce, I believe no concern should be entirely European in its financial constitution. Indians should, and must, be given opportunities of being share-holders in Indian rupees in all big concerns so that they may feel that they themselves are associated with the economic progress of this

country in which you have a great hand. The same thing applies to large Indian concerns also.

The Government of India have entered into agreements with various foreign countries for the training of technicians, but the scope for such training, at Governmental level, is limited and there is a vast field open to industrialists in this regard. This country needs more and more technical skill and it would be to the benefit of your industrial enterprise as well as of the people of the country, if more and more young men are sent abroad for training in your principal establishments in the United Kingdom and if more and more Indian young men, after this kind of training, are given opportunities of holding responsible positions in your local establishments.

I note with pleasure that something has already been done in this direction, but the general feeling seems to be that there is room for extension of the system.

Then again, more opportunities should be offered for training in your factories and mills in India to Indians. It is a matter of common knowledge that many Indian youths desirous of earning their living by manual work are unemployable as they cannot obtain the necessary training in well-run factories, without a great deal of backing and recommendation. This is a state of affairs which should be corrected by all Chambers of Commerce getting together and devising ways and means for proper technical training.

You have been, and still continue to be, the leaders of industry and commerce in this land. You still control much of the trade and commerce in this part of the world. Undoubtedly, you have made openings for large numbers of clerks, typists, stenographers. But, in the higher grades of service, the number of Indians employed is not commensurate with the talent available. Well educated young men and young women in this country rush in their hundreds to the Public Services Commissions and, in spite of the fact that many are successful, very few are called, owing to the limited number of vacancies. With all the earnestness I am capable of, I plead with you as a friend, as a fellow citizen of the Commonwealth that, if proper training be given in your higher services to Indian youths, they will not fail you. I am convinced that, under your guidance, you will get more than your money's worth.

You are here not on sufferance, but as our guests and friends whom we trust. It is up to you to see whether you can associate more Indians in the higher grades of services available to you, not

only for their economic betterment but for the better understanding of your own ideals and ways of life.

It has been reported to me—I do not know with what correctness—that the religion we profess has ceased to possess much of its old appeal in the West. Even if that is so, I refuse to believe that ethical standards established by it, are in danger of being forgotten by you, either in your part of the world or here in India ; if it were so, the British community in this country would not have enjoyed its truly enviable reputation for the spirit of fair play, unimpeachable integrity and absolute honesty. More than that, I very strongly feel that whether you are what is known as 'nominal' or 'practising' Christians, you owe a duty to the name by which you are known in a land where non-Christians form an overwhelming majority of the population, I would also remind you of the scriptural injunction that 'unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required.' On behalf of my countrymen, I have offered certain suggestions for your consideration and acceptance because I am convinced that they have not merely the sanction of our religion but also of the ethical standards instituted by it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, yours is a great heritage and it is my earnest prayer that you may continue to be worthy successors of those great personalities who built up your great country and the great domains, territorial and economic, controlled by you. I have attempted to give you my own thoughts on subjects of great importance to all of us. It is my earnest hope that you may never forget those words of immortal wisdom of your poet:

Not once nor twice in our rough Isles' story
Has the path to duty been the path to glory.

FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INDIAN FEDERATION OF WORKING JOURNALISTS ORGANISATION, CALCUTTA.

12th April, 1952.

Mr. President-elect, Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, Delegates and Gentlemen:

I think I should dispense with the formality which usually constitutes the introduction to an inaugural address and, instead, tell you something about my reactions to the invitation which the Reception Committee extended to me to inaugurate this session.

I should not conceal that the invitation, coming as it did from the representatives of the Press which is so sensitive about its freedom and so resentful of Government-control—justly and to its credit no doubt—caused me at first some surprise. But I allowed myself the liberty of making what I would like to call a not quite foolish guess, and when actually I accepted the invitation I did so not as the head of the Government of West Bengal, but as a member of the profession of journalism which I have practised all my life though not as the principal means of livelihood and which I have been practising, I think, with a vengeance since the assumption of the office of Governor, in the sense that I have now to prepare and deliver discourses almost daily on subjects about which I know little and occasionally practically nothing. Anyway, I accepted the invitation because I felt I would find myself among kindred spirits.

The second reason was that I became somewhat curious also. The newspaper now-a-days has become, with all of us, something like light and air,—absolutely essential for our existence but too familiar an object to be thought about much. It is taken for granted by its very nature, the newspaper makes us think of persons, big and small, other than those who produce it and of issues, sublime and ridiculous, other than those affecting journalists themselves. We sometimes see the reporter and at times even wish that we had not seen him or he had not seen us; now and then we meet the editor also.

But the vast majority of workers on the editorial side who write or prepare for our benefit things which excite or depress us, remain beyond our ken. I felt when I received the invitation that, by accepting it, I would get an opportunity of coming into contact with at least a section of the large army of intellectual

workers who work in silence practically without any recognition from society, and who wear themselves out so that the people at large may learn what no university can teach and what powerful interests, not unoften, try their best to keep away from the public.

It is, I think, in the fitness of things that working journalists have organised themselves to protect the rights which the profession, by an unceasing struggle, has earned and to secure new rights and privileges which the new age has entitled them to claim. As a journalist which I myself have, in a sense, been, I fully realise the danger which threatens working journalists today and also the gravity of the encroachment which has already been made on their cherished rights. The danger to an individual journalist is much greater today than to the Press as an institution, and it does not lurk only in the quarter which is usually mentioned in the context of the freedom of the Press.

Believe me that I do not speak as the Governor of West Bengal when I say that the Press in India is quite free today—much freer, indeed, than the Press in some other countries in the world. But the individual journalist is not as free today as he was even a few years ago.

Nothing can be more distressing to a conscientious journalist than to be compelled to write a piece of comment or an item of news in the form or in the spirit which his conscience would not approve. Yet, not unoften, a journalist now-a-days finds himself confronted with the choice between compliance with an instruction or rather a direction of that nature and unemployment.

It is conceded that this is a development which has followed logically from the evolution of things,—of public life with its party-system in politics, of big business and giant industries in the economic sphere and of the newspaper itself as an industry.

Of the problems and paradoxes it has created for the working journalist I have no solution to offer. It is for your organisation to find it which, however, should be done in a way befitting the dignity of your profession.

I attach great importance to the qualification I have made. A journalist smarting under a grievance should not dismiss with a shrug of the shoulders the probability that the restriction he complains of, might well be the result of his own failings. The human mind by its very constitution seeks a scapegoat. The working journalist, being no more than a human being, is more often than not likely to find a scapegoat either in the Government or in his employer as he compares his present status with that of great journalists like Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sri Motilal Ghosh, Dr. Annie Besant, Sir C. Y. Chintamoni, Mr. G. A.

Natesan, Sri Ramananda Chatterjee, Syed A. Brelvi or Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha, not to speak of Mahatma Gandhi who was unique as a journalist.

A working journalist should not forget that the proprietor of a newspaper has also a right which he has to respect and that when he enters a game he has to play it according to its rules. And I would most respectfully request him to look within also as he looks for the danger which threatens the freedom of the Press.

Even at the risk of being charged with repeating a truism, I should remind journalists that liberty should not degenerate into license. The natural propensity of fallible man to give vent to his wrath or jealousy or to make use of his power to advance his personal ends, is as great a menace to the freedom of the Press as the political partisanship or the revenue-consideration of the proprietor.

It is not the proprietor alone who now-a-days stands exposed to temptations. The working journalist is equally exposed to the same temptations and against those he should constantly guard himself. A much stronger and more insidious temptation is that which the intellect with its infinite capacity for indulgence in acrobatics, offers to the working journalist who finds himself in the comfortable position of being able to demolish with criticism in a few minutes what statesmen or administrators may have taken years to build. No journalist true to his salt, should fall a conscious or unconscious prey to this temptation even if he serves on the staff of an opposition paper.

The working journalist should take his position on the editorial staff of a newspaper as an opportunity unavailable to members of most other professions to serve his fellow-beings, and when he has to determine priorities, he should, I think, give the highest priority to the most neglected and therefore the most deserving cause. I think it was Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who not many years ago publicly criticised the Indian newspapers for giving greater prominence to speeches of political leaders than to the grievances and struggles of humbler people in insignificant places. The criticism holds good to this day. It is primarily for the working journalist to remove such drawbacks and thus fulfil his role as a teacher and a moulder of public opinion.

I am very glad to learn that your organisation has evolved a code of conduct for the working journalist. I hope it is also your constant endeavour not only to improve the code but also to see to it that the code is observed by all members of your profession.

Yours, I understand, is a Trade Union. That also is the logical corollary to the evolution of the production of the news-

paper as an industry. Trade Union activity is perfectly legitimate and you have every right to agitate for security of service, adequate wages, provident fund and pension, and conditions of work befitting the dignity of the profession and the heavy responsibilities you have to shoulder. No one can find fault with you for claiming what industrial workers have already secured with the active assistance of the State. I am sure that if you confine your activities within the bounds of legitimate Trade Unionism and represent your case properly to Government, the latter will give you all the legislative and executive support you deserve.

In this connection, I should just like to refer in passing to the poor pay and the insecurity of tenure of journalists and also how newspaper owners are able to exploit the situation created in India by laymen writers who do not demand any fees, as they are more than satisfied if they see their lucubrations in print. I may add here that this practice of not paying the ordinary contributor is preventing many promising young people from adopting journalism as a profession. Non-payment also tends to lower the standard of the contributions.

I am afraid I have strained your patience. But for that you are to blame. When you put a schoolmaster on his legs you invite the infliction of a lecture. I thank you, however, for listening to the unpleasant truths as patiently as you listened to the pleasant ones. I now declare your Conference open and wish it all success.

INAUGURATION OF INDIAN COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

9th September, 1952.

An inauguration ceremony has a charm all its own. It connotes the freshness of an opening flower and the vigour of a sprouting plant. And, having been an educationist all my life, I have a particular fondness for fresh attempts, which, to me, represent pulsating life. We are here today to witness, and to accord our best wishes to, a new attempt which holds forth the promise of practical utility. I am extremely happy at the privilege of associating myself with this inauguration. But I must confess I cannot get over a subconscious feeling of awe that laymen in general have for science, and students of literature for economics. It is no exaggeration therefore when I say that the organisers of the Indian Council of Economic Affairs have honoured me greatly by affording me the pleasant opportunity of inaugurating its activities.

Speaking before a gathering of economists and businessmen, one's mind is inevitably filled with thoughts of the country's economic backwardness. Comparisons are odious, but they can be constructive, if not altogether pleasant. Great Britain which is one-eighteenth of the size of India and has about one-eighth of our population is one of the leading industrial nations today. It is said that India is now what Britain was forty years ago. The British national income is more than one and a half times our own. While the United Kingdom has a per capita income of Rs. 3,681·25, India's income per head is Rs. 256·5 only. Our present budget indicates a revenue of a little over Rs. 400 crores: Great Britain has a surplus of Rs. 720 crores in her present budget: Her outlay on food subsidy for the last two years averaged about Rs. 550 crores. It is therefore no wonder that the living standards of the lowest stratum of people in the U.K. are much higher than those of the upper middle class in our country. There the people live longer ; the average expectation of life is 58: while the poor Indian can hope for only 27 years not of a full life but of bare existence.

Every one now knows that during the major part of about 150 years of alien rule our country, owing to historical reasons, remained a source of raw materials and a market for finished goods. Its agriculture was neglected and the growth of national industries not adequately encouraged by those in charge of the

administration of the country. The result has been that India with its vast resources and manpower has lagged far behind the industrially advanced countries of the world.

It is only since the advent of the national Government that proper attention is being paid and care taken to make up the leeway. Our Government has undertaken a development plan designed to lay sound foundations for further improvement in the future. In modern planning not only the elemental and developmental needs of nation have to be attended to, but also the scheme of things should reckon with a wider economic entity—the region. This is why our national plan has been working simultaneously with the regional plan—the Colombo Plan. The timing of the two has been most welcome: for they can supplement each other in regard to financial as well as technological requirements.

That the plan has got a good start is quite evident. India can boast of the largest fertilizer factory in Asia. A machine tool factory is about to be established ; as also a telephone cable factory. Government has taken over a concern to look after ship-building. And in these various efforts for improving our production potential, it has not forgotten public health either: a penicillin plant will soon make its appearance near Dehu Road between Bombay and Poona.

The active co-operation of the people has been heartening. How else could we reach our target in sugar in so short a time? Would he not have been a bold prophet who said about a year ago that he foresaw something like near self-sufficiency in jute? We might even reach our target in cotton in a year or two. All this is clear, unmistakable and solid proof of popular support for the plans of our Government. This co-operation is the most encouraging feature in our national economic emancipation. When we want to produce more sugar or grow more jute or raise more cotton, our people set their hands to it and we fulfil our plans. Even in these difficult days of the money market, when we want finance for our development plans, the people not only subscribe, but even over-subscribe voluntarily and generously.

Under these circumstances it is only fit and proper that our friends abroad should make an appreciative gesture at this gallant performance. The U.S. Technical Co-operation Fund makes available to us large amounts of money and means ; and the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, has promised his hearty co-operation. Our plan, our development efforts, are bound to bear rich fruit, not only in fulfilling certain material objectives, but also in successfully revolutionising our methods of thinking.

This should go a long way in giving us a national sense, which will strengthen and speed up our efforts at progress.

A plan lives. A living organism will change as it grows, new cells replacing old ones. The Planning Commission has well emphasised this limitation inherent in any planning. The plan is done at one point in time and those responsible for it can only make a guess about the future. The assumptions thus made often prove incorrect. It is here that the need for an objective study from a national point of view comes in. Unfortunately, we have not yet fully succeeded in acquiring the feeling of national unity.

India is a vast country and accommodates diverse peoples who speak different languages and whose economic backgrounds are different. Even when left to itself, it is no ordinary task to forge a sense of national unity among our 360 million. And the task has not been made easier during the last five generations when sectional animosities and group hatreds could be so easily exploited for selfish design ; when brother could be set against brother, and family against family. The worst loss that we sustained in those internecine feuds was by no means economic. We lost our national sense. Many ceased to be thrilled by the word 'India' ; for it conveyed so little to them. This is the sad legacy our infant Republic was heir to.

When the Conservative and the Labour parties can sink their differences so readily and easily, in the face of a national emergency, here in India the tiniest bone of contention stands in the way of united action. In England, it is quite an ordinary event for a Labour Ministry to restrict wages and for the Conservative Opposition to curtail the powers of industrialists ; for the onus of responsibility is ever there. Be it in office or outside, in power or in opposition, political thought in either party in the U.K. takes the whole nation within its scope.

In the changed situation in which we find ourselves today, it is imperative to widen our outlook and to approach all questions from the national standpoint. The problems that face the country and which call for concentrated attention are so numerous that the institutions devoted to their study have inevitably to be numerous. We have in India today a number of organisations which present emphatically the case of particular interests. This is as it should be, because each section is its own best spokesman.

Along with such organisations we also need an organisation which will harmonise the demands of the various interests. Such a body should have facilities for academic discussions

because the true economist is one who is able to fit in practical data into his science in such a way that his analysis is progressive and up-to-date. I very deeply appreciate the well-meant effort of the Indian Council of Economic Affairs to fill up this serious gap, and I do hope that they will always keep the interest of the nation, the yardstick, with which to measure the various phenomena in the economic life of our country.

This is a supremely difficult task ; and its success depends on the co-operation of the different study centres which concentrate on the interests of particular sections. The Indian Council of Economic Affairs, I gather, is no rival to any existing institution. Being national in its standpoint, it will need and, the sponsors inform me, it will welcome, the wholehearted co-operation of all the bodies which are at present voicing the cases of sections of our national economy. This Council will, I trust, carefully study the needs of the various interests, and do its best to correlate the same with national schemes and resources, thus attempting to harmonise the various interests and focus them on the supreme task of nation-building. I am confident that the Council will have the enlightened co-operation of all the people who can substantially contribute to the discharge of this noble duty of purposive thinking.

It remains for me to invoke the blessings of the Almighty on this endeavour, and I am sure you will join with me when I, on your behalf and mine, wish godspeed to the Indian Council of Economic Affairs, which I have great pleasure in declaring open.

CENTENARY MEETING OF THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, CALCUTTA.

27th February, 1953.

I am very happy to be amongst you here today on this historic occasion and I thank you for the kind thought that prompted the invitation issued to me in this behalf.

If it was only that I was addressing a group of hardheaded businessmen, my academic perspective and my unfamiliarity with the ways of the mart would have greatly embarrassed me. But I have a faith that the heart of a Cameron beats within everyone of you, which, in a crisis, rises above nationality and affirms the common humanity of *man*. Living, he was an example to you, and dead, he is an inspiration to all of us and our children. It is well that what I have to say today should begin with thoughts of one who is a supreme example of that non-materialistic phase of your activity which is the leaven in the bread of your life. In glancing through your Centenary Volume, so ably written by Mr. Tyson, I was delighted to know of your acts of goodness done, as it were, by stealth, and with no records kept.

Let me first congratulate you on having achieved the Golden Jubilee, and I say 'achieved' advisedly. For I feel that such a long, honourable and fruitful existence speaks well for the cohesion of commercial and industrial interests during the last century and this. Fifty years ago Lord Curzon addressed you in terms which the newspapers of the day characterised as having made every Englishman blush pink with pride. Today you find a well-meaning old man sharing his thoughts with you. And this transition is symbolic in many ways. The spacious days of paternal benevolence are gone for all time, nor have I any nostalgia for such days. As you have so admirably put it, Mr. President, the grooves of change have rung in rationing and rung out both grandiloquence and banquets. The so-called 'teeming millions' are no longer content with the anonymity of vital statistics. They have become pulsating warm beings with aspirations of their own, and this upsurge of their feelings has cracked the crust of old world values and bid us do some hard re-thinking about the ways of our life. Nothing is more natural than to feel aghast at the shape of things to come, and nothing could be more fatal than merely to so stay aghast.

What is the way out? There are numerous signposts that beckon us hither and thither, but fortunately there was a great Presence in our midst who taught us the ways of Love and Peace. Not since the agony of Gethsemane did the Son of Man bear such a burden, not since the Death on the Cross was there such martyrdom for Love and Peace and Goodwill to *all men*. His life was a miracle and Death beatified him into an inspiration for ages to come. Nurtured by him, the leaders of Independent India have wisely chosen the way of peaceful development. This country was not convulsed into independence. In the interests of peace, partition was accepted, and but for the cussedness of human behaviour, the dichotomy would have been an object-lesson in political development.

Five years of storm and stress have been endured, and out of this travail is being born a new country with a new vitality. Nature's waywardness and man's perversity are both being tackled with firmness and determination. River-valley schemes are well on their way, providing light where there was darkness, and making ears of corn grow where none grew before. Autocracies, big and small, have been smoothed out in firm fashion but in no unkind manner. National Laboratories have sprung up all over the country and science is being made the handmaid of life and not the tool of savage annihilation. New cities are springing up at the instance of those intrepid souls who have paid the price of freedom through dispossession of their goods and chattels. Community projects are vitalising our villages. A great man in the image of Gandhiji has braved derision and has been walking his way through the country redistributing land in peaceful fashion. People have not realised what a great revolution Vinoba Bhave is achieving in his quiet way, a way which leaves not a trace of bitterness behind. Numberless of our young folks are out abroad acquiring new skills and there has been much gracious help from foreign experts in solving our problems. 'Pull one, pull all' is the motto of the day. Draught, famine, earthquake, flood, locusts, refugee problems, labour unrest—all these and more have been our share during these difficult years. And our heart goes out to the dedicated soul who has to face this music, day in and day out, as the Prime Minister of this country. That we are still on even keel is in no small measure due to the steadfastness of our leaders and to the co-operation extended to them by sympathetic friends abroad and at home.

You have indeed a glorious part to play in this context, and I know that you are trying hard to do well by the country. I have greatly relished Mr. Tyson's quotation from Andre Siegfried who

says about the Englishman that 'In life in general and in political life in particular, the Englishman acts like an old-time sailor ; he manoeuvres in an unstable environment and he accepts that instability as a fact which he cannot change and which it would be folly to resent'. As you know, we have not put any embargo on non-Indian capital. On the contrary, we welcome it and our Constitution guarantees the rights of investors. We are no believers in totalitarianism or expropriation. Our religious traditions are against such a mental state. We have always been willing to live and let live. Some say it is almost a weakness with us. Up to a little while ago, historic reasons kept you an exclusively non-Indian body. And it is a great compliment to your capacity for adjustment to new conditions that an increasing number of Indian concerns are affiliating themselves to you. I find that old and well-established non-Indian concerns built up by the sweat and blood of Europeans are changing hands by the normal processes of negotiation and sale. On the other hand, an increasing number of our young people are getting into non-Indian concerns and let us hope they are justifying the faith placed in them. Government policy has always been to encourage private enterprise in a large sector of industry and commerce. Indian capital should either start enterprises itself or co-operate with foreign capital to do so. The water always looks chill before one takes the plunge. But what exhilaration there is when once you are in it and swimming. I am aware that capital is timid because it feels uncertain about the political weather. But my contention is that such timorousness will make the climate more precarious. That faint heart never won fair lady is as true now as it ever was and will be.

I feel I have said enough about men and matters, and in doing so I have not so much presumed to give advice as to think aloud, and I thank you for your forbearance in listening to me. I am delighted to find that you have signalised your Centenary in a memorable way. I am referring to the institution of the Scholarship Fund which is to benefit the more humbly placed among your employees, and to assure you of their loyalty and devotion. This country has an abundance of talent awaiting scope for growth and fruition. If a country has to develop, it must make its men, and towards such a consummation yours is no small contribution. I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the imaginative propriety of this step and let me assure you that the Centenary banquet is sacrificed to good purpose.

Equally worthy of approbation is the donation to the Indian Council of World Affairs. India has an important part to play in

the councils of the world and, as you know, our foreign policy is one of goodwill towards all men regardless of their way of life. Not only should we be understood properly and well by the rest of the world, we have to know and assimilate the goings-on in other lands. Let me commend to you Gandhiji's memorable words: 'I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.' These words, at once revealing a catholicity of outlook and a sturdy independence of soul, sum up the very essence of India's stand in the world today. Everyone knows how greatly the Indian Council of World Affairs is contributing towards bringing peoples of the world closer to one another. In giving this donation, you are increasing its elbow-power for good.

There is one little request of mine before I finish. It has been very much in my thoughts and I cannot help spilling over with it considering how really important the matter is. The constituents of your Chamber have co-operated with the authorities of the Territorial Army in releasing their personnel for the brief periods of their training and they are truly grateful to you for it. But I am told that these brief periods are considered as so much leave taken by them. I wonder if you could put your heads together and, despite arguments about man-hours lost, you could not consider them as on duty during these periods of training for leadership and discipline. Let me remind you that this training will make better men out of your employees much to the advantage of everyone concerned. Their strength and devotion are needed during these days of trouble and unrest, and anything you can do to promote their well-being is worth the doing.

In conclusion, let me wish you a hundred more years of fruitful activity during which period you will come to be looked upon as friends of this country, promoting its prosperity, maintaining your time-honoured standards of honesty and fair-dealing, doing what you think is right, and with your confidence in spiritual forces unabated.

INDIAN RAILWAYS CENTENARY CEREMONY, CALCUTTA.

16th April, 1953.

Friends,

During the hundred years counting from a day in 1853 when, as a chronicler records, gaping crowds saw 'the splendid sight of 50 Parsee ladies riding in a special train upon the rail from Bombay to Thana', the railways have made tremendous progress in India. Exactly a hundred years ago, on April 16, 1853, a long-funnelled locomotive hauled the first train in India, indeed in Asia, from Bombay to Thana—a distance of 21¾ miles. It was, however, in 1845 that first reference was made to the necessity for the provision of railways in India by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It was realised then that for the material progress of the country, means of communication should be facilitated and transportation made cheaper. Steam locomotion was considered necessary also for the proper administration of the country. Moreover, military considerations lent additional support to the proposal, for, without railways, the movement of troops, supplies, armaments and munitions was difficult. So both Government and the country wanted railways.

Within 20 years of the opening of railways in the United Kingdom, the East Indian Railway Company, now part of the Eastern Railway, and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company were incorporated. I understand that, although the project stages of both these railways were contemporaneous, two serious obstacles hampered the East Indian Railway's efforts to run the first passenger train in the country, a distinction which ultimately fell to the other railway. However, from very humble beginnings in 1853, the railway network in this country expanded gradually and, on the eve of Independence, it stood at more than 40,000 route miles. Part of this track went to Pakistan as a result of the partition in 1947, and today the Indian railways cover more than 34,000 miles over an area of 11,77,000 square miles. This, I gather, is the longest route mileage of any state-owned railway in the world except that of the U.S.S.R.

The results of these 100 years of railway locomotion in India are obvious. Extensive areas have been opened up, trade has multiplied and communications speeded up. Perhaps few of us realise that in this process many obstacles had to be overcome and systems adapted to local needs and conditions. One im-

portant fact about the railways is that they still provide a most economic form of surface transport. Properly organised, rail transport is cheap, speedy and of outstanding use in the movement of heavy and bulky loads over long distances. The railways not merely revolutionised the economy of the country but also brought about radical changes in social habits and relations. Thus, while reformists tried to remove the curse of untouchability, railway travel, silently but surely, inculcated touchability. Orthodoxy in eating, the purdah system and other kindred hindrances to a healthy community feeling were gradually given up by those who came in contact with the railways and later by the public at large.

We, in this part of India, are most intimately connected with the Eastern Railway. And it is really a very great pleasure to recount here, on this memorable occasion, the vital part this railway plays in the economic structure of the country. On it lie, at Tatanagar, the largest steel manufacturing plant in Asia, at Sindri the only fertiliser factory in the East, and, at Chittaranjan, India's biggest locomotive manufacturing workshops. Almost all the coal raisings in the country are lifted by this railway, and, amongst its other mineral traffic, manganese, iron ore and mica merit particular mention, as these are valuable dollar earners.

For the agricultural produce of the Gangetic valley, the Eastern Railway is virtually solely responsible for providing all rail transport. Again, the only shipbuilding yard in India is situated at Vizagapatam, also on the Eastern railway. The port of Vizagapatam itself is administered by the Eastern Railway. Thus, this Railway provides a really vital link between the ports of Calcutta and Vizagapatam and their hinterlands in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Madras, all collectively rich in agricultural, mineral and industrial wealth. Calcutta, which is served by this railway, is the jute manufacturing centre of the world and the clearing house for tea produced in the eastern part of India. Calcutta, as you all know, is also the centre for a very large number of other metallurgical and engineering industries, cotton mills, chemical, pharmaceutical and other specialised industries.

Towards the national development projects, again, like the Damodar Valley and the Hirakud, the Eastern Railway, I am glad to state, has been doing its duty loyally by carrying useful supplies. The Eastern Railway, I understand, carries nearly half the tonnage of the total goods carried by all the railways put

together in the country—clearest proof of its intrinsic importance as compared with the rest.

The Centenary of Indian Railways is an event of rejoicing not only for railwaymen but also for every Indian who is a co-sharer in this great national undertaking. We are proud of our railways, and I am sure everyone here will join with me in paying a tribute to those pioneers who toiled a century ago, often under most trying conditions, to lay the foundations of what the Indian Railways are today. I also congratulate all railwaymen, particularly the rank and file, who are responsible for the efficient running of a machinery that has to work round the clock day after day, month after month and year after year without any break.

It gives me great pleasure to see that, on a great occasion like this, we have amongst us a number of railway employees of the Eastern Railway who have very long years of service to their credit and who represent different categories of railway work. They symbolise the ideal of loyalty and faithful public service and I hope that the younger generation among the railwaymen will try to emulate their example so that the great tradition of railway service may be faithfully maintained.

I have heard glowing reports of the Exhibition at Delhi organised to commemorate the Indian Railways Centenary. I was somewhat disappointed that I could not go to Delhi to see this great Exhibition but I am glad to hear now that the Exhibition Train with some of the important exhibits shown at Delhi will soon visit a number of centres throughout India. All of us, who had not had the opportunity to see the big Exhibition at Delhi, will look forward to the arrival of the Exhibition Train at Calcutta.

Appropriately on this momentous occasion, the story of the growth of railways in this part of India, of early difficulties and how they were surmounted and of the pioneers who built up the eastern network, is graphically portrayed in a special supplement published by the Eastern Railway Magazine. Tastefully produced, this splendid effort tells the layman the early romance of the great national undertaking and I gladly take this opportunity of complimenting the people behind the Eastern Railway Magazine on their enterprise.

The Indian Railways have travelled a long way during these hundred years. When, in the fullness of time, our Five-Year Plan is implemented, we shall perhaps be in a better position to realise how our railways helped in building for us a better, happier and more prosperous India.

'Our fire steed needs no rest and never wearies' remarked a newspaper on the memorable day of April 16, 1853. Let us echo a similar sentiment now, a hundred years after, and hope that our railways will be serving the needs of Mother India as tirelessly and efficiently in the days to come as well.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

SWADESHI MOVEMENT DAY.

(Under the auspices of the National Chamber of Industries, Calcutta)

7th August, 1953.

Dear Friends,

In the annals of a nation's life there are happenings and dates of great historic importance and potentiality. Seventh of August has a national and historic significance all its own particularly in Bengal.

An unwise act of the British Government in the form of the arbitrary partition of Bengal was challenged by eminent nationalists here under the leadership of Surendranath Banerjee, whom many regard as the father of political movement in India. It was strengthened through the inspiration of the apostle of culture and nationalism, Rabindranath Tagore.

A mysterious decree of Providence has hallowed and glorified this date through its association with the ascension to heaven of Surendranath on the 6th of August and that of our national poet Rabindranath on the 7th of August. Thus it is quite natural and becoming that we should observe this day as a sacred and a historic National Day to remind ourselves again and again of Swadeshi and Nationalism. And I feel it a privilege and an honour to be called upon to associate myself with this function, and I thank the promoters for their invitation.

Under the leadership of these great men and through the co-operation and sufferings of many other leaders and national workers once at least 'a settled fact was unsettled'. The determined urge for the boycott of British goods and the vow of Swadeshi were the two main weapons used to this end.

Today not merely hundreds but probably thousands of meetings are being held not only in West Bengal but all over India in which speakers are extolling the contributions made by Surendranath Banerjee and Gurudev Tagore in the political and cultural spheres. The circumstances under which I am speaking today are different and I propose therefore to confine myself to making certain observations on their contributions towards the economic advancement of our motherland.

Those among us who were old enough at the time of the Partition of Bengal to appreciate the spirit behind the boycott

of British goods will, I think, admit that it was, at least at the beginning of the movement, a political weapon intended to put pressure on the British Government through loss of business by British concerns, which had, at that time practically monopolised a large market in India. It was not very long before the boycott of British goods was extended to the boycott of all goods manufactured in the West so much so that, at one time, I was told by a large Swiss firm of watch-makers and jewellers doing business in Calcutta that not a single watch or clock had been sold by them for three months in succession.

When this matter was placed before Mahatma Gandhi, he at once sensed that the motive behind this boycott was tinged with *himsa*—hatred against our old rulers. It was under his guidance that the movement was changed into 'Buy Swadeshi'. But even then most people bought Swadeshi goods at very high prices not because they loved to patronise indigenous industries but because they hated the idea of buying goods made in foreign lands.

This spirit of *himsa* may be said to have disappeared when the charka movement was started on an all-India scale under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi as also the village industries movement at Maganwadi near Wardah. In both these cases we had pure and unalloyed Swadeshi, on the basis of cottage industries.

Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have been criticised by a certain section of the public for their failure to encourage indigenous industries. My own conviction is that this criticism is due to ignorance, for it is not many who know much of what is being done in this direction both at the Centre as well as in the different States. On the present occasion I shall confine myself to giving an idea of what the Central Government have done to encourage the production of indigenous goods and services with a view to increasing the wealth of India.

It is probably not known to many that the Government's industrial policy is practically founded on the industrial policy resolution of 4th April, 1948, which recognised that the State and private enterprise must work side by side to gain our three main objectives, namely, (1) the maximum utilisation of indigenous resources: (2) the equitable distribution of goods and services and (3) the achievement of a higher standard of living for all the people of India.

With this end in view, Indian industries were classified into three categories. The first of these comprise such items as the manufacture of arms and munition, the production and utilisa-

tion of atomic energy, river valley projects and railways. All these are to be State monopolies. The second consists of coal, iron and steel, aircraft, telephone, telegraph and wireless, ship-building and mineral oil industries which are to be the responsibility of the State. But it was also provided that the undertakings under this category which were in existence, would continue to be the property of private owners for at least 10 years and that the initiative for their future development would lie with Government. The third category consisting of industries, such as textiles, jute, woollen, leather, cement, sugar, tea, automobiles and tractors, prime movers, electrical engineering goods, machine tools and non-ferrous metals is to be the responsibility of private enterprise subject to Central regulation and control.

From the above it is clear that, since freedom, Government have been anxious to develop our industries on all fronts and in order to do so, they have taken on themselves the burden of starting and carrying on such industries as cannot be undertaken by private enterprise. It must, however, be conceded that whether Indian industries are owned by the State or by private individuals, all of them will provide employment to the people of this country.

As stated already, in the first stage the agitation against the patronising of British or Western goods and for the purchase of Swadeshi goods carried along with it the implication of abolition of foreign enterprise in India because it was held that though labour at the lowest level found employment, still Indians were not given responsible positions and in addition to that, profits were carried outside India. It was also emphasised that labour was exploited by the organisers of foreign industries located in India.

It cannot be denied that there was much substance in these contentions. At the same time we have to admit that since freedom India is entitled to impose reasonable control even over enterprises established in India either wholly or partly with the help of foreign capital, as also that their presence in our motherland would be helpful in providing employment for both manual and non-manual workers. In this connection we might remind ourselves that, of late, these so-called foreign concerns have been offering responsible positions to Indians of proved ability and experience.

When our Government found that the rapid expansion of Indian industries would be hindered if we relied on indigenous capital only, they decided, and I think decided wisely, that the scope and manner of the investment of foreign capital should

be regulated in our national interest and that major interests in the ownership of industries and their effective control should be in Indian hands. Fairness, however, demanded, and it was therefore conceded, that foreign interests would be subject to the regulations common to all industries, Indian and non-Indian.

Our policy in regard to foreign investments has been further clarified in the Five-Year Plan which considers it desirable that they should normally be canalised into those spheres which are in urgent need of development. For instance, foreign investments should be permitted in sectors where new industries are to be developed, where special experience and technical skill are required, where the volume of domestic production is small in relation to the demand and where indigenous enterprise cannot be reasonably expected to expand at the desired rate. It is, however, in the interest of the country that it has been laid down that agreements for joint participation between foreign and Indian concerns should be subject to the approval of Government.

It would be quite easy for me to give further details in regard to other methods by which the Central Government as well as the State Governments have tried to help forward and encourage the production of goods and services with the ultimate aim of improving the standard of living of the country as a whole.

'Buy Swadeshi' is being interpreted at present in two ways. One school is convinced that if we want to develop indigenous industries, it is our duty to purchase their products even if they cost more than similar goods produced in foreign countries and imported into India. Not merely that, it would insist that we should pay high prices for them even where the quality is unsatisfactory.

We must, however, admit that an attitude such as this is a practical proposition only when feelings run high and that for a limited period only. I do not think it is at all wise to assume that an appeal to sentiment will by itself encourage millions of our countrymen to pay high prices for low grade goods simply because they are produced in India with the help of indigenous capital, management and labour. I admit that if we impose very high duties on similar imported goods, we may be able to compel our countrymen to permanently submit to this indirect taxation, but I do not think that, in the long view, this is a wise thing. Our aim should not merely be to supply the internal market but also, as far as possible, to export our manufactures abroad. If we depend on artificial help so that our Swadeshi

goods may find a ready market inside India, it certainly follows that we shall not be able to find any export market.

All that is reasonable for the encouragement of indigenous industries was done when the Government of India appointed a Tariff Commission in January last year. This has been asked to consider the desirability of granting protection to industries, to suggest variations in the custom or other duties for the promotion of industry, to recommend measures to deal with dumping and to evolve safeguards against the abuse of protection by a protected industry. It will also investigate the effects of protection on the price level and the cost of living, and has been asked to discover any anomalies arising from protection.

I am quite clear in my mind that no reasonable man who wants to see India flourishing in a world which today has become interdependent, can object to the giving of protection to an industry for a limited period and then compelling it either to die through its own incompetence or to administer its affairs in such a way as to be able to stand competition with goods produced in foreign countries.

Whatever might be said to the contrary, India cannot afford to raise walls round her boundaries and refuse to be drawn into the international market. And this for the very good reason that just as we expect to be allowed to sell our goods outside India, similarly the countries with which we have business relations expect to be able to sell their goods to us. It is not wise to think of having a oneway traffic because, in the long run, it is not a reasonable attitude to take in the modern world.

Before I conclude, I would like to mention here a problem which has been exercising our leaders for quite some time and that is the problem of unemployment both among the educated and the uneducated.

It may be pointed out that all projects and schemes, whether State or private, are bound to eventually open up various new types of occupation as well as to promote subsidiary and rural industries. These should afford employment to large numbers of people. But those who seek employment must be prepared to welcome even hard manual labour where necessary. It is possible that disinclination for this type of work is due to the kind of education we have been receiving so far. If so, it will need to be changed. It should also be the duty of the Government to take steps to encourage a new attitude towards labour. I believe that these things are not beyond our power.

In conclusion, let me once again thank the organisers of this function for asking me to be present here as also to congratulate

them on their attempt to revive the spirit of patronage of Swadeshi which, as I have tried to point out, must be of the right type.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

WORLD CANCER DAY, CALCUTTA.

10th April, 1955.

Every one interested in the prevention, treatment and, where possible, cure of cancer is aware that we have gathered here this afternoon in connection with the celebration of the World Cancer Day. This function, it should be added, is only one of thousands all held at the suggestion of the Fifth International Cancer Congress of 1950 in which no less than 45 nations participated through their delegates—clearest proof of the havoc caused by this disease all over the earth.

The control of cancer is a world problem today and is one of the most persistent and greatest of challenges to medicine. With the decline in the death rates from acute infective diseases in the more advanced countries, cancer has assumed a serious position as a cause of national mortality, being second only to cardio-vascular diseases. While what has been said just now is true of the United States of America, it is only proper that the public should know that according to those who are doing intensive work in connection with the prevention, control and cure of cancer, this disease is as common in our motherland as in the most progressive countries in the world.

The development of cancer in an individual is one of the worst calamities that can befall him. What it usually means to him is suffering from a disease for which there is no satisfactory treatment so that he is doomed to die in terrible agony and intense pain, knowledge of which is still further agony for both to him and his near and dear ones.

Many seem to have the fixed idea that cancer is a complication of old age or alternatively a painful mode of departure from this life. It is not possible to assess with any definite degree of what may be called scientific accuracy the cancer incidence and prevalence, but a rough estimate shows that this disease occurs in various parts of the body and in all age-groups.

The social aspect of the disease is further complicated by the fact that about 50 per cent of the deaths from cancer occur in persons between 45-65 years when their family and socio-economic responsibilities are heaviest.

The situation would not be so dismal if it were possible to make present day knowledge fully effective. From 33 1/3 to 50 per cent of cancer patients might be saved or their survival period

lengthened by a number of years if the techniques of modern medicine are made available to them in the early stage of the disease. Most of the cases are detected in our country when it has advanced to the extent that it has become incurable. But if treatment could be started early, the chances of cure would be fairly high. Early diagnosis and treatment are the *sine qua non* of a cancer-control programme.

Taking into account the present situation of morbidity and mortality from this disease, it is obviously a need of national importance that a satisfactory programme for achieving the final objective of cancer-control should be formulated and pursued vigourously not only by the medical profession but also by each and every member of the community who has an equally responsible part to play in its implementation.

I am sure cancer experts all over the world are applying their minds to the development of a comprehensive programme of cancer-control in which the Indian Cancer Society is also taking an active part. I am also equally certain that the programme will include in the scope of its work not only the question of research into the prevention, causation, early diagnosis and treatment, but also the rehabilitation of patients and measures to be taken in the case of patients suffering from what is called persistent cancer, and last but not least, the taking of steps which will make the public cancer-conscious.

In the present state of knowledge of cancer, it would not be wise to assume the basic mechanism of cancer as one and the same for all types. It is perhaps a combination of carcinogenic factors which is responsible for the disease. I am informed that there are more than 200 carcinogens known in industry and the number is probably growing daily with our rapid industrial expansion. This is an aspect of the problem to which I venture to invite the attention of our Indian experts, particularly in view of the great strides made in India by industries.

Although not very much is known in regard to the causes of cancer, nonetheless it is a well-known fact that certain countries have a greater incidence of particular types of this disease. From this the inference has been drawn that there is some kind of relationship between the customs and habits of large groups of people and the incidence of specific types of cancer. For instance, cancer of the skin of the abdomen and thighs resulting from warming the body with 'kangri' baskets, is well-known in northern India. Habits of chewing betel nut or tobacco and slaked lime are associated with higher frequency of cancer of the mouth. In

fact, cancer in the mouth is found oftener in India than in other parts of the world.

Then again, as a result of recent work, the relationship between the smoking of cigarettes and increase in lung cancer has been indicated. There is apparently such a strong presumption of causal connection between smoking in general and cigarette smoking in particular on the one hand and lung cancer on the other that the matter was discussed in the British Parliament in the course of which the correctness of two facts was admitted. The first is that there is some kind of casual connection between cancer and smoking and the second that the danger of being attacked by the disease increases with the amount smoked. It was also felt, though not unanimously accepted, that cigarette smoking involves a greater risk than pipe and cigar smoking as also that cigarette smoking would be less dangerous by the regular use of filter tips. This is corroborated by the fact that cancer of the lungs is increasing in India year by year due probably to the increasing popularity of cigarette smoking. Coming to statistics we find that whereas in 1950, there were only 8 cases of lung cancer in Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital, the number increased to 50 in 1953. There can be no doubt that there were other cases of lung cancer which did not attend this hospital but the gradual trend seems to show a close casual relationship between cancer of the lungs and the habit of excessive smoking, especially of cigarettes.

The best chance for a patient lies in early diagnosis and efficient treatment. Early diagnosis will depend on the diagnostic skill of the physician along with the availability of facilities and the index of suspicion in his mind. It also explains the vital importance of early reporting by the patient which can be carried out only through community health education. Adequate training of the physician in the procedure for early detection of cancer is consequently of great importance. It is desirable that special teaching on these lines should be provided in 'Tumour Clinics' of teaching institutions.

Early diagnosis is not enough unless it is followed by the proper kind of treatment. The present methods available include surgery, chemotherapy, radiotherapy (X-ray, radium, isotopes), and combinations of these treatments.

Efficient treatment on the lines indicated above can only be given by specially trained personnel in an adequately equipped institution. It is desirable that such facilities should be available in as many hospitals as possible and to that end private benevolence should, where necessary, be supplemented by grants by the State.

After major surgical interference, special therapy is sometimes necessary. The patient must also have an opportunity to re-orientate his general outlook and be fit enough to resume his normal life. Homes are, therefore, necessary for them which should be staffed by personnel specially trained for the purpose.

I say it with shame and deep grief that I have received reports of cases where the relatives of incurable cases of cancer have deliberately shirked their responsibility by leaving the patients at the door of the Chittaranjan Hospital and refusing to look after them when they have been traced. I know no words to condemn such outrageous selfishness—so contrary to our ancient traditions in which we take pride and about which we talk so glibly before non-Indians. Surely, even if the sufferers forgive such heartless relatives, the curse of God must inevitably rest upon them and pursue them to the end of their lives. The public, however, cannot afford to shirk its responsibility. We have to provide homes for such incurable cases and I wish I had the time and the energy to do my little bit in this direction.

Such unfortunate patients have to face uninterrupted suffering till it is ended by death. Shelter and continued nursing care can, to a certain extent, lessen the burden of their last painful days. Such care can only be provided in institutions properly staffed and equipped where modern therapy for the relief of pain, palliative chemotherapy and radiotherapy are available.

It is clear that the education of the community is essential for the effective control of cancer. It is specially so for the early diagnosis and treatment of cases and also for carrying out preventive measures. How to carry out this programme is also a matter which requires intensive study. The object is to substitute intelligence and optimism in place of ignorance and pessimism, if not unmitigated collapse of control over the emotions. It is not enough to tell people what the early signs and symptoms of cancer are; they should also be told how to act in certain circumstances and be informed about the help available. Besides assisting the education committees to be set up in the community, the medical personnel should individually take up the education of the patient. The educational scheme should also seek the co-operation of all social and welfare workers and by this means a nucleus of informed people will be created through whom facts will be reached to the people.

To carry out an intensive national cancer control programme, it is necessary to co-ordinate the activities on these lines in the various spheres of research, diagnosis, treatment and education, and to organise the activities on a united front. The Indian

Cancer Society represents both professional and community effort in this field and its activities should receive more popular attention and support.

In India we have at present only two institutions where high level studies of the cancer problem are being conducted, viz., the Tata Memorial Hospital in Bombay and the Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital in Calcutta. These institutions are of national importance and serve the whole of India on the regional basis. The Tata Memorial Hospital has been nationalised and considerably upgraded. It is hoped that the Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital will be nationalised and upgraded at an early date.

SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND COMMEMORATION OF THE COMPLETION OF THE FIRST PLAN.

15th April, 1956.

April 1956 is an important landmark in the history of our national planning for it marks the end of the First Five-Year Plan period and the beginning of the Second. Planning being a continuous process, planning for a nation is, of necessity, bound to be a long-term affair. The history of planning and its execution in India will, therefore, consist of many chapters, one of which is just finished and another is about to start.

Standing on the threshold of the Second Plan period, it will not be out of place to take stock of our position. We started the First Plan with practically little experience to guide us; and it would be profitable to know how we have fared. To the extent that we have succeeded in achieving our objectives we shall gain additional confidence for tackling the much bigger task we are imposing on ourselves in the Second Plan. Where we failed, we shall learn how to avoid similar mistakes in future. A review of the progress of work under the First Five-Year Plan will, therefore, be useful in both ways.

In the First Five-Year Plan, the objective as adopted by us was 'to raise the standard of living of the people and to open to them opportunities for a richer and more varied life'. For securing this objective, it was decided that, in the initial stages, the accent of endeavour must be on increased production but need not be confined to stimulating economic activity alone. As agriculture was still the mainstay of life for about 70 per cent of the people and India was deficient in food, topmost priority was, naturally enough, given to agriculture including irrigation and power.

Reduction of inequalities among different sections of the people was aimed at for securing the same objective. It was felt that the operation of our economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and the means of production in the hands of a few. Specific measures like the abolition of the zemindary system and fiscal measures, like imposition of death duties and heavier direct taxation, were adopted. For the same purpose, progressive widening of the public sector and gradual enlargement of State's direction and control of the private sector were adopted as additional measures.

The total outlay in the First Plan for the country was fixed

at 2,069 crores which, with certain additions and adjustments, was subsequently raised to 2,356 crores. Of this, agriculture and rural development accounted for 17·5 per cent and irrigation and power 27·1 per cent.

West Bengal's First Plan was drawn up within this Plan Frame. At one stage, the total outlay was fixed by the Planning Commission at 47 crores. Subsequently, however, on the representation of the State Government, the Planning Commission was pleased to raise it to 69 crores, which was the original amount proposed by the State Government. Subsequently, with the addition of certain items by way of adjustment, it was ultimately raised to 72·25 crores towards which the Centre contributed 30·6 crores, the balance being found by the State Government.

The priorities given in the State Plan are in conformity with the principles adopted in the All-India Plan. Allocations on agriculture, including irrigation and power, account for 38·5 per cent of the total outlay and form the biggest item. One distinctive feature of the State Plan is that the next place of honour was given to Social Service, for which the allocation was 36·9 per cent of the total outlay.

For a proper appreciation of the special features of the State Plan, it is necessary to refer to a historical event of paramount importance to our State, viz., the partition of Bengal, out of which a new pattern of requirementss emerged. Certain areas assumed economic and strategic importance, necessitating elaborate planning for development of new roads in rural areas. Loss of freshwater fisheries in East Bengal made it necessary for the State Government to sponsor our Deep Sea Fishing Scheme. Lastly, the heavy exodus of the minority community from East Bengal necessitated formulation of large-scale schemes for their rehabilitation all over West Bengal.

The objectives adopted in the Second All-India Plan emerge logically from the ideals accepted in the First Plan. Briefly stated, they are: rapid industrialisation of the country with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries and reduction of inequalities of income and wealth by a more even distribution of economic power. For achieving these ends, the Plan aims at an increase in the national income so as to raise the standard of living in the country and at expansion of employment opportunities.

As basic industries are capital-intensive, they create demand for consumer goods but do not enlarge their supplies. To set off this disadvantage, it is necessary to utilise labour for increasing the supplies of the much-needed consumer goods. This is sought

to be achieved by encouraging the development of small and cottage industries.

One special feature of the Second Plaln is its flexibility. It is not enough to think in terms of a balance between supplies and demands. It is also necessary to think of a balance between requirements and availabilities of key resources. For this reason, a rigid plan for the duration of a period of five years would not be a rational approach. For certain perspectives, a larger period of 15 to 20 years is necessary. It has, therefore, been decided to regard the Second Plan as a frame-work within which more concrete and detailed plans for each year would have to be worked out.

The total outlay of the Second Plan is 4,800 crores. Consistently with the principles underlying the objectives, the highest allocations are on heavy industries. Thus, the two items, 'industries and minerals' and 'transport and communications' between them account for 48 per cent of the allocations.

The State Plan was drawn up within the frame-work of this Central Plan ; but its base is balanced rural development. Consequently, the measures calculated to arise out of the requirements for rural development provide the basic frame-work of our Second Plan. In addition to this, certain special schemes have been included in the Plan to meet certain special problems facing West Bengal. These include: the Ganga barrage project, the reclamation of the Calcutta Salt Lakes, sewage gas from Bantala sedimentation tanks and the group of industries including a coke oven plant and a thermal power station at Durgapur. The multipurpose river valley scheme for the Kangsabati is another item of vital significance for the overall development of this State.

The total outlay for the draft plan as submitted to the Planning Commission was 266 crores. This was reduced to 161·5 crores by the Planning Commission, including a provision of Rs. 6·5 crores for some of the special schemes referred to above. Under the direction of the Planning Commission, a 5 per cent cut was, thereafter, imposed ; and a Plan for 153·50 crores was adopted. According to the latest directive of the Planning Commission, the outlay will be of the order of 153·37 crores.

The review of the First Plan of the State shows that, in spite of initial misgivings, we have been able to reach our modified traget of an outlay of 69 crores. This should give us courage and confidence to set ourselves to the task of achieving the bigger target of the Second Plan, which is more than double the First Plan in magnitude. With the experience of the First Plan to guide us, we have every reason to hope that we shall achieve our target.

I feel no hesitation in stating that I am old-fashioned enough

to continue to believe that the best efforts put forth by an individual, a community or a nation achieve maximum results only when they are blessed by Providence and, from my not very limited experience as a teacher and a man enjoying intimate and fairly wide contacts with large numbers of members of different social, economic and religious groups, I am confident that, though there has lately appeared a certain diffidence in giving expression to religious beliefs and experiences I am voicing the sentiments not only of most of those present here but of a vast majority of our countrymen when I say that it is positively necessary that as we start on the Second Plan, we should implore God Almighty to give us strength to help ourselves and in particular, to help the underprivileged who, as His children, are as much entitled to happiness as we who, through His grace, are more fortunately circumstanced. However long the hours we may keep and however strenuous the labour we may put in, we shall not be able to attain success unless we have His blessings. And this was what the Psalmist had in mind when he said:—'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it ; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.'

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SELECT WRITINGS

AGRICULTURAL CLASSES IN HIGH ENGLISH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS

The aim of the well-known Punjab scheme is not to give a vocational training in agriculture but to predispose the students, specially those belonging to the agricultural classes, to their hereditary occupation, to make them realise that agriculture is an honourable profession and that education and skill are essential for success in it. It was expected that after finishing his four years' course, the student would go back to the land with a wider outlook and would use his knowledge to tackle the problems which must arise in the course of his daily work. The curriculum for these schools has been drawn up primarily for the benefit of those who would take to farming after leaving the Middle Vernacular school. At the same time it was felt that it should not be such as to handicap the students if they desired to adopt some other profession or to proceed to English schools.

There are eight classes in the Vernacular school in the Punjab, of which the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th are the Middle classes, the students taking the Vernacular Final Examination after finishing the 8th class. Agriculture is taught as an optional subject in the four middle classes and has replaced Persian which has not been popular in that province. Students are taught agriculture four periods a week in the 5th and 6th classes and six periods a week in the 7th and 8th classes. Much time is also spent outside school hours in practical work.

The Punjab scheme was implemented in the U.P. One of the recommendations was that agriculture should be introduced as a compulsory subject in the selected vernacular schools which, in the first instance, should be "those which are situated in tracts which are largely cultivated or in which there is a large ratio of occupancy tenants."

One of the resolutions accepted at the Agricultural Education Conference held in Calcutta on the 11th December, 1924, was as follows:—"That it is desired to reconsider the present curricula of country schools above the primary standard in Bengal so as to introduce the experiment of teaching elementary agriculture combined with practical work in the field." Accordingly the Punjab scheme with certain necessary modifications was sanctioned in 1927, and introduced in this province in 1930. It was stated by

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the Bengal Education Department that while it was not intended to give those students who would undergo this special kind of instruction a vocational training in agriculture, it was expected that they would be led to appreciate the importance of agriculture in their economic life. It was also anticipated that the rush to colleges among those who do not possess the necessary aptitude for higher education would be checked and thus the problem of unemployment would be rendered less acute and that those educated to the Middle English standard would not feel much hesitant in adopting agriculture the hereditary occupation of many of them. It was hoped that as the result of this training, some of them would not only go back to the land but, what is more, they would be in a position to utilise the knowledge they had gained to solve those agricultural problems they would have to face in the course of their life as farmers. Let us try to find out to what extent these expectations have been realised.

The scheme referred to above provided for the training of 60 teachers in batches of 15 each year recruited both from High English and Middle English schools. A special class was opened for this purpose at the Dacca Government Farm in 1928. The training of the last batch was finished in January, 1933. Those trained teachers, who are engaged in teaching agriculture and are recommended by the Director of Agriculture, get a special monthly allowance of Rs. 10.

Government makes an equipment grant of Rs. 550 to a school for a garden measuring half an acre, and of Rs. 2,000 for a farm measuring 5 acres. Schools which incur a loss are given grants the maximum being Rs. 100 for a farm and Rs. 20 for a garden. These grants are made only on the recommendation of the Director of Agriculture.

The experiment is being tried in Middle English and High English schools. Roughly about 80 per cent of the former and 66 per cent of the latter are situated in rural areas. In the selected schools, agriculture is taught for four years from classes V to VII of High English schools and in Middle English schools from classes V and VI with a two years' extension course. The arrangement is to teach the full High English curriculum in the extension classes of the Middle English schools, and at the same time, to give the students an agricultural training. Provision has been made to give special financial assistance to 16 selected Middle English schools, to enable them to be developed into a special type of agricultural educational institutions, the essential condition being that they would never be converted into High English schools.

In the three or four Middle English Continuation Class schools

the writer visited, he found that the authorities had, as the result of starting these classes, to engage three extra teachers to take charge of these classes. The Government grant referred to above covered the salaries of two of them, while the salary of the third teacher was expected to be met from the special fees realised from the students studying in the Continuation classes. But as the number of such students is always small, at least the number was small and moreover as very few of the students pay full fees, the other resources of the school have to be laid under contribution to meet that part of the salary of the third teacher which is not covered by the fees received from students of the Continuation classes. The necessity of employing the third teacher is due to the fact that in the ordinary agricultural bias Middle English school, the teacher of agriculture has to give 8 periods per week to this subject whereas in the Continuation Class Middle English school, he gives 20 periods to agriculture besides supervising the practical work of the students.

In those High English schools where agriculture is taught in four classes, viz., 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, the teacher of agriculture has to teach his subject for 20 periods per week and also to supervise the field work of his students. Government, however, does not give any grant. It seems only just that these schools should get a grant sufficient to meet the salary of the teacher of agriculture.

The teacher of agriculture has been given a trial since 1930, and the time has now come when it is possible to judge whether the system is worth continuing. Looking into records we find that in 1934 when the last batch of teachers had been working for one year, instead of 60, there were 56 such schools with 3,003 boys undergoing instruction in agriculture. Of these 26 were Middle English and 30 High English schools. Only 15 out of these 26 Middle English schools had Continuation classes. It has been stated authoritatively that in about 25 per cent of these schools, that is to say in 14 of them, work was being done "very satisfactorily," in about 50 per cent of these, that is to say in 28 of them work was being conducted "satisfactorily" while the work of 25 per cent, that is to say in 14 of these was not all satisfactory.

In 1935 there were 51 schools of which 25 were High English and 26 Middle English schools. 16 out of these 26 Middle English schools were maintaining two Continuation and 2 one Continuation class. The total number of students of agriculture in these schools was 3,084 while the total area of school gardens and farms was 216 acres. According to the report of the Director of Agriculture, in 16 of these schools the progress was "excellent", in 13 it

was "good" whilst in the remaining 22 it is described as "fair or indifferent."

In 1936 the number of schools had gone down to 49 with 3,043 students undergoing instruction in the theory and practice of agriculture.

Government has been compelled in some cases to stop its special grants as the Middle English schools which had given an undertaking to specialise in the teaching of agriculture were changed into High English schools.

Some of the schools enjoying the special facilities referred to above had to be replaced by others as they were unable to show satisfactory progress within a reasonable time.

The writer has visited some of these special schools and the impression he has gathered about them from what he has seen is that the authorities of many of these institutions lack initiative as they prefer school gardens to school farms though by operating the latter they could obtain a grant which is about four times the grant allotted to school gardens. He has also observed that in at least some of the schools he has visited, attendance at the agricultural classes is not very satisfactory. This is specially true of practical field work. It was urged that it is difficult to induce the students to do field work after school hours which again proves his contention that many among us whether authorities, teachers or students, are not taking up the subject seriously but are merely playing at it.

Another difficulty which has all along stood in the way of the successful working of this scheme is that no work is done in the garden or farm during the holidays which often coincide with a time when labour in the fields is absolutely essential. Seeing that these are schools of a special type, it would be easy to have the holidays at times comparatively unimportant agriculturally.

Some of these schools voluntarily gave up the grants either because they could not afford to engage the services of specially trained teachers of agriculture or because the services of such teachers were not available. On account of the financial depression, in many cases parents and guardians have been unable to pay the fees regularly with the consequence that the school authorities were unable to keep on their staff the specially trained teacher. In other cases, heavy cuts had to be made in the salaries of all teachers, the result being that in some instances teachers with special agricultural training to their credit transferred their services to institutions better off financially.

According to the Government communication, dated the 19th December, 1927, the scheme provided for training 15 teachers

annually from January, 1928. Of these 10 were to be deputed from Middle English and 5 from High English schools. One would naturally expect that these teachers after finishing their training would join their schools, to do which would also be to their interest as they would draw an allowance of Rs. 10 per month for teaching the agricultural classes, the schools having agricultural classes not less than 60 to 66 per cent would be of the Middle English and 34 to 40 per cent of the High English type. What we actually find is that the High English schools with agricultural classes are tending to grow in number at the expense of Middle English schools of a similar type. This undoubtedly proves that both students and their guardians attach more importance and value to High English than to Middle English education, and also perhaps that instruction in agriculture which is studied as an optional subject is not given the weight to which it is entitled in view of its importance in our economic life.

According to a recent official report issued by the Punjab Government, the children after finishing their course at these Middle Vernacular schools are quite capable of intelligently understanding and solving the agricultural problems they have to meet in their fields. The writer has very serious doubts as to whether a similar claim can be made with justice with regard to either the two-year trained students of the Middle English school, or even of the four-year trained students of the special Continuation Class Middle English or High English school. The aim of neither the Punjab nor the Bengal scheme is to give vocational training in agriculture. Still the Punjab is turning out useful agriculturists while we are unable to either make them enthusiasts in nature study or serious students of agriculture. Surely something is radically wrong and it behoves us to make an attempt to set it right without further delay.

A serious defect of the scheme as it is in operation at present is that some schools have been equipped with half-acre gardens and others with five-acre farms. The effects of the financial stringency felt in other departments have been responsible for unsatisfactory arrangements here also. The capital grant made by Government for one school farm is almost sufficient to equip four schools with gardens and further that the annual grant intended to meet the loss incurred for working a school farm is enough to meet the deficit for five school gardens. The real question is whether it is wiser to subsidise institutions which are not meeting fully the requirements of the province or whether it is better to have fewer properly equipped and financed institutions which are calculated to meet our needs.

If the students of these special institutions are to be taught "elementary agriculture combined with practical work in the field," it can be done only in a farm of some size equipped with bullocks, ploughs and improved agricultural implements.

So far as school gardens are concerned, the most important thing which may be said in their favour is that both the capital and the recurring expenditure to be incurred for maintaining them are very much lower. Vegetables and flowers may be grown in them and perhaps grown both satisfactorily and profitably. But the farmer of the future is not likely to depend on them exclusively to earn a decent living. In the farm, the students enjoy opportunities of growing fodder grasses, making silage and artificial manure—things which cannot be done on a comparatively extensive scale in the school garden. The storing of farm yard manure in properly protected pits etc., also fall under the same category.

It has been observed more than once that the student almost always shows a marked disinclination for manual work which is perhaps subconsciously regarded as degrading. Digging and hoeing, sowing and harvesting as conducted in the school garden are not calculated to be as effective in changing this attitude towards hard physical toil as actual ploughing, laddering, etc., which can be done in a farm equipped with bullocks, ploughs, etc. At the same time, it has to be admitted that if expenditure stands in the way of a quick expansion of this system, the institutions may, in the first instance, be provided with gardens and, later on, if their work is found to be satisfactory, they may be encouraged to develop their gardens into farms. In the District Board Agricultural schools in the Punjab preference was at first given to the school garden probably because it was felt that the obligation to meet deficits during the experimental stage would not be very heavy. The writer, however, is strongly of opinion that the better way is to select good schools which really aim at the imparting of agricultural knowledge to their students, to provide them with the right type of teachers and to equip them with farms.

So far as the type of agricultural teachers trained under the scheme referred to above is concerned they are teachers of subjects included in the ordinary curriculum that is to say they are teachers of subjects like English, Bengali, Mathematics, History, Geography and so forth. It is, therefore, natural that they should concentrate on the teaching of these subjects and also that their efforts will be ordinarily directed to acquiring proficiency and skill in teaching those subjects. There is also the very important

contingency that in the eyes of the authorities of the educational institutions they serve, their value as teachers will be assessed by their success in teaching these non-agricultural subjects. The natural consequence of this state of things is that higher importance is attached to their success as teachers of ordinary subjects rather than to their success as teachers of agriculture. All these facts tend to lower the prestige of agriculture both before students and the public as compared with the ordinary school subjects. It follows therefore that both the teaching as well as the learning of agriculture suffer by contrast. The writer has been informed by a very highly placed officer of the Education Department that many of the teachers have taken the special agricultural course at the Dacca Farm not so much because they have a taste for either learning or teaching agriculture as because they are desirous of enjoying the extra allowance of Rs. 10 per month which is drawn by them from the Government grant for teaching agriculture in this special type of schools. One cannot expect that the teaching of agriculture will be attended with that enthusiasm and efficiency which are necessary for the success of this scheme so long as it is conducted by people whose principal inducement is such a small pecuniary reward. For attaining this much-needed improvement, we have to select teachers who have a real taste for agriculture and who will take up its teaching because they love it. There does not appear to be much chance for the success of this scheme till these special schools are manned by teachers of the above type.

Then again to make the scheme successful, we require a sufficient supply of trained teachers. It is therefore felt that in case this scheme continues to be in operation, arrangements should be made so that some more men should undergo instruction in the Agricultural schools in order to have a constant but moderate supply of teachers of agriculture who, at the same time, are qualified to be teachers of Middle English and High English schools.

The writer, however, is confident that the measure of success attained would be greater if the claims of agriculture both theoretical and practical, as a subject of the school curriculum, obtains more generous support and if, for this purpose, teachers of the above type especially fitted for this work both by their personal inclinations and their training are employed in these special schools. So far as the remuneration paid to them is concerned, they should enjoy the same grade and salary as the teachers of ordinary school subjects. The teaching of agriculture is such an important matter in a country preponderatingly

agricultural, that no money spent for this purpose can be regarded as wasted.

At present the scheme is in operation in both Middle English and High English schools, probably because Government desires to ascertain which of the type of schools would be more suitable, and the impression he has gathered leads him to think that it is not always possible to frame the time-table in such a way in High English schools as to give the required number of periods to agriculture. As matters stand at present, the ultimate aim of every student of our High English schools is to pass the Matriculation examination and then to proceed to higher studies. This aim is realised in only a few cases but, as we all know, the efforts of both students and their guardians are all directed towards the attainment of the object. The writer believes that if agriculture has to be taught for the purpose of equipping the students for it as their profession, it would be better to continue its teaching exclusively to the Middle English schools and to make its study compulsory. To have it in High English schools for this purpose would be to place divided aims before the students.

According to the original plan, the above scheme should have been reconsidered in the light of experience after it had been in operation for seven years. It should therefore have been taken up in 1936. It was at that time assumed that not less than 50 per cent of the Middle English students who had studied agriculture would not go up for higher education. No official information is available as to the number who received agricultural training for full four years in Middle English schools from 1930 to 1936, the number who have and the number who have not gone up for higher education and, most interesting of all, the number who after this four years' training have adopted agriculture as their profession. The writer has made enquiries in various quarters. He does not pretend that the information he has is either accurate or that it covers all the schools which have worked under this scheme during the period 1930-36 and the general conclusion arrived at as the result of his enquiries is that judged from the purely practical point of view and regarded as a means of popularising agriculture as a profession, the scheme has proved an absolute failure. It is time that Government redeemed its pledge to review the scheme in order to give it a more practical shape.

The practical utility of the kind of agricultural training now imparted in the Middle English and High English schools in the opinion of the writer has not achieved any measurable

degree of success. Its utility, if any, lies in the useful work it might do by calling forth the liking for an agricultural life which might otherwise lie dormant or unsuspected in the students. So far as facts go, the writer is extremely doubtful as to whether hitherto it has had this effect to any appreciable extent. In the final analysis, agricultural training of the existing type is only an alternative to outdoor games and is useful as it tends to keep the student out of doors and provides him with a healthy occupation. It would, under the existing scheme, be more than sufficient if the students of agriculture in these institutions learn enough to beautify their surroundings by the cultivation of flowers and it would add much to the attractiveness of these schools if the boys were taught how to grow country vegetables for their own use. He is, however, compelled to state that not even this is learnt by the students as a class. They only play at agriculture. Very few of them are really willing to do the hard physical work inseparable from agricultural operations. To be absolutely frank, it seems to the writer that as yet we have not been able to develop an agricultural mind, that as a nation we take interest in agriculture in only an extremely amateurish way.

AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION IN SPECIAL MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS

When the Punjab scheme for imparting agricultural training was adopted in Bengal with certain necessary modifications, the authorities introduced a four years' agricultural course for High English schools. In the Middle English schools it was arranged to teach agriculture in classes V and VI. As an experimental measure, sixteen Middle English schools were encouraged to start two *continuation* classes to cover the full course. Government makes a special grant of Rs. 60 per month towards the maintenance of two extra teachers for the two continuation classes. According to the official report 'these grants to Middle English schools are only intended for the support of a special type of Agricultural Continuation school.' The full High English school curriculum is taught in the *extension* classes 'subject to the provision of the necessary hours for agricultural training.' This amounts to four periods per week in classes V and VI and six periods per week in the continuation classes. Every Middle English school with continuation classes loses its grant as soon as it is converted into a High English school.

Let us try to ascertain what exactly is the purpose of having the two continuation classes in the Middle English schools of this special type and to what extent it has been realised. Is it to give the students general education or to train them in agriculture as a profession? It appears to the writer as though the schools are an unsatisfactory hybrid which serve neither the one nor the other purpose. So far as training in agriculture is concerned, we find that the four years' course is identical in every respect with the course taught in those High English schools which have agricultural classes. The students have to go through the same curriculum while the amount of practical work done in the fields is also the same. The courses in subjects other than agriculture are also identical in every way with the course taught in High English schools. In fact, the agricultural classes of Middle English schools with the two continuation classes correspond in every way to the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th classes in High English schools. It therefore follows that the students of these schools come to the end of their education in what correspond to the 8th class of High English schools. Considered as a means of imparting training in agriculture, they do not offer any special advantages as compared with

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High English schools which have agricultural classes attached to them. The starting and maintaining of such schools can be justified only in those areas where there are no High English schools with agricultural classes and also where it is the intention of the authorities to discourage English education of the High school standard, giving in exchange some kind of instruction in agricultural operations.

According to the last Quinquennial Education Review, 'pupils who join a Middle English school intend in most cases to go on to High School'. If the fact referred to above is correct, it follows that the continuation classes in agriculture in specially selected Middle English schools are not much of a success either as a means of imparting instruction in agriculture, or of keeping the more backward and less gifted among the students from joining High English schools and the University. The special classes do not impart the type of agricultural education which would make them good farmers ; they merely have the effect of retaining their students till they reach the 8th class after which a majority get themselves admitted into the 9th class of High English schools. Probably the reason why some of the Middle English schools were turned into High English schools was that the authorities realised that the latter are more popular and they did not want to lose their students after they had finished the continuation classes.

Examining the scheme from the standpoint of finance, we find that the recurring cost to Government for helping sixteen of these specially selected Middle English schools would cover the expenditure to be incurred for assisting thirty-two H.E. schools with agricultural classes, provided Government accepts the proposal put forward elsewhere by the writer of helping High English schools with agricultural classes by bearing part of the salary of a teacher of agriculture.

The writer, however, feels that these special Middle English schools ought to be located in densely populated agricultural areas where the agricultural population is destined to undergo slow starvation unless it betakes itself to intensive production. In spite of remarkable fertility of the soil, due to the deposit of silt, the people of East Bengal lead most unsatisfactory economic lives ; their standard of living is very low. These schools would serve the best interests of the country if they could be converted into centres for giving agricultural training of the required type to young people of such areas. In the U.P. these agricultural schools have been located in similar areas. Then again in the ordinary Middle English school with two classes in agriculture, the students are drawn from various social strata. The ambition of a majority of

the students as well as of their guardians is that they should go up for higher education. Neither those children of agricultural stock who are not likely to profit from higher studies nor their parents can be expected to be intelligent enough to recognise their intellectual or financial limitations. The result is that both they and their parents succumb to the temptation of bettering their prospects by prosecuting higher studies.

If, on the other hand, these special schools are located in preponderatingly agricultural areas with a poor and struggling population mainly dependent on agriculture for their living, the majority of the students are likely to be drawn from agricultural stock, both children and their parents having thus a natural affinity to the soil. If greater emphasis is laid on agriculture, if the curriculum is made still more practical, and specially, if instruction in intensive farming and occupations subsidiary to agriculture is imparted, the chances are that the training obtained in these schools in improved methods of agriculture as well as in general education would be more useful to the students in their daily life. Such institutions would be a success only if the schools are staffed by the right type of teachers, and if their work is supervised by sympathetic officers of the Agriculture Department.

The writer will even go so far as to state that in a majority of the special Middle schools the starting of which in purely agricultural areas he advocates, it would be worth while to drop the teaching of English altogether. It is this knowledge of English which is mainly responsible for the aimless drifting of unfit students into High English schools, for it makes it comparatively easy for the less fitted among them to get admission into these institutions. The dropping of the teaching of English in these special schools would save much time and energy of the pupils. Our villagers as a class need instruction in sanitation, and co-operation, etc., far more than in English. These and equally important kindred subjects might be included in the curriculum of these special Middle schools. The students should receive instruction in subjects the pursuit of which after their return home would tend to raise the standard of village life in all its different aspects. If the teachers of our rural Primary schools are recruited from the students of these special Middle schools after of course they have obtained their training as teachers, they might be expected to become leaders in a new and more successful era of rural reconstruction.

As stated elsewhere, the farms in these schools are small in area, being in fact not more than five acres. In one way this is an advantage for the agricultural holding of the cultivating family in

Bengal is invariably a small one, being on the average not more than 12 bighas. The natural inference is that cultivation in order to be a profitable proposition must be of an intensive character. The agricultural instruction imparted in these schools must be adapted to meet this need, in spite of its greater demands for both capital and labour. The minimum amount of food crops like paddy must be grown and more emphasis laid on commercial crops. In determining what crops should be grown, proper attention should be paid to the local demand. In farms situated within reasonable distances from large centres of population, the cultivator will have to depend on poultry, dairy and the early and late varieties of vegetables which always command a higher price as compared with vegetables grown during their season. Fruit growing also is a profitable line for the agriculturist. Experiments in the growing of new and untried crops which are profitable to the cultivators should always be made in school farms. These would stimulate the interest of the local agriculturists and indirectly teach them to follow the example set by these schools.

These special schools should have not gardens but farms attached to them. Local cultivators often visit Government and other farms. If the school farm is efficiently maintained, they cannot but fail to be struck by what they see. This indirect spontaneous propaganda, the writer considers as more fruitful than the direct propaganda by the officers of the Agricultural Department for whom this may be supposed to be part of their official duties.

Only too often the charge brought against students of agricultural schools is that in spite of the training they receive, they are useless for village occupations. To meet this just criticism, in every school satisfactory arrangements will have to be made for teaching students work in local demand. The writer had once the privilege of visiting the Continuation Class Middle English school located at Kowrapukur, Twenty-four Parganas, organised by the L.M.S. Mission. The plan of work outlined above is followed very profitably in this most useful institution.

The training in these institutions should be such as to make the student understand the extent to which man with his superior intelligence and knowledge can harness the powers of nature for his benefit in the field of agriculture, to fit him to take the fullest possible advantage of all opportunities as they offer themselves, and to utilise them in co-operation with his fellows so as to send him back to the land a more intelligent and valuable cultivator. All important aspects of agriculture should be included in the curriculum.

The writer attaches great importance to the teaching of co-operation in these special Middle schools with continuation classes because apart from the economic results of co-operation to which he thinks it unnecessary to make any reference here, the movement is perhaps most admirably suited for the purpose of effecting a general moral improvement. With the establishment of friendlier relationships resulting from joint efforts for the realisation of common objects, the constant bickering over trifling matters and the consequent bitterness tend to disappear. The lower classes are raised above their chronic economic misery and social and moral degradation. They are trained to mix on terms of equality with other members of the Co-operative society. Rural life undergoes a slow but sure revolution for the better. Few of the members of Co-operative societies in our province have passed through Primary or Secondary schools. Those who have done so, have not been called upon to study books explaining the advantages accruing from its adoption. It is necessary therefore that our new race of farmers should be taught this important subject from the purely practical and utilitarian point of view.

In the purely rural areas, what is required is rural leadership. In our province, the uneducated cultivator has come to regard the Co-operative society as a means of securing loans more easily and on better terms than from the professional money lenders. It is possible that after the right kind of training, the youths trained properly in the principles of co-operation and living in their village homes and as such, familiar with the financial condition of the members of Co-operative societies, may be able to supply this much-needed leadership. The paid officers of the Co-operative department are at present too few in number to be able to fill this role satisfactorily. Such trained young men who will be able to command after they have proved their worth, may be expected to give efficient assistance to their neighbours in reducing the burden of their debt by arranging compositions with the money-lenders. They could supplement the work of the Debt Settlement Boards by bringing to bear on the money-lenders the pressure of public opinion. People trained in the way suggested above while not highly educated or good speakers, by reason of their local knowledge and experience, could still do much to promote rural welfare in all its different aspects in the communities of which they are members and could thus supplement the work of the officers of the Co-operative department. It is for this reason that the writer feels that instruction in the principles of the practical working of the co-

operative movement should be included in the curriculum of these special schools.

So far as the writer is aware, proper emphasis has not yet been laid on the very important matter of accurate accounting in agriculture. He considers it essential that the students should learn simple costings in order that they might have a comparatively correct idea of the value of the crops raised.

In the report of the Fraser Commission published in 1922, it was laid down authoritatively, probably for the first time, that the real function of the village school is to become the centre of village life. This policy has been carried out successfully at the Middle Vernacular school at Moga in the Punjab, and also, by Mr. F. L. Bravne well-known for what he has done for village uplift in that province.

It is the suggestion of the writer that these special Middle English schools with continuation classes should be organised in such a way that they will fulfil this important function for our province and that their students after finishing their studies and returning to their homes will, each and every one of them, be a centre for the practical application in their daily life, of the ideas with which they had been imbued while under instruction. Not much progress can be expected unless something is done to prevent the lapse to illiteracy. For this we need libraries containing books of interest to the agriculturist in rural areas with a preponderatingly agricultural population. So far as the writer is aware, no such progressive step has been taken in our province. A second difficulty is the location of these village libraries ; for it is found that even if local enterprise is successful in begging and buying a number of books, it experiences great difficulty in securing a suitable place in which to keep them. Granting that the first difficulty will disappear in time and that an adequate supply of books of the proper type will be available, these schools could do useful work by setting apart a couple of rooms where the village libraries could be housed.

Mr. H. F. Miller who is in charge of the Kowrapukur continuation school referred to already informed the writer that in his opinion training of this type can be imparted more easily in boarding than in day schools. Mr. Miller's view is that only in the former can the student fully realise the value of co-operation and the dignity of labour and learn day in and day out those lessons which only can make him contented with his humble lot in the scheme of things. If Mr. Miller is correct, and the writer thinks he is, it follows that it may be necessary to make arrangements for the accommodation of at least those students

who come to these institutions from a distance while local students may be called upon to stay the whole day in the school.

Admitting as we must that agriculture has not as yet made the wide appeal it should in our country, and also fully recognising the fact that the ambition of parents and guardians whose hereditary occupation is agriculture, is to impart literary education to their children and wards in order that they might adopt profitable sedentary occupations, we have to find out some method to prevent the divorce of our youths from the land which is proceeding with such alarming rapidity. If this is our aim, we have to do two things. First, we have to take back the jobless educated or partly educated *bhadralok* to the land and secondly, to discourage the less gifted children of rural areas from becoming urbanised. The different schemes inaugurated by Government under the Agriculture and the Co-operative departments of training *bhadralok* youths and of settling them in *Khas Mahal* lands under favourable terms and conditions may be regarded as a means for the fulfilment of the first object. So far as the attainment of the second object is concerned, the writer would also refer to certain 'colonisation' schemes started in some districts of East and West Bengal which are providing land for uneducated landless agriculturists.

In order to discourage the exodus to towns of those children of agriculturists who are not fitted by their natural gifts, education and training for town occupations, we have to prove that agriculture carried on under proper conditions is a paying proposition. We have therefore to give them training in improved agricultural methods and occupations. These special schools, if properly organised and controlled, could fulfil this function efficiently. To create a new race of farmers who would be willing to adopt new methods we have to impart to them a certain minimum amount of general education. It is the contention of the writer that men of this type should obtain their education in these special schools which should be so organised that while from one point of view they would be Middle English or Middle Vernacular schools with a four or five years' course, from another point of view they should correspond to what may be called Primary schools of agriculture. In these special institutions, it should be made a point to offer special facilities to the agriculturists as well as their children to attend special short courses in the vernacular, suggestions about which have been offered elsewhere. The agricultural curriculum should be thoroughly revised in order to make it more practical and of greater immediate utility to the cultivator.

Instead of having some sixteen of these schools as at present which the writer holds are not properly organised and are therefore probably useless, money should be provided more liberally and special schools of the type suggested above should be started in large numbers all over the country. This will, of course, cost money. At present the amount spent in the province of Bengal for the imparting of agricultural education is so pitifully small as to call forth nothing but contempt.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION IN MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS

According to the Budget Estimate for 1937-38, the demand under the head Agriculture is approximately less than one-hundredth part of the total provincial expenditure. The amount demanded for agriculture is Rs. 11·74 lakhs. Out of this, Rs. 1·08 lakhs, which is approximately one-tenth of the expenditure on Agriculture, has been proposed to be spent on agricultural education and research. According to the last Census Report on our province, agriculture is directly supporting 73·5 per cent of the total population. If those supported indirectly by agriculture are taken into account, it is not improbable that directly and indirectly fully 90 per cent of the total population are depending on agriculture for their livelihood.

It is instructive to compare the above figures with what we find in some of the Western countries. Canada, like India, is a country which depends preponderatingly on agriculture for the livelihood of the majority of its people and there is a widely extended system of agricultural instruction in the country. Tuition is free while the boarding expenses are charged at actual cost and occasionally below cost. In fact, every possible inducement is held out to students of agriculture to encourage them in their studies.

Conditions are almost similar in France where the expenses for undergoing instruction in agriculture is not more than £40 a term at the most. Similarly in England, the expenses for tuition and board in Farm Institutes is, according to Lord Eustace Percy, about £1 a week for the sons and daughters of residents in the country and about twice as much when the parents reside outside the area served by the institute. In Northern Ireland, Government maintains a peripatetic staff which brings agricultural instruction to the very doors of the rural population, tuition being absolutely free.

Denmark is probably the most outstanding instance of a country achieving national welfare under exceptionally difficult circumstances by integrating it with the special type of education which was calculated to meet its special requirements. Denmark has provided for her rural population free elementary schools in which as well as in higher schools part of the time is spent inside the class room and part in practical work on land till all that is

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essential for successful farming has been mastered. There is a network of small agricultural schools covering the whole of this small country offering courses both general and special, lasting from a fortnight to two years. Instruction on every aspect of agriculture and its subsidiary occupations is imparted in these institutions. Tuition in practically all these institutions is free. Where fees are charged, they are so low as to be within means of any ordinary householder.

With these examples of systems of agricultural education which have proved their worth, it is only wise that we too should endeavour to make suitable arrangements to impart agricultural education of the type we need for our youths. We shall have to be patient and to use propaganda in order to convince them that the pursuit of agriculture is a profitable and an honourable profession. It will require both tact and courage to carry the policy to a successful issue. As stated already, all these schools have small farms of a manageable size attached to them. Proper emphasis must be laid on the practical side of farming.

If the progress of the rural areas is conditioned by the guidance afforded by an indigenous agency, we have to condemn the present educational system which takes our young people away to towns in order to receive a purely literary type of education, the consequence of which is further congestion of High English schools and colleges and the resultant loss of their service to the countryside. The agricultural classes attached to Middle English and High English schools cannot be regarded as having been successful in keeping the students in the places to which they belong. It is for this reason that the writer has suggested a different policy with reference to the special Middle English schools with continuation classes. The necessary changes in the curriculum, the alterations in the methods of imparting instruction and the presence of students of purely agricultural stock would tend to make them self-contained institutions.

Statistics tell us that taking British India as a whole, 66 per cent of the boys in the higher classes of High English schools cannot sit for, far less get through, the Matriculation Examination until they are aged eighteen years or over. Conditions in Bengal are not radically different from this state of things. It follows thus that a large number of pupils prolong their studies of purely literary subjects and also that by doing so they become unfit for, and indeed quite averse to, practical occupations which in our country consist principally of agriculture. The stiffening of the Matriculation Examination is no solution of this problem for the very good reason that it would merely have the effect of

detaining them for a still longer period in the High English schools and of making them still more unfit for a rural life.

In order to attain this object, this type of student has to be persuaded to take to agriculture or industry as the case may be at an age when he has acquired sufficient general education to fit him for the duties of civic life and when this general education would be a satisfactory basis for his vocational training. It is the contention of the writer that these objects could be attained if these Continuation Class Middle English schools are properly organised.

It may be said with justice that the suggestion offered by the writer for the improvement of the Middle English schools with continuation classes to all practical purposes amounts to changing them into agricultural schools imparting the amount of general education necessary to enable the students to take an active and intelligent interest in civic and political life. A question which naturally rises is that if these are to all intents and purposes to be turned into Primary Agricultural schools of a somewhat special type, what would be the age of pupils when they leave school after finishing their training? The full Primary course in Bengal is for five years after which would come four years in these special schools. If a pupil is not detained all through his educational career, he would devote nine years to education. According to the last Quinquennial Education Review, by far the largest number of pupils in the Primary stage are from six to seven years. It thus follows that the age of the student cannot be less than fifteen though probably it is likely to be higher, when he leaves school. There is also the fact that the age referred to above will not normally apply to the majority of our rural students, an appreciable percentage among whom suffer 'detention'.

So far as the objection to changing a 'bias' school into a vocational school is concerned, it has to be remembered that from one point of view what the writer has suggested is that a comparatively large proportion of the periods should be devoted to the study of 'general' subjects, and that more time and energy of both teachers and pupils should be devoted to agriculture than in the corresponding Middle English and High English schools with agricultural classes attached to them. In this province starvation stares us in the face unless we change our agricultural practices. It would take years to change the psychology of our agriculturists. The suggestion of having these special schools is made on the assumption that they will hasten this process.

The writer is aware that purely vocational schools for

teaching agriculture have been condemned by the Royal Agricultural Commission. The objections raised are that they are expensive to maintain, that they lead nowhere and lastly that there is little demand for education of this type. As regards the heavy cost of maintenance, it has to be remembered that education of this and other nation-building types can never be self-supporting. In no country in the West has education in agriculture been able to pay its own way.

The Royal Agricultural Commission has condemned these agricultural schools in favour of agricultural bias schools of the Punjab type. The two types should not, in the opinion of the writer, try to serve the same purpose. These two systems are complementary. If the value of agricultural education is not fully appreciated by the people of this country, it is all the more reason why they should be made to realise its importance in our economic life. The vast majority are illiterate, it should be the duty of Government to enlighten them in these matters, and teach the agricultural masses how to make the best and most profitable use of the land they cultivate.

If it is argued that this training in agriculture or industry can be given economically in ordinary schools where instruction will be imparted in these subjects as optional subjects as in the agricultural classes attached to Middle English and High English schools to which reference has been made elsewhere, the answer is that the haphazard mixing up of literary and vocational subjects is likely, at least in this country, to predispose the students as well as their guardians to attach an exaggerated value to the former. The writer has therefore come to the conclusion that in order that our students might profit by agricultural training, these Middle English schools with continuation classes will have to be recognised with the aim of changing them into real and satisfactory centres for the spread of agricultural knowledge and instruction of immediate utility and economic value.

It is argued that one fact which will militate against the success of these special schools organised in the way suggested, is that the learning of English by the students may have the effect of encouraging the more intelligent among them to join High English schools after finishing their studies in the continuation classes. If the aim of these schools is to train intelligent and up-to-date economically successful farmers, there is no need to teach them English. The writer, however, feels that there are so many positive advantages in the early acquirement of English that it would not be wise to diminish the usefulness of the curriculum by the omission of English. This feeling is responsible

for his suggestion that while there will be one and the same agricultural curriculum for all these schools, instruction in English may be imparted in some of them.

Agricultural demonstration and propaganda as conducted now are not satisfactorily organised. The number of officers engaged in this important work is extremely limited. Their number will have to be increased materially in the near future. This may be expected under present circumstances when power has come to the people through their representatives. With the increase in the number of demonstrators who, in future, should be graduates or licentiates in Agriculture, there is bound to be a wide demand for properly trained 'field men'. Properly organised, the employment of such men in sufficient large numbers would imply the employment of a smaller number of the more highly paid demonstrators. The fact that these 'field men' come from agricultural stock would of itself give them greater influence with the people with whom they would come in contact in the course of their work. Taking into account all these facts, these schools are bound to grow in favour with the more intelligent and enterprising among the peasantry of this province.

The general complaint against the *barga* or the sharing of produce between landlord and tenant is that both parties to the contract feel that they are deprived of their just dues. This real or fancied clash of interests leads to uneconomic methods of cultivation with consequent loss to the national revenue. Both parties would undoubtedly be gainers if the relationship between them could be improved and sweetened.

The *metayer* system which has achieved wonderful success in Italy and where the relations between landlord and tenant are so cordial is nothing but an improved *barga* system. Its success is due to the acceptance of certain well-understood principles, among the most important of which may be mentioned the equitable adjustment of profit between land, labour and capital, as also non-interference by the contracting parties in the sphere of work assigned to each. The typical landlord operating the *metayer* system is always well posted about the results of the most recent investigations into agricultural problems. He knows the practical utility of using the best of seeds, the kind and amount of manure required for getting bumper crops, improved implements, etc. The cultivator, on the other hand, is familiar with the best methods of cultivation. This happy combination of theoretical and practical agricultural knowledge is responsible for the success of the *metayer* system. While the cultivator supplies the labour, the landlord in addition to land, supplies improved

seeds, manure in adequate quantities and all agricultural implements.

It is a well-known fact that owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has not corresponded with a fall in the rent charged, agricultural land is changing hands very frequently. Our landlords are finding to their dismay that land for which they have no use is being thrown on their hand. Very few of them have satisfactory arrangements for cultivating all such land by their own agency. The students of these special Middle English schools after they had acquired sufficient practical experience, could easily utilise this land. Having acquired a certain amount of education, it may be expected that they would realise their responsibilities to their landlords and would not try to deprive them of their dues. At the same time, if they incur expenditure for improving the land they cultivate, they would know how to protect themselves against the rapacity of the less conscientious members of the landlord class. The greatest attraction of this improved system for them will be that they will not feel that they are anyone's servants, knowing full well that all the produce except the dues of the landlord for the rent and the charges incidental to the supplying of seeds, manure, etc., is theirs. In this way, a happy and prosperous race of peasant proprietors may gradually be called into existence. The object of starting these schools is to train up a new race of intelligent educated farmers who will be the pioneers in a new era of agricultural improvement and progress in our province. These facts, if properly explained to the cultivators, would act as inducements to keep their sons in the schools till the end of the agricultural course.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE FARMS IN BENGAL

For purposes of organisation and supervision of agricultural activities, our province has been divided into three circles, viz., the Eastern, the Western and the Northern. We have altogether 24 Government farms scattered in the different districts of Bengal, under the management of the Agriculture Department. They are of various sizes, ranging in the case of the Dacca Central Farm with an area of 654 acres to the Dhanbari Farm in the district of Mymensingh with an area of 6½ acres only.

In the Eastern Circle there are 7 districts, only 5 of which are provided with 10 Government farms. Mymensingh has 4, Backerganj and Faridpur 2 each ; and Tipperah and Dacca 1 Government farm each. The claims of the districts of Noakhali and Chittagong appear to have been overlooked.

In the Western Circle which includes 11 districts there are 6 Government farms, one in each of the following districts—Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly, Murshidabad and Nadia. The other 5 districts in the Western Circle, viz. 24-Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Howrah and Midnapore are without Government farms. All these 5 districts are important agricultural districts and no marked improvement in their agricultural condition can be expected till they are provided with up-to-date Government farms to grow improved varieties of departmental crops like paddy, jute, sugar-cane, tobacco, besides improved varieties of indigenous fruits, fodder crops, etc.

The Northern Circle with its 7 districts appears to be well provided with Government farms, having altogether 8 of them. Bogra has two farms and the other districts one each. The Rajshahi farm with an area of 63 acres is the best, the area of the rest being 20 acres each.

It is through these Government farms which demonstrate the valuable results of the researches of the experts employed by the Agricultural Department to the actual cultivator, that knowledge regarding improved methods of agriculture can be spread throughout the province. The educated man who will sooner or later be compelled to take to agriculture as a means of livelihood will require reliable information as to whether agriculture is a paying proposition. To help its popularity among the middle as well as the poorer classes, the Agriculture Department is cultivating crops

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under economic conditions in some farms to show that agriculture, if taken to seriously and intelligently, can provide a decent living. A special feature of every Government farm is the maintenance of stud bulls for improvement of stock. Two other valuable activities are the introduction of prolific varieties of fodder crops together with their preservation silage and the preparation of certain varieties of artificial manure which experience has shown to be as valuable as cowdung. Government farms are not properly distributed over the province, and there appears to be no justification for not immediately starting properly-equipped and properly-manned up-to-date Government farms in the seven districts mentioned above. It is true that in some of the districts which do not possess Government farms, the needs of the agriculturists are sought to be met by demonstration work carried on by departmental demonstrators. Each of the 24 farms is doing some kind of work directly and immediately beneficial to the cultivators of the district in which it is situated, all of them are engaged in certain agricultural operations which are of interest to every cultivator in this province. For instance at the Dacca Central Government Farm, investigation is being conducted into the paddy of Eastern and Northern Bengal, at the Barisal Government Farm into *balam* paddy, at Chinsurah into commercial *patnai* paddy while at Suri and Bankura work is confined to the paddies of West Bengal. In addition, investigation is carried on in the different farms into jute, *sunn*, sugar-cane, pulses, peanut, linseed, tobacco and fodder crops, a majority of which can be grown more or less successfully all over Bengal. These Government farms are thus fulfilling not only a local need but are also meeting the agricultural needs of the province at large, and their multiplication would no doubt lead to the comparatively early solution of many agricultural problems of immediate benefit to the whole province.

The Sericulture Department is maintaining Primary Sericultural schools in Government nurseries and is also teaching the subjects in village schools which are helped departmentally. Practical training in nursery methods is also given by employing rearers as daily labourers. Some of these are bound, sooner or later, to go back to their land and the chances are that they will continue to practise there the methods they had learnt during their period of service at the Government farms.

Quite recently the United States Department of Agriculture made an attempt to find out the number of acres of agricultural land required per head of population to produce sufficient food for a restricted or emergency diet. The conclusion arrived at after a careful investigation was that one and a half acres are required

for every individual. It should be remembered in this connection that the standard of living is higher in the United States than in India, and therefore the restricted American diet would correspond to a liberal diet in this country. In our province we find that in the densest populated areas, there are about 900 inhabitants to the square mile who depend mainly on agriculture. This works out at less than two-third of an acre per head.

The above figures go to shew that the problem which is facing us so insistently and upon the satisfactory solution of which depends the ultimate economic salvation of our country is how to produce sufficient food in 85,773 square miles of Bengal for a population which in 1931 numbered roughly 50,000,000. The answer to this is that we must utilise every inch of the land which is cultivable ; we must experiment till we find suitable food crops which can be grown profitably in even the least fertile of soils and we must teach our agriculturists how this can be done.

Whether we like it or not, Bengal must resort to intensive farming in spite of its greater requirements in the directions of both capital and labour. The growing of finer and heavier yielding paddy, pulses, etc., must be taken up. Improved seeds and improved agricultural implements, greater quantities of manure, and better cattle must be used. It is a matter of sheer necessity. For this it is essential that the cultivators should be educated and trained in a particular way.

The Government farms are the only places where this type of work can be conducted efficiently and regularly. It is therefore suggested that short courses in the vernacular in intensive farming should be made available to the peasantry.

Cultivators, living in the vicinity of the different Government farms, might be invited in the proper season to visit them where the Demonstrators in charge could show them what had been or was being done, explain the kind of seeds and manure used, the total expenditure incurred for cultivation and after collecting the crop, prove the economic advantages of the system recommended by the Agriculture Department. Government farms located in the different districts might do very useful work by arranging short courses in the vernacular for adult agriculturists. These should last from a week to a fortnight. Among others, courses in intensive farming, animal husbandry, the growing of fodder crops, the manufacture of artificial manure, poultry-keeping, etc. would be useful. The agricultural workshops which are to be found in most of these farms might be utilised in training cultivators to repair their own agricultural implements, but for the success of this experiment extensive propaganda to attract

adult cultivators is essential. Another valuable work which may be done by the different Government farms is that they may be used for imparting practical instruction in *nature* study to Guru Training students. These in their turn might be able to interest at least some of their pupils in agriculture.

The services of properly qualified members of the staff of Government farms could be profitably resorted to for imparting both theoretical and practical instructions to the students while the farm with its wide area and variety of crops would provide ample facilities for practical training.

Tht work of popularising departmental methods by demonstration carried on in Government farms may to a certain extent be done by taking individual plots in different parts of the province, specially in the districts which at present are not provided with Government farms, for a comparatively long term, say 5 years, and growing departmental crops in them under local conditions which of course must in nearly all cases be different from the conditions found in expensively maintained Government farms. The impression which prevails among cultivators that the outturn of crops in Government farms as well as the improvement in their quality are due to the use of large amounts of expensive, and therefore not easily available, manures which they can never afford to buy. This feeling the writer considers it necessary to remove before we can expect extensive adoption of improved methods.

It is of course understood that as these plots will be scattered all over a particular district or area, the officers will have to work under specially difficult conditions, for efficient supervision must entail constant visits, that is to say, incessant touring which will naturally mean additional expenditure.

Government farms do not confine their activities to the work of demonstration and propaganda only. Almost all of them are engaged in varietal and manurial experiments, in some kind of research work some of which at least will ultimately benefit the peasantry. While the Central farm will more or less confine its efforts to the solution of provincial agricultural problems, the district farms may rightly be expected to attempt the solution of district problems. It is only in this way that the work of agricultural improvement can be carried out expeditiously.

In addition to the 24 Government farms, our province can also boast of 251 non-Government farms. Of these 6 are in the Eastern, 186 in the Western, and 59 in the Northern Circle. Generally, they are all of comparatively small area. Only four of these, all situated in the district of Rajshahi and all maintained

by well-to-do landlords, range from 200 to 500 bighas in area, the fourth being 1,800 bighas in area.

Government farms, it may be stated broadly, serve three important purposes. First, they are utilised for conducting varietal and manurial experiments under the supervision of departmental experts and under, as far as possible, ideal conditions. The second purpose which is more immediately beneficial is the multiplication of departmentally examined and recommended seeds of good strain, and third, their supply to the public in adequate quantities. In this way only can the agriculturists of the whole province reap the benefits of the research work conducted by the departmental experts. But this work in spite of its obvious usefulness is not properly appreciated in a conservative country like ours where on account of want of education, the agriculturist is impervious to new ideas unless and until they are forcibly brought home to him by long-continued arduous propaganda repeatedly demonstrating their value. The neglect of continuous agricultural propaganda without any break or 'let up' will merely mean that the benefits of the work mentioned above will absolutely be lost and the time, money and energy spent on them practically thrown away.

Our private farms, it must be admitted once for all, are not likely to be able to engage in research work. But almost all of them are engaged in growing departmentally tested and recommended crops of various kinds while some at least are distributing cuttings of sugar-cane and improved strains of seeds either free of charge or at cost price to the cultivators of the locality in which they are situated. Many of these farms maintain stud bulls for improving cattle and are in this way serving a most useful purpose. Still others have seed stores attached to their farms from which departmentally produced seeds can be procured. The number of seed stores maintained by the Agriculture Department is not numerous enough to cover the whole province and these private farms are in a way supplementing the work of the Agriculture Department.

As the private farms are maintained by people whose economic condition is better and whose educational qualifications higher than those of the actual cultivators, improved iron ploughs and other agricultural implements, better seeds and manure, better fed and improved strains of cattle are always used at these farms. In some of the larger farms, even tractors are being used for cultivation. The cultivation of new crops is more readily taken up by these private farms than by the ordinary ignorant cultivators. The extensive cultivation of

sugar-cane in North Bengal as a substitute for our only money crop, jute, the growing popularity of tobacco cultivation in East and West Bengal, the cultivation of Napier grass for use as cattle fodder are instances in point. While it is true that propaganda with the help of lantern lectures, etc., is valuable, there is not the slightest doubt that propaganda by actual demonstration of this type leaves a deeper impressioon on the mind of the actual cultivator on account of the very tangible results he sees for himself.

Formerly, tobacco was grown principally as a money crop in North Bengal. As the result of propaganda work carried on directly by the Agriculture Department and indirectly by the private farms, the cultivators of the jute districts are taking to it readily.

Some of the private farms are specialising. The Baikunthapur Raj Estate Farm at Shikarpur in the district of Jalpaiguri with its 600 acres is not only producing departmental sugar-cane of high sucrose value but has also installed a small factory which is proposed to be enlarged with an increase in the supply of sugar-cane. Rai K. N. Mullick Bahadur has done the same thing in his farm at Ranaghat in addition to which he has been conducting classes in mechanised farming. The Roy Farm at Dayarampur cultivates sugar-cane exclusively. The Sitabpur Sugar Mill of Bongaon aims at producing all the sugar-cane it is likely to require while the chief crop at the Das Gupta Farm of Karnai, Dinajpur, is sugar-cane. At the farm of the Maharaja of Dinajpur, the chief stress is laid on growing fodder, at the farm of the Hon'ble Nawab Mushraf Hussain Khan Bahadur of Jalpaiguri on departmental varieties of paddy, at the farm of Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur of Rajshahi on growing fruits. Still others grow winter vegetables and are popularising their cultivation on a large scale.

The encouragement of improved methods of agriculture among the peasantry by the well-to-do is a very hopeful sign and proves that they are gradually coming to realise their duty to their poorer brethren. With the use of improved methods, agriculture will gradually be resorted to as a means of livelihood by the *bhadralok*. The tendency towards a return to villages is bound to be stimulated by the increasing difficulty in securing service or profitable practice in the learned professions. What is necessary for success in agriculture is that men who have been disappointed in their efforts to make their way in other walks of life, should not grudgingly turn to agriculture as a last resource and feel resentment that they were unable to make what appears

to them a greater success of their lives. If the inevitable is recognised in time and if agriculture is taken to seriously as one's life's work, the gentleman farmer will sooner or later appear in Bengal, must fit himself for it in just the same way as one fits oneself for one or other of the learned professions.

Government through the Agriculture Department can after all do little for the improvement of agriculture unless the natural leaders take up the burden themselves in the spirit of cheerfulness and of helpfulness. In the last analysis, it is clear that if properly organised and multiplied, these private farms will point the way to the salvation of our motherland, but, in the near future, the inspiration will have to come from Government farms and agricultural research stations.

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BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE

One serious disadvantage from which agriculture suffers in Bengal as well as in India generally is the absence of educated leadership. The allurement of urban occupations exercises such a strong influence on the more educated, the enterprising and the ambitious, that agriculture has, to all intents and purposes, to go without that intelligent direction which can be expected only from people of this class. The rewards of agriculture are so meagre that it cannot permanently keep people of this type in the countryside. It may, however, be expected that the keen competition in towns and the failure which must inevitably fall to the lot of many will, in future, have the effect of compelling the more sensible among such people to make their home permanently in rural areas. The migration of uneducated people to towns where their services can be utilised in industry is desirable, for this would have the effect of diminishing the acuteness of competitoin for land. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to make agriculture more attractive economically to induce educated men to take it up. It is here that the work of the Agriculture Department is truly valuable specially in pioneering work in the direction of popularising the cultivation of economically profitable crops.

It appears from the latest report of the Port Commissioners of the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong that in the year ending 31st March, 1937, Bengal imported several million tons of rice from Burma. It is possible that part of the rice imported through the port of Chittagong is consumed in Assam. There is, however, little doubt that by far the largest amount is consumed in Bengal. This is very discouraging for if it proves anything it undoubtedly shows that this province is far from being industrialised. This state of affairs is justifiable only when industrialism has made great progress. Yet though mainly agricultural, we are compelled to import our principal food stuff because we are either unable or unwilling to grow it.

There was a time when cotton of very superior quality was grown in East Bengal specially in the districts of Dacca and Tipperah but by the time of the Revenue Settlement of 1863, its cultivation had been replaced by that of jute. The cultivation of the latter was found to be very profitable. The immense profits the cultivators made were wasted in extravagance and in

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litigation, so that when the slump, due to overproduction coupled with a falling off in the world demand came, they were practically ruined. Government, as is well known, had to undertake an intensive campaign for jute restriction.

The imposition of a duty on imported sugar in 1932, the unsatisfactory price of jute, the starting of vacuum pan factories and last, but not least, the propaganda of the Agriculture Department are responsible for the growing popularity of sugarcane.

It is stated that in the Eastern Circle the price of cane cuttings has dropped from Rs. 2-8-0 to Re. 1 per thousand and that Co. 213 has replaced almost all the local canes. Inquiries are being constantly made by the public about improved methods of crushing cane, making *gur* and manufacturing sugar. Some rather small sugar factories have been started at Faridpur. All this goes to show the gradual increase in the popularity of the cultivation of sugar cane which must inevitably lead to extensive local manufacture of *gur*, sugar, etc.

In the Western Circle the cultivators of the Murshidabad district have taken up the cultivation of sugar cane by reason of the success achieved by the officers of this farm. This has grown so popular that capitalists finding that sugar cane is plentiful in this locality established the Beldanga White Sugar Factory in this district. Sugar cane is also growing in popularity in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum. The demand for cuttings of Co. 213 is very keen and is being met partly by the Government district farms and partly by private farms. The district of Nadia is leading the way in West Bengal. So popular has sugar cane grown within the last few years that there has appeared a tendency to start white sugar mills all over Bengal.

In the Northern Circle, the cultivation of Co. 213 is spreading very rapidly. The area under jute is tending to diminish automatically.

Owing to the efforts of the Agriculture Department, the substitution of sugar cane for jute as a money crop is proceeding so rapidly that in the year 1933-34 the area under sugar cane in this province increased to 232,000 acres, in 1934-35 to 276,000 acres, in 1935-36 to 325,000 acres of which 244,000 acres were under Co.213, and in 1936-37 to 354,000 acres. The total number of cuttings distributed through the Agriculture Department was more than one crore in addition to several crores sold by the cultivators among themselves.

There has not been any slackening in the propaganda work. Co.213 sugar cane demonstration was conducted in practically

every district of Bengal. Free distribution of cuttings was made in the district of Chittagong, the Manickganj sub-division of Dacca disrict and the Tangail sub-division of Mymensingh district.

With the increase in the area under sugar cane, the public have been convinced about the profitable nature of the manufacture of sugar. By 1934-35, three white sugar factories have been started at Beldanga in Murshidabad, Gopalpur in Rajshahi and Setabganj in Dinajpur. There were also during this period two 100-ton mills besides 48 open pan factories. By the end of 1936-37, there were 8 vacuum and 48 open pan factories actually working while 3 more vacuum pan factories were under construction. In order to demonstrate the utility of the open pan system, the Agriculture Department has started a demonstration of this method at Rajshahi with machinery designed by the Agricultural Engineer, Bengal. Instruction in the manufacture of sugar was given in this model factory to a number of *bhadralok* youths nearly all of whom have obtained employment in small factories in the district. The poorer but enterprising class of people have readily adopted the improved furnaces designed or recommended by the Department, in order to convert the juice into *gur* mainly for local consumption.

Though some of the factories are making an attempt to grow at least part of the sugar cane they need, the majority usually guarantee the price per maund they will pay to the growers. It is however a fact that in certain parts of this province, there has been a fall in the price due to increased production. One reason for this may be that larger sugar factories are not distributed evenly all over our province.

So far as the sugar industry is concerned Behar stands next to the U.P., producing as it does 29 per cent of the total output of white sugar in India. Finding that owing to causes the enumeration of which need not detain us here, the price of sugar cane tended to come down to such an extent that the cultivator could hardly cover the actual cost of production, the Behar Government recently passed the Sugar Factories Control Act. In the last session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, it was suggested that legislation should be resorted to in this province for fixing a minimum price for sugar and also that Government should be empowered to step in, if it is found necessary to alter it under exceptional circumstances. Government, however, turned down the proposal on the plea that it was not required at the present moment.

A noteworthy departure in the production of improved

sugar-cane and its utilisation in factories was made in the U.P. towards the end of 1935. This scheme envisaged the establishment of more efficient co-operative farming and marketing societies in areas adjacent to the different sugar factoroies. It is not possible to give detailed information about the improvements in the production, distribution and sale of sugar-cane here. Information on these points may be had from the Development Section of the Agriculture Department of the U.P. Government. Only one thing need be referred to and that is that up to the present this represents the largest as well as the most important and successful attempt in co-operative farming and marketing of agricultural products in India. It further proves that given the right type of Government support and enthusiastic officers, it is not so difficult to introduce agricultural co-operation in our country as people have thought in the past.

Another equally encouraging experiment though on a smaller scale which has met with unusual success has been conducted in the native state of Mysore. In fixing the minimum price, the Mysore Government has laid down the principle that the price paid by the factory should bear a reasonable proportion to the price obtained for the manufactured product. The economic condition of our peasantry would improve materially if this principle is introduced even in a modified form, so far as sugar-cane and jute are concerned.

There was a time when shortage of sugar-cane was felt by all the white sugar factories but things have changed. During the period 1935-37 there was no scarcity of sugar-cane.

Businessmen have come to realise that there is a great future before Bengal so far as the large scale manufacture of white sugar is concerned but the tendency is to establish the mills in areas where others are already at work. To help the producers it seems desirable that large scale sugar factories should be more evenly distributed over the cane areas.

Bengal consumes about 13 per cent of the sugar manufactured and imported into India but produces only 2·8 per cent of India's total output. It therefore follows that Bengal produces less than one-fifth of her requirements. There are large tracts in Bengal well adapted to the cultivation of the type of cane evolved by the Agriculture Department. It would be economical if a carefully thought-out scheme for the expansion of this industry is framed and capitalists are persuaded to locate factories in future in these areas. The agriculturists could be persuaded to grow sugar-cane if they were assured of a fairly remunerative price and regular demand.

Since the falling off in the price of jute which is the principal money crop in this province, the Agriculture Department has been trying to find satisfactory substitutes for it. One such substitute is ground-nut, many varieties of which have been tested in the different district Government farms in order to find out those which would suit the different areas. It cannot be said that the same success which has been obtained with sugar-cane has been achieved here but our agriculturists, specially in the jute districts of Bengal, are taking gradually to the cultivation of ground-nuts and it is anticipated that in time it will grow popular. In certain parts of the Dacca district, where sugar-cane is being cultivated for meeting the requirements of recently started sugar mills, the agriculturists are putting down ground-nut in between the furrows of sugar cane thus utilising the land to a fuller extent. In the report for 1935-36 it has been stated that ground-nut is now grown in different parts of this province as a monsoon and a winter crop depending on the situation of the land and the nature of the soil. As a revenue crop, there is little doubt that it has a bright future.

The Agriculture Department has also undertaken work on linseed as a substitute for jute. With proper marketing facilities, the agriculturist will find its cultivation profitable. It is suggested that the cultivation of linseed should be made popular so that it might be available in thousands of maunds in adjoining localities for wholesale buyers. Only intensive propaganda work carried on continuously among the peasantry can bring about this desirable state of things.

It is well known that *deshi* tobacco of a good type has been grown all along in Northern Bengal where it has been regarded as a satisfactory money crop. The efforts of the Agriculture Department have resulted in encouraging its cultivation in both Eastern and Western Bengal though, it has to be confessed, that the peasantry of West Bengal have taken to it more readily than that of East Bengal, where the peasant still relies on jute as his main stay for earning cash. It has, however, to be remembered that even in the jute districts of East Bengal, the cultivator is now being compelled to grow tobacco for his own use to which he has been more or less driven on account of shortage of funds caused by the low price of jute.

As the result of propaganda by the Agriculture Department the demand for improved seeds has already increased to such an extent that the different Government farms are unable to meet it and have to rely partly on private growers. It seems that the time has come when the cultivation of tobacco should be started in

all the districts and propaganda work carried on so that the local need might be met fully. Experiments should also be made in each of them in order to ascertain the type suited to the prevalent local conditions.

Experiments are being made constantly to evolve new strains of which the best all round is the *deshi* variety of *Motihari*. Special attention is being given to *bidi* tobacco which, at present, is being imported from outside Bengal by a few traders who have come to monopolise the business at prices ranging between Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per maund. The *bidi* tobacco grown and cured at the Dacca Farm was supplied to local dealers who are now stocking the Bengal grown variety. The area under *bidi* tobacco is increasing rather slowly. Efforts should be made to improve its quality till it reaches the standard of the imported variety as well as to encourage its cultivation in the Northern and Eastern parts of Bengal. The growers should be taught the technique of its cultivation. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the *bhadralok* youths trained in manufacturing cigars at Dacca and Rangpur will settle in different parts of Bengal and buy the *bidi* tobacco from the agriculturists and, after curing it properly use it for *bidi* making.

Special efforts were also made to extend the *Motihari* tobacco cultivation through the agency of Agricultural Association and Union Boards.

The attempts to find better markets for tobacco grown in Bengal have not as yet met with any marked success. It is, however, hoped that the demand will increase with an improvement in its quality. The Department of Agriculture would be justified in feeling satisfaction if it can popularise the cultivation of tobacco to such an extent that we can fully meet the needs of our province from our own fields.

The training given in cigar-making and its possibilities as a profitable cottage industry have drawn the attention of the public. It is well-known that North Bengal and specially Rangpur have always been the centre of a large trade in tobacco and that up to the present merchants of Burma visit the different tobacco centres where they always pay what has all along been considered low prices for tobacco leaves. In April, 1936, a cigar-manufacturing society was started at Gajaghanta near the Government tobacco farm, Rangpur. The aim of the society is to get a better price for the tobacco leaves by utilising them for making cigars. A cigar-training class similar to the one which has been in existence at the Dacca Farm has also been started. It would indeed be a matter of congratulation if the men trained

at Dacca and Rangpur developed sufficient business ability to start cigar factories in large towns like Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca and supplied cheroots at reasonable prices to the public.

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BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE: ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The problem of improving cattle is daily growing more insistent. Local breeds are both poor plough cattle and poor milkers. The result is that we have to import the better class of cattle from other provinces.

Improvement in stock can be expected only from scientific breeding, the beginnings of which were made by the Agriculture Department. In 1933-34, there were 15 bulls in the different Government district farms for stud purposes. 67 bulls were issued for a similar purpose. There were only two Live-Stock officers, one at Rajshahi and the other at Chinsurah. These two officers spent most of their time with cultivators in the villages and gave expert advice on animal husbandry, dairying, growing of fodder and mixed crops.

The Agriculture Department had all along realised the very important part destined to be played by better cattle in the introduction of improved agricultural methods. As a result of careful investigations, it has been found that every year Bengal was spending no less a sum than Rs. 50 lakhs for importing bullocks from outside and also that this method of meeting the needs of the province in spite of its costliness had not yielded satisfactory results. In the first instance, ten out of the 27 districts of Bengal have been selected for an intensive campaign for improving the cattle, because it is not possible at present to allow the distribution of free bulls and meet the cost of maintaining a staff to supervise the animals and to castrate the scrub bulls in all of them. It has, therefore, been decided that in order to obtain more satisfactory results, the bulls available should, as far as possible, be concentrated in those selected districts. This may, therefore, be regarded as the first methodical beginning to improve the live-stock in Bengal.

The scheme as put into operation aims at encouraging the maintenance of better stock by the peasantry of this province by the free supply of the best bulls procurable for breeding purpose, by teaching the cultivators to rear only the best stock for a similar purpose, by castrating scrub bulls and by inducing the people to grow larger quantities, and improved varieties of fodder crops by feeding all good animals properly.

With a view to achieving the above results, Government, in the first instance, increased the number of officers of the animal

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husbandry department. Formerly there were only two such officers, one of whom had charge of the two districts Rajshahi and Malda and the other of Nadia and Hooghly. With effect from the 1st May, 1935, three additional officers were appointed. These five Live-Stock officers were posted to five centres, e.g. Nadia-Murshidabad, Dacca-Faridpur, Tippera-Noakhali, Rajshahi-Malda and Hooghly-Bankura. With effect from the 1st April, 1936, ten assistant Live-Stock officers were appointed, each being in charge of one of the ten districts mentioned above.

The work entrusted to these officers consists of giving advice on animal husbandry and dairying, distribution of Napier grass cuttings, propaganda for growing improved fodder crops and for more rational feeding of cattle and practical demonstration in the preservation of fodder silage. An important work conducted by the Live-Stock officers and their assistants consisted in intensive propaganda to convince the peasantry of the necessity of improving their stock by the elimination of scrub bulls. As a result of this campaign carried on in 1935-36 in the interior of the ten districts mentioned previously, about 14,000 scrub bulls were castrated last year. With the same end in view, viz., the improvement of stock, the officers of this department organised cattle and poultry shows, bull shows, exhibitions, etc. and also delivered lantern lectures to teach the people the necessity of using good bulls for breeding purposes, etc.

There are at present five Live-Stock officers and ten assistant Live-Stock officers in the districts where intensive work in the improvement of cattle is sought to be concentrated. The staff thus employed is inadequate. The cattle population of Bengal numbers approximately 33 millions and surely 15 officers in all is too small a number to be able to make any appreciable impression in the work of convincing the owners of even a third of them as to the desirability of improving the animals. This work from its all-Bengal aspect could be greatly accelerated if such officers were appointed for all the 27 districts. If these districts are provided with Live-Stock officers, they can supervise the animals, and even more so if encouragement is given to the owners by the system of offering premiums as has been the case in the ten districts mentioned more than once already.

It is desirable, therefore, that there should be at least one Live-Stock officer in every district of Bengal and an assistant Live-Stock Officer in each sub-division. Their efforts should be unremittingly directed towards the carrying out of the policy laid down by the Agriculture Department. In addition to this, there ought to be a properly qualified and efficient publicity

officer provided with a loud speaker and a cinema whose only duty should be to attend all cattle fairs and exhibitions and, if possible, also agricultural exhibitions which are being organised in different parts of Bengal, in order to carry on propaganda work. If these suggestions are accepted and given effect to, the work of cattle improvement would be expedited and within a few years we would see Bengal exporting dairy produce and cattle instead of importing them from other provinces as done at present.

The appointment of the additional staff in the animal husbandry department referred to above was followed by the free distribution of 1,000 pure bred good Hariana bulls in the ten districts mentioned previously at the rate of 100 bulls per district. Suitable people who were willing to keep the bulls at their own expense had been selected by the officers and the bulls were distributed among them. In order that these expensive animals might not suffer from want of proper food in adequate quantities, Napier grass cuttings were distributed among those who had agreed to keep the bulls.

Funds were provided for giving 26 prizes in each of the ten districts, one of Rs. 60 and twenty-five of Rs. 25. It is stated that this system has given satisfaction by encouraging the peasants to properly feed and look after the animals.

It is expected that if there is no set-back in the form of epidemics, etc., within a period of seven years all the ten districts mentioned previously will be stocked completely with half-bred bulls and within ten years all the bullocks will be improved half-bred animals capable of carrying large loads and ploughing with heavier improved ploughs. The propaganda work carried on by the officers of this particular section of the Agriculture Department would become more fruitful if they had the backing of the executive in the same way as the Jute Restriction scheme.

It is a matter of satisfaction that at last the public are realising their responsibility in the matter of improving both draught and milch cattle.

In some parts of East Bengal, milk is sold at such a low price as nine pies per seer during certain months of the year. Here the fat from this cheap milk is made into ghee, but the process of manufacture is so crude that there is a heavy loss in the butter fat. In Calcutta as well as in other towns of Bengal, there is a constant demand for pure milk and pure milk-products in the form of butter and ghee. The major part of the ghee used in Bengal is adulterated. Those who can afford, are always

prepared to pay the proper price for unadulterated milk, butter and ghee. The difficulty is that though very often a high price is demanded and cheerfully paid, the buyer does not always get the kind of stuff for which he pays. The low prices now paid for some money crops like jute and sugar-cane must ultimately compel the agriculturists to find other ways of increasing his income. The peasant will most naturally turn to dairying if he is a Hindu and to dairying and poultry keeping if he is a Moslem.

Facilities should be created for giving practical training in dairy farming to educated *bhadralok* young men. Bengal needs a small fully equipped dairy farm very badly. Young men of the right type trained in a local institution and under local conditions could easily earn a decent livelihood and really help the country by supplying unadulterated milk and milk-products. The woeful waste of good milk now going on, with millions of young children lacking pure milk, could easily be prevented, to the ultimate health and prosperity of the nation.

But the mere starting of a model dairy farm for practical instruction will not be enough. Organisations and marketing facilities for the sale of the products must be brought into existence, and enterprising young men should settle in places close to large towns in batches so that the marketing of their milk and milk-products may be done easily and economically.

Years ago, Government recognised the necessity of maintaining cattle farms. At one time there were two such farms, one at Rangpur and the other at Dacca. In an unfortunate moment, the Retrenchment Commiteee suggested the closing down of the Rangpur cattle farm which was carried out in January, 1934. The cows were sold by auction, surplus stock issued for stud and the best of the stock transferred to Dacca. Breeding work, therefore, is now confined to Dacca. The aim of the authorities is to evolve a type of cattle, the females of which will be good milkers, and the males good bullocks able to stand the climate and the feeding of Bengal. The writer has visited the Dacca farm a number of times and was informed that by using pure-bred stud bulls on all the stock, the crosses are approaching more and more towards the pure-bred. The experiments in feeding too are yielding very valuable results of practical utility to the agriculturist. But it has to be admitted that one Cattle Farm in a province with an approximate area of 80,000 square miles and a cattle population of 33 millions is less than nothing. Other Cattle Farms should be started and that without any delay. A beginning may be made with one Cattle Farm in the headquarters of each division and, later on, in the headquarters of each

district, and money for this purpose should be provided by those responsible for the finances of the province.

Till knowledge regarding the proper feeding of cattle is more widely diffused, paddy straw will continue to remain the principal food of live-stock.

The custom in Bengal is to use *aman* paddy straw as fodder. *Aus* paddy is harvested in the rainy season and difficulty is experienced in preserving wet straw. This can be obviated by storing it in silage pits. Experiments have proved that *aus* paddy straw which is now wasted is of higher value than *aman* paddy straw and also that the former makes excellent silage. Propaganda among the peasantry in this direction is necessary and may be done by the Live-Stock officers.

Heavy yielding varieties of fodder crops are grown in all the Government farms, the best results in nearly all cases being obtained from Napier grass. In almost all of them, the process of preservation of fodder as silage is demonstrated to the public.

The cultivators of Maldah and Rajshahi and of Nadia make silage on a small scale for their own use. The progressive step taken by the Bengal agriculturist is due to the propaganda work carried on by the Live-Stock officers stationed in those areas. There does not seem to be much doubt that the growing of green fodder as well as its preservation as silage will be popularised with the increase in the number of Live-Stock officers.

Napier grass is the best of all varieties of green fodder. It can be grown on land round the homestead and, as such, is always available for use. The cultivation of Napier grass will become more popular as soon as the peasantry are taught to take to dairy farming as a means of supplementing their income from paddy, jute, sugar-cane and other food and money crops. For this, propaganda work is absolutely necessary.

As stated already, Bengal buys annually Rs. 3 crores worth of draught and milch cattle from other provinces. The efficiency of Bengal cattle would improve not only by the introduction of better breeds but also by their rational feeding. Bad feeding is one of the causes of the deterioration of our cattle. To prevent this we have to grow fodder. The Agriculture Department has been doing excellent work by the distribution of Napier grass cuttings and *jowar* and by popularising them through propaganda. It is hoped that in this way there will be a material increase in the area under fodder.

Improvement in the breeding of goat and sheep is also desirable. The poor man's cow, as the goat has been called, is popular as a milch animal in many a poor household. Nearly

all the better class goats and sheep have to be imported from other provinces. A little attention paid to the breeding of these animals would be to the economic advantage of this province.

With the progress of education and the partial relaxation in the rules regarding food, there is a gradual and an appreciable increase in the demand for eggs and chicken for the table in Calcutta as well as in some district towns. The poultry farmer, however, has not hitherto been a gainer on account of the large number of middlemen who stand between him and the actual consumer. It is believed that larger eggs and better chickens specially bred for the table would command not only ready sale but also higher prices.

What is required to make poultry farming a financial success is the organisation of marketing, preferably by co-operation. If the middleman could be eliminated, the income of the poultry farmer could be increased appreciably. It might even be possible to reduce the price of both standard eggs and chickens to some extent without cutting into the profits of the producers seriously. One way of solving the difficulties of marketing would be to combine dairying with poultry farming, and another to have the dairy and the poultry farmers settled close to one another, having a common selling agency.

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THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF BENGAL

One of the results of the last Great War was a general economic distress which became so acute that almost every progressive country of the West tried to meet it by 'planned' economy. 'Planned' economy means taking stock of the possibilities of a country or a community and making the best possible use of them. It further implies the detection and recognition of its shortcomings and the contrivance of means for meeting and remedying them. A survey of one's resources resembles the annual scrutiny of accounts in business houses. In order that this scrutiny may be accurate, it is necessary that it should be based on accurate figures. Fortunately, such figures are available in different publications issued by Government from time to time.

It is well known that the Government holds a decennial census. The last census was held on 26 February, 1931, when it was found that the population of Bengal was 5,01,14,002. Among these 2,15,70,407 were Hindus, 2,74,97,024 Muslims and 1,83,148 Christians. The figures for other religions and tribes are not given as they are not necessary for our purpose. The Muslims numbered 54·87 per cent, the Hindus 43·04 per cent and Christians only 3·6 per cent of the total population of the province. The Christians in Bengal included 22,955 Europeans and 27,573 Alglo-Indians. The Indian Christians numbered roughly 1,33,000. These Indian Christians belonged to 35 different tribes and races, and of these 29,457 were either converts or descendants of converts from aboriginal tribes.

A reference to previous census reports shows that Christians have been steadily increasing in number.

The following statement shows the increase for the last six decades:

Year			Number	Percentage
1881	...	...	72,289	·20
1891	...	...	82,839	·21
1901	...	...	1,06,596	·25
1911	...	...	1,29,746	·29
1921	...	...	1,49,069	·31
1931	...	...	1,83,148	·36

From *National Christian Council Review*—November, 1939.

It is evident that from 20 in every 10,000 we have risen in number to 36 per 10,000.

Coming to the Christians of purely Indian extraction who numbered roughly 1,33,000, we find that 45,248 were earners while 86,904 were non-working dependants. In other words, every earner has to provide for himself and for two others who either do not or cannot earn their bread.

All the Christians of Bengal are either converts or descendants of converts.

The non-Christian youth is generally a more qualified person than the Christian youth seeking appointment. It must also be confessed that very often he is not only more efficient and hard-working but also willing to serve on a lower salary. On top of that, the Muslims, who form about 55 per cent of the population, are demanding their share of Government posts and what is more, they are going to have it. The Hindus forming 43 per cent of the total population occupy more than their share of Government posts and they cannot be ousted by Muslims without a hard struggle.

Even if Muslims get 55 per cent of the total number of Government posts, the Hindus may naturally claim their 43 per cent. The Anglo-Indian community has at last come to recognize the competition it has to face and, during the last six years, six colleges meant exclusively for Anglo-Indians and Europeans have been started. Here the youths of this community are preparing themselves to enter the field so long occupied by others. After the Hindus and Muslims have had their shares of Government posts, only 2 per cent will be left of which the Anglo-Indians are bound to occupy their share, if not more than their share. Service under Government therefore can no longer be relied on to provide a means of livelihood for any appreciable number of people in our community.

Roughly 26,000 Bengali Christians live in towns. These figures include both earners and dependants.

In Bengal, out of every 1,000 people, 73 live in towns. On the above basis, the Bengali Christian population of 1,33,000 should not have more than 9,709 persons actually living in cities. To put it in a slightly different way, among Bengali Christians it is found that in every 1,000, 200 people and not 73 as in other communities, are town-dwellers.

The town-dwelling Indian Christian must depend for his future on occupations which may be followed in towns or in places situated close to them. Such occupations cannot but be of the nature of business, trade and industry and service

connected with them. Again those who have brains in our community may earn their bread by the practice of the learned professions such as law, medicine, engineering and teaching. Others may take up banking, insurance, commerce, manufacturing, etc.; but as the community is very poor at present, the capital necessary to carry on these business enterprises must be obtained from other communities. In other words, the men of brains of our community who will go into business may be lieutenants but never captains of industry.

Let us recall for a few moments the tactics now being pursued by our Muslim brethren. They most willingly admit that the number of educated men among them is smaller than the number of educated among the Hindus. Yet they demand 55 per cent of all Government posts because numerically they form 55 per cent of the total population. In this instance therefore it is numerical strength which counts and which enables the Muslim possessing lower qualifiations to be preferred to the Hindu possessing higher qualifications. The more highly qualified Hindu replies by arguing that though numerically the Muslim population may be stronger, yet the Hindu applicant is more qualified, the soundness of which argument has to be admitted by all fair-minded men. So far as our own community is concerned, we have neither the weightage of the Muslim nor the qualifications of the Hindus. Forming as we do about ·30 of the total population we cannot, in spite of our religious propaganda, hope to be numerically stronger than other communities in the near future. Our only reliance must therefore be placed on the cultivation of the highest type of efficiency. This efficiency must be secured in those branches of work in which Government patronage is not directly involved.

Government at the instance of the Muslim community has offered special facilities for the education of Muslim children because they are backward in education. Besides special scholarships for Muslim students and special grants for Muslim schools, seats have been reserved in aided schools as well as in colleges under government control which can be filled only by Muslim scholars. Then again in schools 15 per cent of the free studentships must go to Muslims. Finally, they have special schools for Islamic studies such as Muktabs, Kiran and Lullim Schools, Junior and Senior Madrassahs and last, but not least, a special college for general education of Muslim students which is maintained out of the taxes of this province. The backward communities among the Hindus have learnt their lesson from the Muslims. Formerly only 5 per cent of the free studentships were

reserved for the scheduled castes. Some time ago this was increased to 15 per cent.

So far as the caste Hindus are concerned, we must not forget that nearly a majority of the schools and 'private' colleges have been founded by them with their own money and at the expense of their constant, unremitting labour. They have advanced in education and understand its value.

I hold that the members of our community, young and old, should mix on terms of equality with non-Christians. To stand aloof would be suicidal. There are highly efficient missionary schools and colleges where Indian Christian students of both sexes enjoy different kinds of concessions and privileges. Before we think of special schools and colleges, we ought to utilize fully the facilities at present at our disposal which, be it added, we have not done hitherto.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

It has to be said in all fairness that before the Communal Award was made in August, 1932, the Indians who were called to the Round Table Conference were afforded more than one opportunity to discuss the matter among themselves and to arrive at an agreed solution. It has to be admitted with regret and humiliation that this was not done and that difficulties were put in the way by our own flesh and blood. These facts should be borne in mind by those uncharitable nationalists who try to lay all the blame on the British Government for introducing this most mischievous of devices for subdividing our countrymen into conflicting groups.

Nor can the British be held entirely blameless. It was on the 1st October, 1906, when Lord Minto received a deputation of Indian Muslims, that the British Government, through the Governor-General, committed itself to the acceptance of the principles underlying the communal award. It is now known that the deputation was not altogether spontaneous and that the inspiration had really come from Simla. It is held by national India that the Home Department was aware that the Reforms were imminent and that it sought to counter them by creating division between the two largest communities in India.

Lord Morley in his celebrated despatch of 1908 tried to minimise the evil by suggesting joint electorates with reservation of seats. The Government of India found this proposal unacceptable and defined its policy on the question through Sir Herbert Risley, one of the ablest and most reactionary of officials. In the Mussalman community men were not wanting who aimed at securing an advantage to their community by organising communal agitation against the proposal of Lord Morley and thus strengthening the hands of its official opponents in the House of Commons, the most conspicuous among whom were the Earl of Ronaldshay, the present Lord Zetland and the late Sir William Joyson-Hicks, afterwards Viscount Brentford. Lord Morley had to yield probably because he felt that if he resisted, his bill would be wrecked in Parliament.

The Montague-Chelmsford Report discussed the principle of separate electorates fully and accepted it. On the plea of securing just representation to all communities, this pernicious system so

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From *Calcutta Review*—September, 1939.

destructive of Indian nationalism was recommended by the framers of the Indian constitution. It was in reality the decision of the British Government. It was very unfair to the Hindus and most so to the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab where they form minorities.

When the Indian National Congress was born in 1885, many of the prominent leaders were Bengali intellectuals. Later on, when it had as Presidents progressive leaders from Madras, Bombay, Punjab, U.P., Bihar and C.P., it was called an organisation of 'the educated and discontented microscopic minority of middle classes' and that as such it could not be regarded as a representative body reflecting the political opinions of the country at large. It was also contended that the uneducated masses had no political opinions at all. When Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene and when political mass consciousness was aroused, when Mazdoor Sabhas and Kishan organisations were to be seen in every part of the country, when the Congress had about 4½ million primary members, we are expected to accept the view that because some Indians are members of communal organisations such as the Muslim League or the Hindu Mahasabha, there is such organic lack of unity in our motherland that we cannot be expected to govern ourselves well, that the majority if entrusted with power will ill-treat the minorities for all times to come and therefore the latter need all kinds of safeguards such as are sought to be provided under the communal award.

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates by the Lucknow Congress, probably in the hope of winning over the Muslims, might have been a good move from the point of view of expediency, but I contend that it has produced evil consequences of a far-reaching character, and no one can say to-day to what further evil it will ultimately lead. It is likely that if, from the beginning, a national organisation like the Congress had put up vigorous fight, we would have, if not joint electorates, at least something, which, while a sort of compromise, would not have established the cleavage among Indian nationals we see in our country to-day.

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

The communal award with its implication of separate electorates has made it possible for many undeserving people to enter the different legislatures by appealing to the narrow communalism of the groups from which they come. Naturally, there is difference of opinion between such narrow-minded men whose only aim is the immediate benefit of the groups they represent and the

more liberal-minded, who prefer the slow but sure and peaceful progress of the country as a whole. This clash of opposing ideals has taken many forms but the one proposed to be dealt with here is the tyranny which is exercised by the majority over the minority. This kind of tyranny of the majority over the minority is more likely to be found in a communally-ridden atmosphere than elsewhere and that, but for the communal award it would not have assumed such objectionable proportions.

Where the majority community is unreasonable and is determined to break down all opposition, it can, if it so desires, prevent discussion of controversial matters in public meetings. A number of public meetings were called in order to discuss the highly controversial Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act which has lately been passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council though vehemently opposed by the Hindus of Calcutta and the nationalist section of the Mussalman community. Many of these could not be held on account of the disturbance created by a certain section of the Muslim community which favoured the measure probably on communal grounds.

The growing tendency to deny the minority party freedom of speech and discussion is coming to be a very disquieting feature of public life. And this is one result of the communal award under which rowdyism of this type is not checked by leaders who prefer to keep themselves in the background while enjoying to the full the advantages contingent on this kind of behaviour on the part of their followers.

In Bengal, the communal award has given a statutory majority to our Mussalman brethren who, in 1931, constituted about 56 per cent of the total population. They passed a resolution reserving 60 per cent of all government appointments for Mussalmans, 20 per cent for members of the scheduled castes and 20 per cent for the rest. As the result of pressure from various quarters, the proportion has recently been fixed at 50 per cent, 15 per cent and 35 per cent.

Coming back to the point we were discussing, we find that injustice of the type has gone further. The Hindus form about 74 per cent of the total population of Calcutta, contribute about 78 per cent of the municipal taxes and constitute more than 75 per cent of the total number of the total population; contribute 5·41 per cent of the taxes and form 13 per cent of the qualified voters. Under the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act passed recently by the majority Muslim party in our provincial Assembly, the Hindus have been artificially reduced to a minority and have been given about 48 per cent of the seats in the Calcutta Munici-

pal Corporation. And this has been done on the excuse that the Municipal Congress Party has been mismanaging Municipal affairs.

The examples taken from different parts of India, merely prove that, in actual working, the communal award tends to produce very mischievous results specially when it places political power in the hands of those not accustomed or trained to use it with discretion.

It may be that interference with freedom of discussion, injustice in the distribution of government patronage and similar other matters are to be found in one or other of the Congress provinces as well. Age has taught me that not every Congressman is an angel and that there must be undesirable persons in this large All-India organisation with a membership of over 4½ millions in just the same way as there are similar people in other organisations. My contention is that such things whenever found are a possibility on account of the communal award and further that the only satisfactory method for eliminating these undesirable things is to abrogate it.

DISINTEGRATION IN THE HINDU COMMUNITY

The Barbers, the Mahisya Community and the Satchasis are also holding meetings claiming separate representations for their communities.

The organisers of the move would seem to be clever people indeed because their claim is double-edged—in case they cannot get a share out of the caste Hindu ratio of posts, they ensure their interests by putting in a claim for posts reserved for scheduled castes! This is how the communal award is operating in breaking up solidarity in the Hindu community, and no one can say to what length this tendency towards disruption will proceed.

My point is that the acceptance of, to be more correct, the enforcement of the principle of communal award has placed a weapon in the hands of Indians which can be used with deadly effect by the selfish for the attainment of their own purposes and that such use is bound to have only one effect, *viz.*, the creation of further antagonistic groups in our unfortunate motherland, already torn asunder by party factions.

The attitude responsible for meetings and resolutions such as those referred to already gives me great pain. To my mind they merely point the way the wind is blowing. These poor and probably ignorant people have learnt the lesson of selfishness from their social superiors and former leaders. It is only too probable that they will be better than their teachers at this game. And so

unless something is done, India will degenerate into a battlefield where questions will be decided not on their merits but on communal grounds.

DISINTEGRATION IN THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The disintegrating effects of the communal award are not, however, confined to the Hindu community only which, for historical reasons, includes within its fold hundreds of castes, many of which have been victims of social tyranny and which are now showing their resentment not only in the social but also in the political field. Islam's greatest contribution has consisted in its spirit of democracy but even here the mischievous effects of the communal award are gradually making their appearance. The Secretary of the All-India Shiah Political Conference in an informal meeting of the Shias held at Chapra in North Bihar on the 22nd November, 1938, said: 'The Shiahs have it to their proud privilege that they never supported separate electorates'. The Shiahs, he added, always believed that joint electorates are the only cure for all communal ills and that the system is absolutely essential for the growth of nationalism in our motherland. They have always been opposed to separate electorates and have without any bargaining or safeguards joined the Congress and advocated the cause of joint electorate.

So pernicious in its ultimate effects is the communal award that it presents itself immediately as a weapon for political disruption as soon as there is any difference of opinion between groups forming integral parts of a particular party or organisation. Even the pillars of the Muslim League are coming to realise the untold possibilities for mischief which underlie this apparently harmless device for granting protection to the minority communities.

Commenting on this new direction which the Shiah-Sunni controversy is taking, the Nawab of Chhatari has issued a statement through the press in which he has said: 'This tendency towards a separation will lead to the disintegration of Muslims in these provinces and will do good to nobody. The real need of our country is to create unity among various communities living in India. Our efforts should be directed towards unity between Hindus, Moslems, Christians and all other communities and not to create further divisions.' And this, I may be permitted to add, is the aim and the dream of every genuine patriot.

Quite recently the Momin community has organised itself on an All-India basis. They passed resolutions demanding from the Bengal Government seats in legislature and local self-govern-

ing bodies and representation in Government services according to the numerical strength of the Momins.

It is most unfortunate for our Muslim brethren that, in this case, there was no wise Nawab of Chhatri to give the Momins a lead in the right direction. Probably this kind of advice coming from such a quarter would not have created any difference either in their attitude or in their opinions. At any rate, no one can deny that the masses are now coming to appreciate their strength and are determined to utilise it to the full, to which no one can possibly have any objection. But what is really regrettable is that, under the communal award, this power is not likely to be used in the most efficient of ways or ultimately to the best interest of the country as a whole.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE COMMUNAL AWARD

The Indian Christian Protestants were against the communal award. The communal award was made in August, 1932 and yet, long before that date, the Indian Christian Protestants had been opposing it. The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, the Rev. (now the Right Rev. Bishop) J. R. Chitamber said: 'Even if we get it (communal representation) in the various boards, councils and assemblies, what can we do against the overwhelming majority unless we enlist their sympathy through co-operation?' In the presidential speech it was stated that communal representation is 'detrimental to national solidarity and progress'. It follows therefore that Indian Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are now united in their condemnation of the communal award.

The official position of the All-India Indian Christian Conference, of which I have the honour to be President for the current year, may be stated as follows: —

(1) In principle we are against communal representation in any form and we would always therefore be influenced on the side of such forces as work towards its abolition.

(2) In case communal representation by reservation of seats through general electorates is accepted by major communities as a compromise, we shall gladly support this view.

(3) If separate electorates, however, are insisted upon and introduced, we expect that the claims of our community should be recognised.

THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMUNAL AWARD

In conclusion let us try to sum up the effects of the communal award on India. This most objectionable of measures, if retained permanently, is bound to have the following mischievous consequences. As the result of the disruption in our political life which must follow disintegration among the different religious and social groups, it may indefinitely prolong our political servitude to the British Government. The presence of the British Government will be absolutely necessary in order to preserve an even balance between the rival claims of contending groups. These must always depend on the British Government to maintain peace and order whenever clashes are apprehended between conflicting groups. This again will have the effect of perpetuating our economic servitude. Selfishness and greed which, as the result of the working of this principle, will be at a premium, will tend to retard social progress, specially when the legislation aimed at the amelioration of backward groups will imply the taxation of other selfish groups. Lastly, with every group becoming communally-minded, there will be a constant struggle between the groups for as large a share as possible of immediate advantages and so their fusion into a united Indian nation may be indefinitely postponed.

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THE TWO INDIAN NATIONS

The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1921 and the Government of India Act, 1935, mark three stages of progressive self-government by Indians in the economic and political spheres. To all these reforms in the constitution has been tagged the communal award with its encouragement to the elements of disruption. Under the plea of safeguarding the interests of the minority communities, a deliberate attempt, such people hold, has been made to divide us into various sections and sub-sections and into mutually conflicting parties. As the result of this most pernicious of measures, our Mussalman brethren have been induced to regard themselves as aliens in the land of their birth. To such an extent has this objectionable mentality been developed that they are claiming that, though living in India for centuries, they do not belong to her ; that their natural affiliations, religious, political and social, are with their brothers in faith living in foreign lands and not with those with whom they are naturally allied by living in the same land and under the same Government.

ALL-WORLD MUSLIM SYMPATHY

The question of questions with us to-day is why should members of the Hindu and Muslim communities, which have been living side by side for generations and which are bound to each other by every conceivable tie except that of professing a common faith, be constantly engaged in a struggle now degenerating into physical clashes, at other times rising to the economic and the political plane. Another equally interesting question is why should a section of the Mussalman population of India feel so little sympathy for its Hindu neighbours while it is prepared to extend its friendship and affection in the fullest possible measure to its co-religionists who might live in a distant country and whom it has never seen. Does all this happen because the Hindu and Mussalman of India think that they belong to different nations though they have been living in the same country for centuries and also because Mussalmans all over the world are supposed to be members of one and indivisible nation?

From *Calcutta Review*—May, 1940.

PAN-ISLAMIC UNITY

The Arab Muslim invariably calls the Indian Muslims, Hindus or Christians as Indians. The Indian Muslim living under foreign domination is not ordinarily granted the same privileges and facilities enjoyed by the Mussalman coming from an independent country. He is always treated as a foreigner. Here the profession of a common faith makes no difference. The attitude of the Government of Iraq towards the Mussalmans of India will prove this to the hilt. In that country, the facilities granted willingly to the Iraqui Christian are denied to the Indian Mussalman. The ideal of Pan-Islamism has no influence whatsoever in changing their point of view. This merely shows what a mistake our Muslim brethren are making when they look for sympathy and support from Muslim States lying beyond their homeland. They must be prepared to cast in their lot with their own countrymen and while continuing to be a part of the Indian nation secure all possible safeguards for conserving their legitimate rights and privileges.

Probably the opinion that Muslims, no matter what country they live in, form one nation, was first publicly uttered within recent times by Sir Mohammed Yakub, one of the most prominent members of the Muslim League, in the course of a statement issued through the Associated Press on the 11th January, 1939. He said: 'The Mussalmans cannot be divided according to their country of domicile, they are a single indivisible nation, living in different parts of the world. The Mussalmans of India do not belong to the same community as the other Indians. They belong to an altogether different nation and, as such, are entitled to be classed as a different nation, and not as a community, claiming their own rights of self-determination. The Mussalmans of India can never accept any declaration of rights, or any charter of safeguards, however just and generous they may be, which gives them no hand in its formation and which reduces them to the status of a minority community.'

It is admitted that there is great sympathy among Mussalmans living in different parts of the world, but this does not turn them into one nation. In the different Christian denominations also there is this sympathy but it does not make them members of one nation. This idea of all Mussalmans of the whole world forming one nation is the product of a sentiment which is partly religious and partly cultural. We have about 2 million Baptists in Soviet Russia with their pastors and we have not received any authentic information about them or their Church activities for the last 3 or 4 years, and we feel for them but that does not make

us one nation. Whenever natural calamities occur, we open our purse strings for our brethren living in remote parts of the world—we hold identical theological beliefs and belong to the same religious organisation but most certainly we are not one race or one nation.

COMPOSITION OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Let us turn to what Sir Theodore Morrison, the champion of the separatist Musalmans, has got to say on the composition of the Muslim community of India: 'Some of these Muslims are descendants of the Arabs, Afghans, and Turks who came down from the heights of Central Asia in successive waves of conquest, but the great number by blood are natives of the soil, high-born Rajputs, hardworking Sudras, or lowly outcastes who were converted to Islam by nameless missionaries or by those famous saints whose tombs are to this day visited by countless pilgrims. The Muslim population in India was increased and strengthened from yet another source: from the days of Kutbuddin Aibak in the thirteenth century down to the death of Aurangzeb in the eighteenth century, a continuous stream of soldiers and scholars, of artists and administrators came to take service under Muslim kings from the highly civilized cities of Central Asia ; many of these men wrote their names upon the pages of Indian history and founded families which are still held in high esteem. Owing to the caste system of the Hindus, these Muslim invaders and converts were not merged in the general population but remained a distinct people.'

Every one who claims the least knowledge of the history of India is aware that the Mussalmans of foreign birth who came either as invaders or as seekers of service under the Muslim rulers of India were but a handful as compared with the bulk of the Mussalman population and that, in the first instance, as invaders ever will, they settled in towns and cities where they surrounded themselves with soldiers for protection as well as for the purpose of carrying on the work of administration entrusted to them. The bulk of the Mussalman population consisted of converts, generally drawn from the poorer and less advanced Hindu classes. What little of Semitic culture they imbibed was largely diluted by their inherited culture which must have been very strongly tinctured by the preponderating Hindu environment in which they lived. The Mussalman aristocratic families too have gradually been inter-marrying not only among themselves but also with the wealthier and better-off convert families.

To say that the Mussalmans of to-day form a nation by themselves is to take an untenable and illogical position.

In the civilised world of to-day, we find different social, religious, and even racial groups living together and forming one nation, for the reason that they have one common economic and political aim. National India holds that Mussalmans have no right to ask for protection and safeguards from the enmity of neighbours with whom they have been living for generations and with whom they share the soil. It is not natural that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Christian should live side by side, intermingle in town and country and yet each regard itself as a separate nation. If they differ in certain matters, these are certain customs and usages which characterise their external life. If they have come to think of themselves as separate people, it is only because they have been led astray by interested parties whose purposes would be best served by keeping them estranged.

COMMUNALISM AND THE MUSLIM MASSES

Sir Hugh McPherson, ex-Governor of Bihar and Orissa who has made special study of communal antagonism says: 'The great masses of the rural population whether Hindu or Muhammadan are simple cultivators who at all normal times live in peace and amity . . . . . It may indeed be claimed with justice that they have been drawn together, not severed, by their century and a half of association under a common administration which has given them the same laws, the same security of person and freedom of action, the same schools and universities, the same progressive civilization and the bond of a common speech.' These are words of wisdom spoken by a true friend of India. Let me conclude by reminding my readers what Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of what is now the Aligarh University, said in 1875. Comparing the Hindu and Mussalman communities to the two eyes of a beautiful damsel, he said: 'If you hit the one, you hurt the other.' He also insisted that all Indians who reside in India belonged to 'one and the same nation.'

UNITY IN ESSENTIAL MATTERS

Ordinarily, every one born in India is known as or is called an Indian. It is only people wanting to create divisions and discord among us who dub us Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and so forth. If we examine the inner life of Indians, we find the presence in it of certain common ideas, feelings and sympathies and the religion they profess does not, at least here, make any difference. These ideals, feelings and

sympathies, which are common to all of us irrespective of our religion, are not shared with us by people professing our faith who live outside the boundaries of India. They are concerned with purely Indian problems and peculiarly Indian difficulties. As such they must necessarily appeal to us but not to our brothers in faith living in other countries who, in their turn, are naturally concerned with their own domestic problems. This sympathy and fellow-feeling have made us co-operate with one another in the past and, what is more, they will, with every year that passes, encourage greater co-operation among the different communities. And this must be so, for a clearer vision of our difficulties must come with time as well as the realisation of the fact that co-operation among the different groups is their only satisfactory solution.

THE BIRTH OF NATIONS

Hindu India in the past professed practically one religion, had one culture and one sacred language, *viz.*, Sanskrit. Asoka, the Guptas and still later, the Marathas, ruled over extensive territories and imposed political unity but there was no Indian nation. In their days of glory, the Mughal Emperors held their sway over very large tracts but still there was no Indian nation. Great Britain has enforced her *Pax Britannica*, for which we cannot be too thankful. This and her consistently liberal rule have enabled us to make whatever progress we have hitherto achieved. But the unity imposed on us has not grown from within but has come from outside. Probably this is the most serious objection that can be urged against Federation as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935.

A nation is born only when there is an ardent desire among the people to weld themselves into a nation. There is a word *ekagrata* which well expresses the fiery enthusiasm which must be behind a really national movement towards unity. Once this *ekagrata* has come to stay, the separatist tendencies cannot but disappear. The unifying elements amalgamate and their amalgamation increases their unifying influence out of all proportion to their effects as separate and individual elements. Once coalesced, they predominate over the less important or non-essential elements, with the consequence that, sooner or later, the peoples and groups so long kept apart by mutual distrust and suspicion or by shortsighted self-interest are brought together; the feeling for community of interests assumes a tangible form and reveals itself by the appearance of a united nation.

In France and in Germany also there were many and almost insurmountable obstacles to the emergence of a united nation, and yet they disappeared only because the people of these countries were determined to weld themselves into homogeneous and powerful nations. In our country, too, a handful of Indians, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Parsi, combined in 1885 and, for the first time in the history of India, asserted their claims to the enjoyment of those fundamental rights which are the birthright of man. We have travelled far in the 55 years which have followed. Much has been achieved, much remains to be achieved still. To-day there are in that body more than 4½ millions interested in Indian politics in place of the two score who initiated the movement.

THE INDIAN NATION OF THE FUTURE

To-day this All-India non-communal organisation, in which there is a place for everyone, is embodying the collective will of *political* India. It feels that, in order that our motherland may have a prosperous and glorious future before her, all her sons must sink their differences arising either from religious or economic reasons. The question of questions to-day with us as Indians is whether we shall allow our personal or group interests to stand in the way of the appearance of this great Indian nation. India is one of the oldest civilised countries but she is again the youngest of nations with a long and brilliant future before her. Let those who would place obstacles in her path and prevent her from making her contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind, take care how they meddle with what does not concern them. To do anything calculated to even remotely diminish her importance in the comity of nations would be a sin against the motherland.

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SOME RECENT REACTIONS TO THE COMMUNAL AWARD

THE COMMUNAL AWARD AND THE SCHEDULE CASTE COMMUNITY

Every one familiar with the history of the political evolution of India is aware of the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi which led to the Poona Pact as the result of which the so-called depressed castes were persuaded to forego their separate electorates and incidentally to enjoy practically double the number of seats granted to them under the Ramsay MacDonald Award. Caste Hindus who had sacrificed those extra seats as also nationalists took it for granted that this would at least have the effect of preserving the solidarity of the Hindu community and of preventing further inroads of selfishness masquerading as a desire to safeguard the interests of particular social groups within the Hindu community.

(a) *The Mahishya Demands.*—And yet on the 14th December, 1938, a member of the Mahishya community wrote to the *Statesman* stating that the claims of his community to Government patronage in the shape of reservation of seats had been overlooked. He pointed out that his community which constitutes about 5 per cent of the total population of Bengal and the highest among all Hindu communities in our province, is backward both economically and educationally and claimed special and favourable treatment in order to stimulate education among the members of the community by creating definite opportunities for the educated among them for entering Government services.

(b) *The Satchasi Demands.*—Quite recently, the Satchasi (cultivator) caste people held a meeting in Calcutta where they urged that in the next census, that of 1941, they should be regarded as a 'cultivating class under a distinct column of its own.' They also expressed the desire that, as the Satchasi and similar other communities stand between the three higher castes and the scheduled castes, they should be known as the intermediate Hindu caste, thus forming a new group inside the Hindu hierarchy. By another resolution, they entered their claims for 'a certain percentage of posts in the services out of the 35 per cent available for the caste Hindus and also that they should be given preference in case any of the posts under the 15 per cent reserved for the scheduled castes remain vacant for want of suitable candidates.'

From *Modern Review*—July, 1940.

These instances prove that the Communal Award has tended to encourage the creation of sub-divisions inside the scheduled castes and that some of them under the leadership of men who can by no means be credited with the possession of political foresight are making an attempt to reserve for themselves a certain percentage of rights and privileges out of what has been allotted to the social group to which they belong. It is of course obvious that such demands are put forward because of one or other of the following reasons. One of these may be the present economic situation which makes it imperative for the leaders to create openings for their castemen. The other may be that they feel that unless there is some reservation in their favour, leaders will never be able to either secure political importance as the accredited mouthpiece of their group or to provide posts under Government for their proteges and relations. The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that they are prepared to sacrifice the efficiency of the administration for what amounts more or less to personal gain. No criticism of this type could have been levelled against them if they had confined their demands to the enjoyment of special treatment in matters educational in order to enable them to come up to the standard required for the proper discharge of the duties which might hereafter be entrusted to them.

If these people are able to secure what they want, there is not the slightest doubt that it will lead to similar demands from other sub-groups which are now silent only because they are watching how far these two attempts are successful. The net result will be the disappearance of that unity which today is binding together the different sub-groups which constitute the scheduled castes.

Our leftist friends maintain that this is what was foreseen by the bureaucracy who know that the larger the number of contending factions, the more the chances of balancing them against one another and of maintaining non-Indian supremacy.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD AND THE MUSSALMAN COMMUNITY

No one should imagine that this tendency towards disintegration is confined only to the scheduled castes among the Hindus. Under this section, I shall refer to certain events which have happened quite recently.

(a) *The Shiah and the Sunni Demands.*—The All-India Shiah Political Conference was held at Chapra, Bihar, on the 26th December, 1939, and the following days. Maulvi Sajjad,

Chairman, Reception Committee, in the course of his speech welcoming the delegates is reported to have said:

> The aim of the Shiah Political Conference is to live and die for the nation and the country, and to do all and stake all for the attainment of the freedom of our land. It is to the credit of the Shiah Political Conference that it sounded its strong note against the separate electorate system and it considers this system as the worst evil and detrimental to the interests of the country. It is again to the credit of the Shiah Political Conference that at the time of the preparation of the Nehru report, it suggested a solution of the political problems then facing the country which was adopted later on and was called as Muhammad Ali formula. It is regrettable that that formula was not pursued vigorously then and therefore met its death at an early date.

Here Maulvi Sajjad was merely repeating the nationalistic views of a majority of his community as is evident from what the Secretary of this organisation had said the previous year, to be precise, on the 22nd December, 1938. He observed: 'The Shiahs have it to their proud privilege that they never supported separate electorates.'

The Shiahs, he added, had always believed that joint electorates are the only cure for all communal ills and that the system is absolutely essential for the growth of nationalism in our motherland.

These two quotations to which others of a similar purport could be easily added, represent the views of the nationalist Shiahs but a fairly large number among them who believe in the practical utility of the Communal Award are members of the Muslim League. This organisation was taking no active steps to compose the differences between Shiahs and Sunnis over the Madho-Sahaba and the Tabarra controversy. The Shiah members of the Muslim League who wanted to show their displeasure adopted tactics which possess great interest for the student of human nature.

According to the United Press, on the 21st May, 1939, there was a meeting of the Shiahs at Lucknow convened by some prominent Shiah members of the Muslim League. Here the discontent of the Shiahs with the Muslim League on account of its policy of non-intervention was voiced. As a condition of their remaining within the Muslim League, they demanded 'the inclusion of Shiah ministers in the Punjab and Bengal cabinets forthwith, leading support to Shiahs in their demand for the inclusion of at least one Shiah minister in every Congress

province and particularly in the provinces of Bihar, U.P. and the North-West Frontier and agitating for a separate electorate to Shiahs or reservation of seats by mutual consent.'

When nothing was done by the Muslim League to give effect to the resolution accepted by the Lucknow Conference of Shiahs just mentioned, their displeasure vented itself at a meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the All-India Shiah Political Conference which met on October 31, 1939, that is about five months after, where the following resolution was accepted:

> That the Conference denies the right of the Muslim League to represent the entire Muslim community of India. Although the League has been claiming protection for minorities and specially for the Muslim minority, it has failed to protect the rights of the Shiahs. The attitude of the League during the recent tribulations has been that instead of admitting the just claims of the Shiahs, it has ignored them in order to appease and please the majority of the Muslims.

When the Muslim League took no notice of this resolution, the discontent of the Shiah community naturally grew greater. This was reflected two months later in the speech of Mr. Syed Kalb-i-Abbas, M.L.C. (U.P.) in his presidential address delivered on the 29th December, 1939, at the All-India Shiah Political Conference. He is reported to have said 'that the Shiahs numbered 25 millions out of a total 90 million Mussalmans and urged that they should get the same representation as the Muslims had got against the Hindus in the different provinces.'

It seems that this demand of the Shiahs for separate representation within the All-India Muslim representation had been brought to the notice of some prominent British politicians probably in an informal way, who had said, and I maintain said rightly,—'We cannot create a minority within a minority'. The president-elect contended that the Muslim League which was demanding certain specific safeguards as against the Hindu majority in order to protect religion, culture, language, etc., was guilty of denying similar safeguards to Shiahs who contributed nearly one-third of the total Mussalman population of India. If these were regarded as 'essential and indispensable' in the case of Mussalmans in general, they were equally so in the case of the Shiahs.

(b) *The Momin Demand*—The Momin community comprising many sub-groups within itself according to some of its accredited leaders corresponds to the depressed castes in the Hindu community. It has recently organised itself on an All-

India basis under the name of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen with the object of bringing the community 'on one common platform to attain its political rights and claims which are being usurped by the capitalist and upper class Muslims' who, it is said, are carrying on propaganda to crush this movement of the poor and down-trodden section of the Muslim community.

Towards the end of May, 1939, the 24-Parganas Momin Conference was held at Kankinara, an important railway centre close to Calcutta. It is said that it was attended by about 30,000 Momins. The president-elect was Mr. Abdul Quaiyam Ansari, the Bihar Momin leader. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. A. A. Md. Noor, M.L.C. (Bihar), Maulana Asim Bihari and Maulana Quazi Md. Usman of Darbhanga.

In his presidential address, Mr. Ansari remarked that Muslim rule had failed in India owing to 'the utter selfishness and love of power of upper class Muslims who had for their own interests turned a vast majority of the followers of Islam in this country into a low and backward community.'

Owing to their selfish attitude, Muslims were unfortunately divided today into *Shareef* that is upper and *Razeel* that is lower sections. The *Shareefs* had constituted themselves into the guardians of the *Razeels* and had compensated themselves by 'usurping all rights and shares of the latter.' Today out of the 9 crores of Mussalmans in India 8 crores were poor like the Momin community. They had been systematically exploited by the Muslim politicians all of whom belonged to the *Shareef* or upper class. These rich and well-placed men had demanded and secured special privileges in behalf of the poor 8 crore Mussalmans and had then proceeded to enjoy these themselves. Continuing Mr. Ansari observed that the truth had come out and the Momins and the other poor exploited Muslim masses demanded 'their rightful share in seats of legislature, local bodies and in Government jobs on their numerical strength.' In order to discredit them, the *Shareef* Muslims who are guilty of 'creating un-Islamic divisions of castes among Indian Muslims for their own interest,' were questioning the genuineness of the Momin movement and accusing the Momins of having created dissensions among Mussalmans. Mr. Ansari refused to recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative and champion of the Mussalmans of India. The Muslim League leaders who professed such concern for them were so heartless 'that they did not even use the hand-woven *swadeshi* cloth which was the chief mainstay of the Momin community.' When they are disinclined to help them in this particular way, it is no wonder that their sympathy is only lip-deep.

When the Viceroy called Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders for a conference, the Vice-President of the All-India Momin Conference sent the following telegram to Mahatma: 'The Momin community comprising four and a half crores of Muslims does not accept the Muslim League as its representative and wants separate representation in all matters. Any agreement concluded between the Congress and the League by ignoring Momin interests will not be acceptable to the Momin Conference. Kindly keep this in view while meeting Mr. Jinnah.'

But probably the bluntest and most vigorous defence of the Momin position was made in the statement issued by Munshi Taj Mohamad, General Secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Momineen, in which he said:

> The Muslim League leaders always look down upon our Momin movement, call it a communal body as we demand the rights and privileges of the Momins, but they fail to find the same spirit in themselves when they demand everything on a communal line from the Government and the Congress. It seems as if they alone hold the monopoly to demand things on a communal ratio. That is why they are enraged to find the poor Momins using communal ratio in demanding rights.

The demand of the Momins for separate representation on the group basis inside the general award for our Mussalman brethren is obviously inspired by their sense of two major grievances of which they claim they are the victims. The first and, to my mind, the more galling of the two, is what they regard as the denial of social justice to them by their better-off and more educated brothers in faith. They hold that there is no place for a depressed class like themselves inside democratic Islam. Their second complaint is that their more fortunate brothers in faith have been systematically exploiting them for their own special benefit and to this they are not prepared to submit any longer. It is therefore that they have organised themselves on an All-India basis in order to prove that they are quite capable of looking after and safeguarding their special group interests.

It thus appears that in this particular instance, the principle underlying the Communal Award is sought to be utilised for the redress of social and economic grievances but it should not be forgotten that incidentally, and probably unconsciously, it is acting as a kind of wedge breaking a hitherto united community into a number of smaller groups, each seeking its own group interests even when this can be secured only at the expense of another group hitherto regarded as an integral part of the same great community.

(c) *The Position of the Ahrar-e-Islam-I-Hind*—This organisation passed a long resolution at its meeting held at Patna on the 1st November, 1939, under the presidentship of Maulana Asgar Imam from which the following is an extract:

> The leadership of the League consists only of the Knights, Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs.
>
> They always tried to shelve the issue of communal settlement. Last year the Congress wanted to discuss these matters with Mr. Jinnah. He did not proceed further in the matter and demanded the recognition of the League as the only representative body of the Muslims which is the negation of democracy and realities in India. There are Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Majlis Ahrar, Khudai Khidamatgers, Shia Conference, Momin Conference, Sindh Government Party and others who have their separate identity.
>
> The statement of Mr. Jinnah which has recently been published in some English papers reveals that he even does not want to give the power of election to the masses of India whom he considers as dumb driven cattle to follow him and men of his way of thinking who consider their sole right to dictate to the Muslim masses. Muslim masses should even now awake and know that the Muslim League as stated by Mr. Jinnah does not want democracy but wants a form of government which would be run only by Rajahs, Nawabs, big and wealthy people of India, while the government is solely formed for the well-being of the masses. Such is the anti-Islamic ideology of those who prefer themselves to be the sole representatives of Muslims while Islam teaches us democracy in which the Calif and an ordinary Muslim are governed by the same law. According to the President of the Muslim League these illiterate men should have no voice in the selection of their representatives either for framing the future constitution or running the future government of India and provinces.

This particular organisation has all along been regarded as strongly nationalistic in its outlook. As such, it starts by challenging the claim of the Muslim League to speak for the whole Mussalman community and expresses very clearly its opinion that the Muslim League being under the leadership of Knights, Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs is concerned only with conserving and extending the privileges enjoyed by the Mussalman community merely with the object of appropriating them for the benefit of the top layers of the community. Referring to some statement issued in

England by the President of the Muslim League, it says that the Muslim League is not the democratic organisation it claims to be.

NON-DOMICILED AND DOMICILED EUROPEANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

A European whether domiciled or not is ordinarily understood to be a person both of whose parents are Europeans. The Government of India Act, however, defines the term as one whose father or any of whose ancestors is or was of European descent. The term Anglo-Indian turns on the fact whether a person is or is not a native of India. It may be added that a native of India includes any person born and domiciled in India or Burma, of parents habitually resident in either country and not established there for temporary purposes only.

It thus follows that if two Europeans born of the same father and mother come to India to earn their living and if one of them does not make India his permanent home, he is a European and if his brother settles in India permanently he is a native of India. The Anglo-Indian who of necessity has made India his home is of course a native of India. A number of Europeans in the popular acceptance of the term who have settled in our motherland are known as domiciled Europeans. These have all along been distinguished from the Anglo-Indians who had only a male European progenitor. Every one will probably agree with me when I say that the domiciled European was regarded as the equal of the non-domiciled European in everything except in the matter of social intercourse where he occupied a somewhat inferior position.

The following appeared in the Monthly Review of the European Association of Calcutta for May, 1939:

> The European Association did not seek members from the Anglo-Indian and the Domiciled European Communities and, ordinarily speaking the Association would not be able to assist such members, who would therefore be advised to join their own Association, working to the same ends among their communities as does the European Association among Europeans.
>
> Both Associations are out to work together, both accept the definitions of their respective communities as laid down in the Government of India Act, and both propose to work together in any revision of election rolls which might periodically take place.

Serious objection was taken to this clause by a very prominent member of the Domiciled European community who resigned from the European Association. According to another version of

the story, it was the European Association of Calcutta which 'intimated to a domiciled European who had been long one of its members, that he should resign and join the local Association of Anglo-Indians, as his community was grouped with the latter for electoral purposes'.

The President of the European Association, Bombay, suggested a rather curious way out of the difficulty. If any domiciled European or Anglo-Indian declared that after retirement he proposed to settle in Europe, he became in the eyes of law a European and could therefore be put on the European electoral roll.

I do not have any information as to whether any steps have been actually taken to start a separate association for domiciled Europeans only. At any rate, there is little doubt that if such an organisation on an All-India basis is formed and if the lead is taken by energetic and hard-working men, it is likely to be a formidable competitor both of the European and the existing Anglo-Indian Associations. Unless its leaders possess a large measure of political vision, there is also the chance that the domiciled European community might be tempted to put in its demands for special rights, special privileges and special representation in the legislatures, self-governing bodies, services and so forth, in this way repeating the mistake made by the Mahishyas and the Satchasis among our scheduled castes and the Shiahs, the Sunnis and the Momins among our Mussalman brethren. Such a move would not surprise me at all for the desire to safeguard one's interest is quite natural in a country where the Communal Award has put a premium on selfishness and greed.

ABOLITION OF THE COMMUNAL AWARD

In view of what we are seeing every day in our motherland, it is not impossible that the same disruptive force will manifest itself in the Sikh community. It would not surprise me if, in future, we find a demand put forward for separate seats for Hindu and Muslim representatives of labour. Nor shall I feel surprised if, under the pernicious influence of communalism, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians demand separate seats for Roman Catholics and Protestants. In fact there can be only one effect of this most mischievous of measures and that is the creation of contending groups and factions, all equally grasping and equally selfish, all equally blind to the claims of fair play and justice and all equally determined to secure as large a share as possible of special rights, special privileges and special representation in every sphere of activity.

This I regard as inevitable in view of the fact that, under the Communal Award, only he who can appeal to the selfish, the fanatical and the greedy instincts of man enjoys the best chance of representing the masses. When such people come to occupy responsible positions and are therefore able to distribute patronage, they are naturally enough expected to look after the interests of those whose support has enabled them to secure their predominant position. They have somehow to redeem at least some of the glowing promises they had previously made to their followers and this they find comparatively easy if they act under the plea of safeguarding their communal group interests or of enlarging them if they had not been enjoying them to what is regarded as their legitimate extent. This again tends to stimulate the communal spirit among those who regard themselves as the injured party, and they are tempted to adopt communalism as a measure of self-defence. The result is that the spirit of communalism spreads in everwidening circles and, with everyday that passes, it cannot but create more and more misunderstanding and ill-will and stimulate the appearance of innumerable self-seekers each leading a party of his own.

The facts which I have just placed before my readers undeniably prove that in actual working, the Communal Award is leading not only to disunity but also to ill-feeling among all communities—Hindu, Muslim and Christian. In the past, all agitation for rescinding it was conducted by the Hindu majority which has been very quick to realise its underlying capacity for national and social disintegration. Today the evil effects of this most pernicious of measures are being experienced by every social and religious group in our motherland. The time has therefore come when it is to the interest of every community and of every lover of India, Indian and non-Indian, to join hands with one another in removing this obnoxious measure from the statute book.

Let us hope that very soon the real nature of the Communal Award and its infinite capacity for political disunion may be driven home into the mind of every Indian. There is little doubt that we can expect changes in our constitution immediately after the war. This is our opportunity for coming together and making a united demand to the British Parliament to abrogate it. And this demand cannot be refused, for Ramsay MacDonald immediately after making the Communal Award stated: 'Government were prepared to accept any better scheme to which all parties concerned might later give their full concurrence but they would not listen to any sectional representations.'

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THE INDIAN PRINCES IN FEDERATION

In his celebrated speech delivered in Calcutta on December 19th, 1938, Lord Linlithgow emphasised the fact that provincial autonomy and federation are essentially parts one of the other. We know that considerable progress has been made in the shape of Instruments of Accession submitted in a practically final form to the Princes. Many important conferences have been held and no serious difficulty is anticipated in getting the minimum number of States to join in working the Federation scheme.

In the meantime, national India has entered its protest against the method by which the States are proposed to be represented in the Federal legislatures.

According to the second schedule in the Government of India Act, 1935, there cannot be any amendment of the Federal constitution until and unless the Princes agree to it. It is doubtful whether the Princes will ever be unanimous in agreeing to the demands of British India. Not only can they literally walk out of the legislature but they can prevent any measure from being passed into law. Whenever autonomous Indian provinces desire to introduce any progressive measure, they will have first to secure the consent of the Princes which, according to national India, will be difficult to obtain. For all practical purposes, the policy of the whole of autonomous India will be dictated by the Princes.

The position of national India therefore is that the Princes must give up the principle of nomination. They should also introduce responsible government in the States. There is no desire to do away with their treaty rights but it is essential, according to one section at least, that 'the paramountcy of the British Crown should be transferred to the Federal Ministers who are either responsible to the Crown or to the Federal legislature.'

In recent times, popular agitation, ostensibly for 'responsible government,' has manifested itself in the States of Mysore, Travancore and Hyderabad and in certain small States of Bombay and Orissa. No distinction has been drawn between States that are comparatively well-governed and those that still cling to medieval methods, the result being that Hyderabad and Travancore have been placed on the same level as Rajkot and Ranpur.

It cannot, however, be denied that not only has political

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unrest grown persistent in the States but, what is more, it is growing in volume and intensity everywhere. In one instance at least —I am here referring to Ranpur—the agitation has led to most tragic results which merely demonstrate the risks attendant on political agitation among backward, ignorant and uneducated people. This instance is sufficient to prove that the introduction of responsible government in the States presupposes two things, viz., the conversion of the rulers and the political education of the people concerned. The demands made by the States people are not identical in character. Though every one of them is a demand for a larger share in the administration of the States to which they belong, they vary in the kind and amount of relief sought. For instance, in progressive States like Mysore and Travancore, the people demand responsible government ; in certain other States they demand good government and civil liberties ; in still others they would be content with freedom from oppression and misrule, at least for the time being. It therefore follows that in framing these demands, the people have been more or less guided by the general level of administration in the States concerned.

The Indian National Congress has clearly stated that one of the reasons for its opposition to Federation is that the States will not be represented by elected members. The official attitude of the Congress is 'to convert the Princes to the view that their true interests lie in voluntary surrender of power to the people.' It has disclaimed any connection with these activities but prominent Congress leaders have not shown much hesitation in offering advice to the leaders of these popular movements in the States and also occasionally in directing the movements themselves, of course in their personal capacity. Many Europeans and Indians regard with grave disapproval the struggle for responsible government carried on in many of the Indian States. They condemn those Congressmen who, in their individual capacity, are not only giving advice and directing the activities of the States 'peoples' associations but are also taking active part in the conflict between the Princes and their subjects.

While the truth of all this is admitted fully, we have to remember that but for these activities, objectionable though they may be from certain standpoints, the attention of the public would never have been drawn effectively to the highly unde[sir]able conditions prevailing in a majority of the States. It was in 1853 that the *Times* which we have come to regard as the mouthpiece of the conservative party in England first drew the attention of the English public to the backward condition of the Indian States. The leaders of progressive movements in India

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13 *Calcutta University Convocation, 1953, (awarding Jagattarini Medal to Poet Kalidas Roy)*

14 *Distributing Blues at Calcutta University Sports, 1956*

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15 *Entering Legislative Assembly Hall, West Bengal, 1956*

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16 *At the Centenery Celebration of the Presidency College, Calcutta, 1956*

17 *Opening of the New Block, Nilratan Sircar Medical College, Calcutta*

18 *On the occasion of opening the Deshabandhu Chest Clinic at 'Step-Aside', Darjeeling*

have cried themselves hoarse in condemning the abuses prevailing in them. Nor has honest and fearless criticism from Englishmen and Englishwomen been wanting.

In February, 1939, the *Statesman*, regarded as the most important Anglo-Indian organ in North-East commenting on the the appalling conditions in many of the States said, 'Unbridled power inherited from generation to generation has throughout history led to tyranny, corruption and degradation of the worst kind.' Continuing it observed: 'These States are not merely examples of bad landlordism. The bad landlords, as well as the good ones, are subject to no laws; they have the power of life and death.'

National India feels that they are a disgrace to the British Government and that though they have been known to be such, the Paramount Power has very rarely utilised those powers it undoubtedly possesses in removing this blot on the fair name of Britain.

Undoubtedly there are some Indian States which are administered better than the rest. But they are very few in number and even in them things are not as good as they are in our autonomous provinces though, here too, they might be better. Recent events in Travancore, Hyderabad and Kashmir, to mention only the largest and the most important States, have proved that all is not well with them. I intentionally make no reference whatsoever to the conditions prevailing in almost all the smaller States whose administration is admittedly bad.

It is not, however, quite unfair to assume that the demands for reform in the States are a repercussion of the establishment of provincial autonomy in British India. Such a profoundly radical change is bound to lead to unfavourable comparisons between the position of the citizens of British India and those of States India and to the desire of the latter to have more power in shaping their political destiny.

The agitation, even if fomented by some leaders of the Congress for the definite purpose of compelling the Princes to send elected representatives to the Federal legislature, is not an artificial one. The national awkening has come: the seeds were sown long ago. The activities of Congressmen have watered these seeds but they would never have germinated if the soil was not fertile and the seeds absent.

It has to be admitted that this States-agitation has disturbed some of the Princes to such an extent that they have expressed their doubts as to the desirability of federating with British India. If they are wise, they should not overlook the fact that the old

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policy of segregating themselves is bound to be futile. The Princes should remember that their people are still looking up to them for what they want. Their traditional loyalty to their rulers is proved by the fact that, up to the present, they have not launched any organised campaign against the Princes as such. Refusal to remove at least some of the grievances may lead to deplorable results and the ultimate break-down of Federation altogether. The position of the Congress ministries in British autonomous provinces is peculiar. In most cases, the ministries sympathise with the States people and that, with their hands tied, they are not in a position to give them active help in any form. The organisation to which they belong is precluded from participation in the agitation, though individual Congressmen have been permitted to do so and, in fact, have been actually doing so. Mahatma Gandhi has made it clear that the dissociation of the Congress from States affairs is not due to lack of sympathy for the political aspirations of the States people. They are, as it were, put on their mettle to secure through their own efforts what, it is held, has been already achieved by people in British India. The position of the British Government is bristling with serious difficulties. No one can deny that it is sincerely desirous that Federation according to the Government of India Act 1935, should be introduced in India. To this end, it has tried its best to meet the wishes of the different States as much as possible. In the Calcutta speech already referred to, the Viceroy stated—'We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India'.

The British Government understands that Federation is not possible unless there is peace inside the States. It also appreciates the corollary following from this proposition, namely that at this stage in the development of the political sense of India, this much-desired peace cannot be secured unless the Princes make the necessary concessions to popular demands.

Undoubtedly many of the Princes have been chafing at the control exercised on them for generations by the British agents. It is not even remotely suggested that these agents in each and every case abused their position to wantonly interfere in the day-to-day administrative work of the States. These Princes have now learnt to organise themselves into a united and powerful body. Many of them have been taking important parts in the

administration of their States. The British Government cannot welcome the taking of any step which is likely to offend their sense of self-respect. The pronouncement of the Viceroy on the matter is worth quoting and is as follows: 'While the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with the Rulers themselves to decide what form of government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States'. And, as the Secretary of State has made clear some time ago, 'while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes.'

But even here there is still another difficulty. One may well enquire what the British Government proposes to do, supposing for one moment that the Princes refuse to grant any concession in any shape in any one of the States. Such a position is, I know, unthinkable. If, however, such a state of affairs actually comes to pass, the Princes would play into the hands of the extremists of the Congress Left. A majority of them are willing to modernise their administration on lines that suit what they consider their particular needs and the long established traditions of their States. This change of heart which political India considers has not gone far enough, is due to their realisation of the fact that their people are in a position to obtain by pressure, whether applied directly or otherwise, a greater say in the administration.

There is not the slightest doubt that Federation will come ultimately and also that it will not be a Federation of the provinces of British India only but also of the States. It is also equally certain that the Princes will have to part with some of the enormous powers they now enjoy. This giving up of powers may be brought about by the good sense and the statesmanship of the Princes themselves, by pressure applied secretly by the British Government or by direct action taken by the States people themselves. It is not likely that responsible government, as we understand it in British India, will be introduced on the eve of Federation. It is more likely that it will come in stages but it is equally likely that, in view of the progress already made by British India, large concessions will have to be given to the States people as a first instalment of the self-government that they are to receive later. No one, Indian Prince or the British Government, can expect to put off this much desired realisation of nationalistic aspirations except perhaps for a few years.

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DEMOCRACY IN THE INDIAN STATES

I should like to begin by putting before my readers in a very general way, some idea of the way in which things are being managed in a majority of the Indian States.

Between 1928 and the present time, except in the larger and more important States which have planted the seeds of democracy, such as Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Baroda, there has not been, on the whole, any marked improvement. Mahatma Gandhi, himself born in an Indian State which his ancestors had served for generations, and personally familiar with the day to day administration as carried on in many of them, said,—'I would like the States to grant autonomy to their subjects and would like the Princes to regard themselves as and be in fact trustees for the peoples over whom they rule, drawing for themselves solely a small and definite percentage of the income. . . . .'

I have at my disposal an immense mass of material concerned with misgovernment in many of the States but I have no desire to enter into details. I propose to put before my readers a general idea of the way in which the work of government is carried on in a majority of them. I do not suggest that all the defects I shall refer to are to be found in each and every one of them. But what I do maintain is that with a few honourable exceptions, a majority of these defects are to be found in a fairly large number among them. These are resented by the States people who would welcome, with open arms, any move which would have the effect of transferring them from State to British Indian jurisdiction. In some States conditions have been so unbearable that there has been a steady migration every year into British India.

Slavery is even now in existence in some of the States. Then we have the system of *begar* or forced labour without remuneration. The depressed classes are generally the victims. Artisans, cultivators and other manual labourers are also compelled to render unpaid or very ill-paid service of a compulsory nature.

In two predominantly Mussalman States with a Hindu population varying from 85 to 90 per cent, the court language is Urdu and the officers employed Mussalmans. Here the Hindus are regarded as merely profitable sources of taxation. In yet another Hindu state, where the population is predominantly Muslim, agrarian grievances assumed such proportions that considerable

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disturbances occurred and these forced the Durbar in question to redress some of them.

Taxation is much heavier in the States than in British India. There are most vexatious poll taxes as well as special taxes on occasions of royal marriages and funerals. In some States 25 per cent of the sale price of immovable property has to be paid to the Ruler. There are in addition agricultural, municipal and other taxes.

With a few honourable exceptions law, as we understand it in British India, is absent. In many States, there is no liberty of person, freedom of speech, freedom of the press or freedom of association. In a large number of States, the judiciary is corrupt.

The Indian Ruler unites in himself all legislative, judicial and executive functions. There are no laws but the Prince's will. From him the courts derive all their powers. In some States, the Prince or his prime minister presides over the court and both of them may be innocent of any knowledge of law.

The States population is a little less than one-fourth of that of British India. As regards political consciousness and intellectual advancement, no one can deny that British India is infinitely superior to the States. In point of wealth the British Indian provinces are much superior to the States. The British Indian contribution to the central finances has been calculated as being about 85 per cent as against the 15 per cent or so which might come from the States. Justice demands that the States people should therefore have a voice in electing their representatives on India's future federal legislatures.

There are more than 600 States and Estates scattered like islands in practically every part of British India. The Rulers of Indian States seem to hold the view that if the experiment of Federation is to be an unqualified success, it must obtain the adherence of not merely the 109 more important and larger States which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right, but also of the very numerous smaller States without whose presence through their representatives in the Federal legislature, their position would become weak to such an extent that they would lose their key position in the country.

Every Prince if he claims to be a patriot must realise that his loyalty to India is a very much more important thing than his loyalty to his own order, or even to his own house. As a sincere lover of his country, he is expected to do everything which lies in his power to assist his motherland to achieve economic and political freedom. Any possibility of the States being utilised as obstacles to the attainment of this much desired object ought to be abhorrent

to him. In other words, like all leaders in any great movement he must, if necessary, sacrifice his personal or dynastic interests for the larger interests of his country.

Taking this long view of the matter, no one can reasonably look for the perpetual existence of the smaller States as separate and independent entities. The majority of these smaller States must ultimately be converted into ordinary zamindaries and this will be the next step in the evolution of united India. As for the larger States, it goes without saying that they are ultimately destined to be changed into constitutional monarchies with democratic governments. But they will have to remain within the Federation and, like the autonomous provinces, must be controlled from a democratic Federal Centre though, of course, in matters internal, they will have responsible government.

So far as we are aware, there is nothing in any of the age-old treaties to prevent the Rulers from introducing full democratic responsible government in any of the States. The Princes have been left to their own devices and if they so desire, they can introduce a more liberal type of administration as soon as they like.

If this is so, then surely democracy must come to the Indian States in just the same way as it has come to the autonomous provinces of British India and on this we, who love our motherland in just the same way as the British love their motherland, pin our future hopes and aspirations.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

INDIA'S KEY INDUSTRIES AND THE WAR

The whole aspect of modern civilization is undergoing a swift change, for everything is yielding place to industry. Hence the close connection between politics and economics. The modern state has not only made itself responsible for internal peace and external defence, but also for such things as universal education, public health, development of natural resources, encouragement of industrial enterprises and protection against foreign competition. If India is ever to become a modern state in this sense, she requires nationalization of her government.

History tells us that the British came to India to secure industrial and commercial advantages and that they gradually conquered the country and established their political control over it in order to facilitate and perpetuate the enjoyment of these advantages. When the British first arrived in India, the policy of all Western countries including Britain was to make their colonies and dependencies producers of raw materials at the cheapest possible rates and purchasers of finished products. It cannot be said that this policy has disappeared altogether even now.

The next stage was reached when the administration was taken over by the Crown from the East India Company. During this period, indigenous industrial enterprise did not receive any support from Government. British commercial, industrial and financial interests which had, to all intents and purposes, established a monopoly were also left alone. Then came the Great War when at last the British Government realized that it was to its interest also to encourage the development of indigenous industry.

The economic policy followed so far has produced the following effects on the economic life of India. Wadia and Joshi in their *Wealth of India* have said that India has been 'drained' of her wealth to the extent of Rs. 60 crores a year without corresponding return in any form. Granting for the sake of argument that the figures are correct and also that a fraction of this amount is re-invested in India, there is no doubt that no country, however rich, can afford to be deprived of even half this amount for more than a century and a half without being overtaken by abject poverty. Another regretable result has been the decline of indigenous arts and crafts. There is not the slightest doubt that many

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of these would have found themselves unable to stand foreign competition but a free India would have at least taken steps in time to modernize and improve at least some of them. Their disappearance would have called forth action much sooner from Indians than from non-Indians. Lastly, modern industries have not developed in India with sufficient rapidity. This is because they have to meet the rivalry of British industries which, on account of the influence they wield both in India and in England, have been able to create facilities for importing their finished products. The imposition of the excise duty on cotton manufactures is an instance in point. Its effects are so well known that it is needless for me to dilate on them here. Then there is the almost monopolistic control of most of the 'key' industries by the British which too has played no small part in retarding the development of indigenous industries. We all know how Indian efforts in the direction of inland and coastal shipping have either totally failed or are still struggling mainly because of the war carried on against them by non-Indian interests. Similarly, railways, tramways, irrigation, gas and electricity works organized and controlled by non-Indians have deprived the people of this country from enjoying opportunities of acquiring knowledge and experience in modern industry and our political backwardness has deprived us of our legitimate chances of producing them in larger numbers.

During the last war, when shortage of war materials in India due to difficulties of transport, made itself felt, the British Government came to realise the mistake it had made by not encouraging key industries in our land. The impetus given by war conditions encouraged industrial enterprise. The organisation of Departments of Industry in the different provinces and legislation for giving State aid to industries also helped forward this tendency. The Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 recommended protection for those industries which have a national importance and which without it cannot be expected to be developed to such an extent as to be able to meet world competition. This policy was carried out when the Steel Industry (Protection) Act was passed in 1924. This was followed by legislation on similar lines in other directions.

It must, however, be stated that it does not seem likely that the industrial policy followed up to the present is likely to result in any real improvement in the economic condition of our masses. And the reasons for this opinion are that India has not as yet attained either political or economic autonomy. An All-India policy for developing the economic prosperity of our masses has to be framed, a policy the only aim of which will be to look to our

interests from first to last. Up to the present India has, for all practical purposes, been the supplier of raw materials and the buyer of finished products. The adoption of this short-sighted policy has not only been highly detrimental to the economic well-being of India but it has also indirectly made Britain a loser by lowering India's purchasing power. And the longer this process continues, the worse it will be for both India and Britain. It is also probable that the real cause of much of the political unrest is due to the bad economic conditions under which the people are living.

It must not, however, be forgotten that about 80 per cent of the population of England which is urbanised depends directly or indirectly on industry, that in order to save them from starvation, Britain must find out an outlet for her manufactured products and that, with a marked increase in the intensity of competition in the world markets, her best market is India. To keep India as the producer and supplier of raw materials and the purchaser of her manufactured products which was her policy in the past continues more or less to be her policy today probably because this has been forced on her by the present world circumstances. It is useless to criticise or to blame Britain for she has got to live just as we have got to live. Under these circumstances, the best thing for us in India is to safeguard our interests as much as possible by organising our industries and controlling them for the good of India as a whole. There will naturally be a certain clash of economic interests but I firmly believe in the possibility of an adjustment to our mutual advantage.

Granting for the sake of argument that there is a certain amount of over-emphasis as regards India's unpreparedness, one might well ask what would be the fate of our large scale industries if, as the result of a long drawn out war and consequent dislocation of transport, either machinery or machine parts are not availalbe. For instance, will India go naked because her cotton and woollen mills have under the abovementioned circumstances to be closed down? Will she again import Java sugar and thus deal a death-blow to her rapidly developing sugar industry?

I have referred elsewhere to the almost nominal expenditure on stores manufactured in India and purchased by the Defence Department and incidentally to the absence of stimulus which otherwise would have been available for the development of various types of industry in our motherland. Let us consider the neglect our industries have suffered owing to the absence of a settled and uniform policy of encouraging them by purchasing

their manufactures after standardising their quality. Along with this, we have also to think of the many kinds of new industries that could have been called into existence if only those interested in them were assured of a steady market provided their products came up to the standards required by the army rules and regulations.

Education and training in public life and the rousing of the spirit of nationalism which is Britain's most precious gift to India, have taught us that greater progress could have been achieved if only more energetic steps had been taken and if the one and only aim set by our rulers before themselves had been disinterested service. When we examine the history of British administration with the help of the records maintained and the reports published by the British Government itself, we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that such was always the case. To pretend to hold different views in the face of the materials available would be an indirect admission of the utter worthlessness of the training we have received at the hands of the British. We hold that they have no right to complain if we are using today and for our benefit the training which they have given us. If it was the intention of our rulers to keep us in a perpetual state of economic and political tutelage, they should have made it a policy to refrain from giving us western education and western training. They cannot expect that with our western training, we should continue to remain contented under an irresponsible or partly responsible system of Government.

We would tell Great Britain that it is but natural that those who through interested motives are not friendly towards our economic and political aspirations, should be tempted to underestimate the progress we have made so far, that they should exaggerate the difficulties which stand in the way and emphasise our weakness in just the same way as national India struggling hard for self-expression in the economic and political spheres is tempted to over-estimate our past progress and present achievements. It is for Great Britain to take more interest than it has in the past, to acquire first-hand information about our affairs and, above all, to give us what it always demands for itself—a square deal.

We are aware that one reason why our defects and shortcomings, and we freely admit that we have many such, come under the notice of the Briton in India, is that they lie on the surface. Let no offence be taken when I suggest that foreigners engaged in business whom we regard as a class enjoying privileges which are denied us as well as British officials whom we have

come to consider as political Brahmins have their own society to which they strictly confine themselves. They do not care to nor can they mix with the ordinary middle class or poor Indian whose language they do not try to learn except in a very perfunctory way and that in rare cases and whose literature is a sealed book to them. Nor can they have any idea of those good points which we claim we possess. The result is misunderstanding and the too-easy and, under the circumstances, the natural assumption that India is unfit for self-government.

Let all remember, however, that India whether socially, economically or politically is no longer a child. India is now a full-grown adult and refuses to be guided by British leading strings. Conscious of her strength, India demands equality of status in the British Commonwealth of Nations. One way of demonstrating that Great Britain is prepared to give favourable consideration to this demand is not only to allow India a free hand to develop her key industries but also to assist her in doing so, even when the adoption of such a policy would imply some injury to her own interests.

CENTRAL LIBRARY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA'S KEY INDUSTRIES

The industries which we have to develop were classified years ago by the Royal Commission on Industries under three categories. These are cottage, small and medium, and large scale or key industries. An industry which is carried on by the worker in his own home and with the help of the members of his family may generally be called a cottage industry. Probably Mahatma Gandhi has done more than anyone else to give an impetus to industries of this type. He has preached the gospel of the spinning wheel and the handloom for years and his labours have borne fruit. Recently, with the assistance of the All-India Village Industries Association he has turned his attention to the rice pounder, the *chakki*, the village sugar cane crusher and the small oil presser with remarkable success.

While cottage industries which provide work for the cultivators during periods of enforced leisure are undoubtedly useful, and must be developed as far as possible, it is also equally true that the organisation of small and medium scale industries is also desirable. These are industries where the capital invested is small, where the proprietors or managers are in direct contact with both the work of manufacture and distribution, where in many cases the raw materials are procured locally and where the aim is to meet the local demand. Such industries may be started either with the capital of the organisers themselves or as limited liability companies. These have hitherto been organised and carried on by private enterprise and are useful in the sense that they have afforded opportunities for the small capitalist. These small factories will enable the middle classes to not only earn their own living but also to employ large numbers of labourers specially if these are started all over the country. Organised properly on the manufacturing as well as the selling side, they should be able to compete with articles imported from outside India.

But such small and medium scale industries can neither solve the problem of unemployment satisfactorily, make India economically self-sufficient, nor stop the large financial drain to which we are subjected today on account of our being compelled to import plant, machinery, etc. with which to carry on the manufacture of industrial products. This is why the Congress

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has taken steps to do what lies in its power, to encourage the starting of what we call 'heavy' or Key Industries.

The starting of either small and medium scale or even of large scale industries with the help of machinery imported from abroad can never offer any satisfactory solution of the problem either of unemployment or industrial self-sufficiency because this implies not only the purchase of the machinery but also constant replacement of worn-out parts.

Very often, the whole plant has to be changed at an immense expenditure when it grows out of date and when therefore the cost of production of articles manufactured with its help is so high that it becomes impossible to compete with articles manufactured with the help of improved up-to-date machinery. The employment of imported machinery under such circumstances implies two things first, the sending away of Indian money outside our country continuously to purchase machinery and its parts and secondly, the impositoin of untold hardships on Indian labour which is thrown out of employment in increasing numbers, with every improvement that is made in machinery with a view to making it more efficient and thus to reduce the cost of manufacture.

India has every one of these raw materials and yet she exports her pig iron, her steel and the other metals and buys them back in the shape of machinery. It has been pointed out that in the five years ended 31st March, 1928, India spent approximately 30 crores for buying steel beams, rivets, brass, angles, channels only. If to this we add the cost of such finished products as railway plant, rolling stock, machinery of all types and for all purposes, automobiles, cutlery and hardware, then only shall we be able to realise to what extent we, as a nation, are losers. In fact, the absence of key industries is compelling us to not only give away as it were our raw materials, but also in addition, to pay fabulously huge sums for articles manufactured out of them and imported by us. It is, therefore, that an eminent Indian industrialist observed,—'What we have been saving on textiles and sugar, we have been spending on machinery.' It is thus that the loss of Manchester, the centre of cotton mills, due to the starting of cotton mills in India has been the gain of Bolton and Oldham where machinery of various types is manufactured. Britain as a nation is not a loser, for so far as India as a whole is concerned she is losing as much money today as she was doing before we started these sugar and cotton mills.

The benefits of the introduction of the key industries in our motherland will be greater economic independence, the growth

of economic self-sufficiency, and the prevention of the economic drain due to our purchase of foreign manufactured articles which we can produce ourselves. With more purchasing power in circulation inside India and an increase in the national income, there will be growth of economic prosperity and a gradual reduction in the grinding poverty of the masses.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND THE ALIENATION OF THE MASSES (1914-20)

It is a well-known fact that the prosperity of more than 70 per cent of India's population depends on favourable agricultural conditions which, in their turn, depend on the monsoon. While this is a permanent feature in the economy of India, the dominating factor in our economic history during 1914-1918 and immediately after was the war.

WAR AND INDIA'S OVERSEAS TRADE

The effects of the submarine campaign conducted so mercilessly by Germany, the heavy demand for war supplies and foodstuffs which had to be carried to England, the disappearance of enemy ship from the high seas and the pressure of war requirements on what were available caused a shortage in shipping space and a sharp increase in freights.

This lack of shipping space was responsible for very well-grounded apprehensions that such crops as rice, tea, etc., which normally found a large market outside India could not be exported as freely as before and that they would remain undisposed of with consequent loss to the producers. This tendency, it was held, would be emphasised as the war had cut off India from Germany and her allies as well as from most of the neutral countries which had previously been large purchasers of many of our raw products.

Next to Britain, Germany had been India's largest customer and the war put an end to our trade with her. Trade with neutral countries also was subjected to various war restrictions to ensure that those products of India which could be used in warfare did not reach the enemy through them. India therefore could no longer find a market for all those things which she had formerly sold to Germany or which could be used for carrying on the war. The shortage of shipping space also practically closed our South and North American markets such as Argentine, Brazil, Canada and the United States thus causing still greater damage to India's economic position.

The shrinkage of India's exports had its inevitable adverse repercussions on her economic position which, while affecting large business, also injured the producers who were almost

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universally her agricultural population. Another consequence of this was that India, an industrially backward country, was faced with the scarcity of many manufactured goods which had been supplied to her by different foreign countries including Britain.

The steady decline in the import trade caused the prices of commodities to soar. Enhancements in the prices of imported commodities, so far as articles of luxury were concerned, did not affect the common people. But it was a different matter altogether when this element affected the prices of such articles as salt, spices, kerosine oil, matches and cotton fabrics which came from outside India and were used by them.

Another factor which strengthened the tendency towards an increase in the prices of imported goods consisted in speculation indulged in by the capitalistic classes, Indian and non-Indian.

INDIA'S TRANSPORT DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

During the war, the railway system of India was called upon not only to meet India's own requirements but also to supply personnel and materials for the construction and maintenance of military railways in Mesopotamia and other theatres of war.

Military requirements had naturally enough the first claim on the railway. Troops were not only sent outside India but had, from time to time, to be transported from one part of India to another. With them went their arms, equipments and commissariat. The raw, partly manufactured and manufactured goods supplied by India for the furtherance of the war had to be taken to different ports for shipment and this made heavy demands on the rolling stock.

The abnormal shortage referred to above had three effects. The first of these was a heavy curtailment in the passenger service, the brunt of which had to be borne by third class passengers. Railway fares had also been increased in order partly to swell the revenue and partly to discourage any except necessary travelling. The adoption of this policy was resented by the middle as well as the poorer classes.

So far as goods traffic was concerned, the amount of imports was declining steadily and was hence insufficient to meet India's normal demand. But even the small quantity available was not always carried from the ports to the interior of the country promptly. Traders, large and small, immediately took advantage of this situation and the consumers had not only to pay the higher prices inevitable under war conditions but also to submit to a most shameless type of profiteering.

The well-to-do who were in a position to stand this grumbled and paid, but the masses and the lower middle classes were hit very hard. There can be a little doubt that these high prices were, in the main, due to the smaller amount of foodstuffs produced in India but it is also equally true that the unfortunate situation was accentuated by shortage of rolling stock which had, for all practical purposes, been commandeered by the military department and the transit of what foodstuffs were available was rendered difficult and uncertain.

The result was that the stock of food even when available in one part of India could not be transported to another part where scarcity or even famine conditions prevailed. Taking advantage of these circumstances, speculation and the instinct for profiteering stepped in to complicate the situation and the position of the labouring classes in the larger towns and of the poorer classes in the countryside steadily grew from bad to worse.

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add that none except the educated Indian realised that conditions such as these were inevitable. But the masses and the less educated sections of the middle classes threw all the blame on Government for their miseries and showed their dissatisfaction in various ways.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN INDIA, 1915-1917

Before the outbreaking of the last war, the prices of grains, pulses and of oil seeds excepting linseed were above the level of 1913, but the prices of raw cotton and raw jute were below it. As soon as the effects of the war began to be felt in India in the shape, in some cases, of curtailment and in others, of the complete stoppage of demand for those raw products which India had been exporting, there was a fall in the prices of such Indian staples as rice, jute, oil seeds and raw cotton. Food grains such as *jawar, bajra* and maize also fetched lower prices. But the prices of wheat, gram, barley, arhar dal, rose to the extent of 45 per cent above the level prevailing just before the outbreak. The unprecedented rise in the price of wheat led to wide-spread agrarian trouble in the wheat consuming areas such as the Punjab and the North-West. Grave discontent was felt because people held that the real cause of the high prices was the export of large quantities of wheat.

It need hardly be stated that just as the high price of wheat caused discontent among its consumers, in the very same way those others who were not getting prices paid formerly for rice, cotton, jute and similar other things ascribed their misfortunes,

no doubt ignorantly, to the lack of consideration for their interests on the part of their rulers as shown by their dragging India into a war in which she had no concern.

The effects of war on the economic situation of India which had gradually worsened during the three years of hostility made themselves felt towards the end of 1917 in even the remotest corners of our motherland. These manifested themselves both in rural and urban areas.

Made nervous by the serious lack in transport facilities, merchants located in rural areas to whom the peasantry looked for the disposal of their agricultural products refused to buy the usual quantities or pay the usual prices. The cultivators thus found themselves incapable of selling their produce while, those of them, who somehow managed to get rid of part of their crops, had to be content with almost nominal prices.

In the urban areas, shortage of railway facilities limited the supply of agricultural products which, along with profiteering, raised the price of foodstuffs rapidly. The prices of imported goods increased steadily. The persons most seriously affected were those with fixed money income, members of the lower middle classes and labourers. While the former suffered quietly, the labourers in different parts of India went on strikes.

FAILURE OF MONSOON IN 1918

The high prices of foodsuffs originating at first from shortage of railway transport and aggravated by profiteering were further affected adversely towards the end of 1918 by one of the worst known failures of the monsoon. The 1918 monsoon failure had a disastrous influence practically all over the country though its worst influence was experienced in Northern and Southern India.

The language used by Government at that time to convey the actual state of affairs was as follows: 'There was no province which did not suffer from a shortage of the monsoon either partial or complete, with the result that the crop failure was one of the worst on record in the last decade.'

FOOD SITUATION IN 1918

The time soon came when Government could no longer refuse to ignore the situation and it had to 'declare' either famine or scarcity in many parts of India. Food riots accompanied by the looting of markets which had appeared in 1917 increased in number by the middle of 1918 when the sufferings of the masses and the middle classes became almost unbearable.

ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT

When the attention of Government was drawn to this phenomenal advance in the prices of food grains, its spokesmen retorted by pointing out that the average rise in food prices in India was less than what had appeared in the West. Naturally enough, statements such as these did not have much effect in allaying the discontent felt by those affected by the combined effects of scarcity and high prices, and these consisted of the masses, urban and rural, and the poorer members of the middle classes who had closer contacts with them than any other section of Indian society and who, in the near future, were destined to provide them with leadership in the first mass movement in India.

The dissatisfaction to which reference has been made was aggravated by three factors. The first of these was the result of shortage of railway wagons due to military reasons which made control over the transit of food grains from province to province imperative.

The second factor was the starting of a fund in Canada for relieving the people of India. It is said that following American publicity methods, the organisers drew harrowing pictures of the starving millions of India to encourage the bringing in of funds. As the appeal issued by the promoters was not published in India, it is impossible to say whether the descriptions were exaggerated or not.

The Secretary of State for India felt that the form in which the appeal to the charitable had been made did not present a true picture of conditions prevailing in India and that to accept any assistance from this source would practically amount to an acknowledgment of the correctness of such accounts. This would necessarily carry along with it the implication that the Government of India was not only inefficient but highly so. Influenced by considerations such as these, the Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Government of India refused to accept any help from this quarter.

This afforded a handle for the criticism that Government was neither able to cope adequately with the situation nor would it accept assistance when it was volunteered simply through a false sense of prestige.

Strength was lent to this feeling by a third factor. Government, in spite of the millions of people suffering from scarcity, spent the comparatively small sum of £47,000 only from the Indian People's Famine Trust for the relief of distress. Nor did critics of Government policy fail to point out that it was strange

that a Government which could afford to make a free gift of £100 million spent less than its two-thousandth part to save the lives of India's children who had contributed this vast sum. Tales such as these were carried to many a village and, where ignorant men were concerned, could not but add to the volume of discontent.

SHORTAGE OF CLOTHING IN 1918

The war was responsible for a phenomenal rise in the prices of most commodities but, in the case of cotton fabrics, it was so marked in character as to cause very great hardship to the poorer classes. The reasons for this shortage were that there was a world-wide rise in the price of raw cotton which synchronised with a rise in wages in England. These increased the cost of production. The very heavy demand for the largely expanded Army, shortage of freight space and freight difficulties had also the effect of increasing the freight charges which stimulated the tendency towards an enhancement in the price of cotton fabrics. The Indian cotton mills worked full and even overtime and went on making unbelievably large profits but they could not possibly manufacture the normal amount of cotton cloth required by India.

THE COAL SITUATION

By the end of 1917, Government appointed a Controller of Coal to regulate the production, the movement and allocation of coal. As the war dragged on, the demand for first class coal to meet direct and indirect military requirements both in and outside India grew more and more acute.

People who used coal, and these formed the majority among those inhabiting urban areas as well as others in the rural parts to whom other fuel was not available, had to pay very high prices for such limited quantities as came on the market and this was a hardship which pressed unduly on the middle and the poorer classes.

INEFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNMENT STEPS

Government was persuaded to take steps which many held were tardy, mainly because it was preoccupied with war anxieties, to mitigate the sufferings of the people. As stated previously, the cotton cloth used by the poorer sections of the people was sought to be standardised and its price controlled. A number of

depots where salt, kerosene and grains were sold at somewhat cheap rates were opened. But it has to be remembered that such efforts as were made and the benefits flowing from them, were confined to very few people. The scarcity had affected millions and the Government of India has never even claimed that the measures which it and the provincial Governments adopted helped even 10 per cent of the sufferers.

The feeling that Government was not doing its duty towards its subjects, which had first made its appearance in 1917 and had occasionally been given expression to in peasant and labour mass meetings was intensified by the unfortunate events of 1918.

INDIA'S PUBLIC HEALTH IN 1918.

The plague had made its first appearance in Bombay in 1896. Its peak year was 1907. Between July, 1917, and June, 1918, the total number of deaths from plague in India was over 800,000. Cholera and malaria also were responsible for a high death rate. In June, 1918, influenza in its most virulent form came first to Bombay and spread thence over the whole of India, its full force being felt in central, northern and western India. It was responsible for some twelve or thirteen million deaths. Indian vitality, on account of the very low standard of living imposed on her children by reason of their abject poverty, was quite incapable of standing up to the ravages of this disease. The very large number of deaths caused discontent with a Government which, it was said, being concerned with the welfare and health of its soldiers engaged in fighting for the maintenance of British power and prestige, had failed in discharging the duty it owed to its Indian subjects.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN 1919

The prices of foodstuffs had ruled very high in 1918. They had reached famine levels. This serious situation was due to the fact that there had been a failure of the monsoon the previous year and the crops had been very poor. What had been left over from 1917 had been consumed. There was thus in 1919 little in reserve to fall back upon. Consequently, the actual shortage of food made high prices inevitable.

Many Indians and specially the more ignorant among them, held the view, may be wrongly, that much of the misery could have been avoided if India had not been a party to the war. In that case, Government could have bent all its energies towards grappling with and solving it quickly and satisfactorily. It was held, again let us say wrongly, that it was so pre-occupied with

the problems arising from the aftermath of the war, that it had little time and perhaps less inclination to devote its energies to domestic questions. Let it be said again that, mistaken and uncharitable as such views may have been, they were and are inevitable so long as India is under alien rule.

Let it also be realised with equal clearness that these views, wrong or right, had the effect of intensifying the discontent of the people. It is maintained that this was responsible for the discontent referred to already.

ECONOMIC CONDITION, 1920

The post-war trade boom, which many had expected to be a permanent feature of commercial life, passed away with an unexpected suddenness. In anticipation of its permanence or continuance for some length of time, enormous stocks of foreign manufactured goods had been imported which found no ready market on account of the prevailing economic distress. The result was that these traders were placed in a most difficult situation.

Then came the turn of the export trade which too was seriously affected by the economic collapse of Europe. The last unfavourable factor in India's economic life was the failure of the monsoon over the plains of India as a whole, which was in defect to the extent of about 12 per cent. Owing to this failure of monsoon, shortage of labour due to the heavy mortality caused by influenza, plague, etc., and other causes, the prices of practically all commodities, including the necessaries of life, showed a very steep rise.

It has been stated that in 1919 Government thought it proper to take its own measures for food control. These were abolished in May, 1920, but the price of foodstuffs did not go down to such an extent as to really afford relief to the poor people.

Complaints giving expression to this discontent now began to be heard from every quarter and these were uttered by the educated classes and others in the enjoyment of small incomes. Though these discontented people were primarily concerned with the removal of their own economic difficulties we should not, for one moment, forget that they were voicing not only their own grievances but also those of the masses. Common sufferings were tending to establish those bonds of sympathy and unity which, later on, would prove their utility in another and a different field.

People had expected that two years after the war, there would be some improvement in the economic situation. They had suffered and suffered silently from 1914 onwards. Rendered

impatient by their long-continued miseries and hopeless of any improvement in their condition, they gradually prepared themselves to follow the lead of any one they respected and who was ready to promise them some alleviation, however slight, of their sufferings.

Mahatma Gandhi realised only too well the abject poverty and the deep misery of India's children and that is why in the course of the Non-Co-operation Movement, the emphasis was shifted, almost imperceptibly and perhaps unconsciously, from the redress of the grievances immediately responsible for it to the removal, from the national point of view, of the far more important economic evils under which India was groaning.

WAR TAXATION AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

We shall now turn our attention to the third factor which too played its part in increasing the cost of living by strengthening the tendency towards raising the prices of the necessaries of life. This consisted in the changes made in the taxation system which affected all classes of people including the poorest of the poor.

The heavy increase in Government revenue which failed to cover expenditure was possible only on account of considerable changes in the tax system. It is proposed in what follows to refer to only such items among them as touched the poorer classes including ryots, mazdoors and the poorer sections of the middle classes.

The successive increases in the taxes affected all imported goods consumed by the poor people such as salt, sugar, spices, matches, kerosene oil and cotton clothing. Concerns manufacturing sugar, matches and cotton fabrics in India did not fail to take advantage of the situation and to put up their prices which the public had to pay.

ECONOMIC CONDITION IN RURAL INDIA

The war as is well-known was responsible for an abnormal demand both from Britain and her allies for those of India's raw products which could be utilised for carrying it on. It is a fact that the prices paid for such articles as jute, hides and skins, oil-seeds and food grains, etc., did go up. The producers of articles of this nature found a ready market and, on the whole, favourable prices. But by far the largest part of the benefit was intercepted by war profiteers and large dealers. Money did indeed pour into the country, but the masses could not and did not participate in the artificial prosperity due to war conditions.

The people in the countryside were compelled to pay even higher prices for imported goods than those living in the urban areas. And the reason for this was that the shortage in railway transport made the transit of goods from the ports to the interior difficult. It thus happened that the prices which rural people had to pay for such things as spices, edible oil, matches, cloth, kerosene and salt, all necessaries of life, were higher than those paid by townsmen. Unfortunately, this state of things coincided with a material diminution in their income. From this point of view, their condition grew worse as the prices of such imported goods as they used rose higher than the prices of what they produced and for which there was a demand.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN URBAN AREAS

As stated previously, the prices of imported articles went up by leaps and bounds and the poorer town-dwellers, like their brethren living in the countryside, were compelled to pay them in the case of such things as spices, salt, matches, cotton cloth, and kerosene. The price of coal also went up due to its export and the restrictions put on its production by Government. The quantity available thus became smaller than before. This was accompanied by a rise in the price of foodstuff. The condition of the urban poor was pitiable as there was no improvement in their earnings. The high prices referred to above hit the middle classes also very badly. Small owners of landed property who supplemented their income by service or professional work were also sufferers. The net result was that, while the income of almost all these men was inelastic and that of others gradually diminishing, they had to spend more than before on such items as food, clothing, lighting, etc. It was from the ranks of the younger and the bolder among these classes that the leadership came when Mahatma Gandhi presented his Non-Co-operation programme before the country.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES

Economic distress in the countryside had its natural repercussions in agrarian unrest. This had appeared first in 1917, and again in 1918. The drastic steps taken to meet it had kept things more or less quiet in 1919. But in 1920 when sufferings assumed a still more acute form, it again manifested itself in extensive riots in four provinces—Bombay, Bihar, Bengal and Assam where the situation had become almost unbearable. In upper India, there were sporadic outbreaks of violence against dealers in grain mainly

on account of their merciless profiteering which had caused very great resentment among the exploited masses. There were crimes against person and property accompanied by extensive looting against which the respective local Governments had to take drastic steps. These could not and, as a matter of fact, did not add to their popularity.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST

The high prices of foodstuffs and the unsatisfactory conditions of living were responsible for a series of strikes in large-scale industries. The most important of these were the strikes at the cotton mills in Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras, the jute mills of Calcutta and the suburbs, at the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur and in the North Western Railways. Nearly all these strikes were economic in origin being due to the fact that wages had lagged very seriously behind the prices of the necessaries of life in their upward course. They were settled by increase of wages from 10 to 30 per cent. It must, however, be borne in mind that these concessions which look generous on paper did not, as a matter of fact, have much effect in ameliorating the economic condition of the labourers for the reason that the prices they were compelled to pay were, as shown elsewhere, so high that not much was left to them to really bring about a change for the better in their hard lot. Under these circumstances, it cannot be said that, with the improvement in the wages, discontent disappeared altogether and that perfect contentment replaced in. In those days, industrial labour had not learnt to organise itself for the protection of its interests and these strikes can by no means be regarded as part of an All-India plan made by labour-leaders in order to extract from the employers the just dues of their workers. The widely separated areas, as well as the spontaneity of the movement which appeared almost simultaneously in every part of India, are more than enough to prove that economic distress, so far as industrial labour was concerned, was on an India-wide scale and also that captains of industry who were making enormous profits during this time had no inclination to share them with those whose exertions had made them possible. These strikes wrung concessions from the employers, and industrial labour at last came to realise the latent strength it possessed and the ease with which it could be utilised if it organised itself properly and could act unitedly.

The restlessness of labour originating from economic distress and later on aggravated by the unwillingness of employers to make

even an attempt to redress its legitimate grievances had the effect of sweeping them in large numbers into the Non-Co-operation Movement which was to make its appearance in the near future.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF ECONOMIC DISTRESS

Industrial labour saw with its own eyes that, under war time pressure, Government had taken immediate and most effective steps to manufacture many things which, in the past, it had been its deliberate policy to import from outside India presumably for the benefit of its own countrymen. Then again, the masses saw what they considered interference with normal activities. There were the restrictions on the production of coal, on railway travelling, on the business in salt, on the price of raw cotton, the export of rice and tea and so forth. Surely this wonderful Government of theirs could work wonders if it only sympathised with them in their difficulties for which certainly they could not be held responsible. It demanded their money and their youngmen but was not, so far as they were aware, prepared to give anything in return.

Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene at a time when these thoughts were troubling the masses of course in the vaguest of ways. In two cases, however, agrarian discontent had conducted a successful struggle against injustice without indulging in violence—in Champaran in Bihar and in Kaira in Gujerat and in both the leadership had come from Mahatma Gandhi. He had also done a similar service to labour in Ahmedabad.

By the end of 1918, his fame as a defender of the interests of the rural and urban poor had penetfated to every nook and corner of India. And it was not long before they would follow this new leader anywhere he choose to guide them, for they were convinced that, in whatever he did, he had their good in his heart and that he would never betray them and their interests.

THE CONTROL OF ALIEN CAPITAL

I

STAGES IN THE INDO-BRITISH CONTROVERSY

The controversy between India and Britain with regard to the unrestricted entry of alien capital in our economic life may be compared to an unfinished story in five chapters.

It begins with the appointment of the Fiscal Commission late in 1921, followed by that of the External Capital Committee early in 1925. The demands made by the Indian witnesses examined by these commissions were met in what most Indians consider a rather unsatisfactory manner and gave rise to feelings of irritation and discontent to which public utterance was given freely. These probably had some influence in making British business conclude that it would be wise to safeguard its position through legislation in view of what it was disposed to regard as racial animosity. These feelings found expression in the demand for safeguards embodied in the memorandum submitted by it to the Simon Commission which may be considered as its reaction to the Indian demands. This is the second chapter of the story.

Realising the necessity of allaying such suspicions as might have been aroused as also that of guaranteeing the continuance of legitimately acquired British interests in India, the All-Parties (Nehru) Conference made a statement of its views on the question, which is the third chapter.

But even then the guarantees offered by this responsible body of Indian public men were not regarded by British business as sufficient and it, through its representatives at the three Round Table Conferences, reiterated its demands for statutory safeguards, where we have the fourth chapter.

The proposals put forward were accepted by the British Government and later on incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935 ; in addition, this piece of legislation made definite provisions for the future unrestricted entry of British capital into our commercial and industrial life. And here ends the fifth chapter of the story for the time being. But there can be little doubt that another and a final chapter will be added though no one can prophesy what form it will take and when it will be written.

From *Modern Review*—August, September, October, 1943.

THE FISCAL COMMISSION AND THE EXTERNAL CAPITAL COMMITTEE

After considering the matter from all points of view, the Fiscal Commission made its recommendations on this matter in Chapter XV of the Report.

When the Steel Industry Protection Bill was under discussion in the Central Legislature in 1924, Pundit Motilal Nehru pressed Government to incorporate in it the somewhat slender safeguards recommended by the Fiscal Commission for the protection of Indian interests and his proposal was accepted. It has to be stated here that this was the first occasion when the policy with regard to the entry of alien capital into our industrial life was accepted and given effect to through legislation. It was in the course of the discussion thus raised that Sir Charles Innes, then Commerce Member and later on, Governor of Burma, observed: 'I am aware that there are sections in the House which would like to incorporate in the Bill specific provisions regarding the proportion of foreign capital. I am prepared to take up separately the examination of questions of that kind and in that examination I am prepared to associate with the Government a Committee of the legislature appointed *ad hoc* for the purpose.'

The External Capital Committee came into existence as the fulfilment of this pledge and, according to the terms of reference, it was asked to consider the question of the flow of capital into India from external sources.

INCORPORATION OF ALIEN CONCERNS IN INDIA WITH RUPEE CAPITAL

The External Capital Committee considered the suggestions coming from Indian interests and made its recommendations. The first suggestion from the Indian side was that non-Indian concerns should be incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital. In this connection, attention is drawn to the opinion of the External Capital Committee that—'It is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources, so far as internal capital is forthcoming. The real solution of the problem of external capital lies in the development of India's own capital resources'.

If the view put forward above is correct, it follows that the adoption of the measure suggested by India is calculated to encourage Indian and, at least to some extent, to discourage foreign investors.

It is not denied that the acceptance of the suggestion is likely to have a deterrent effect on some among foreign investors, which

is exactly what the Indian would like to see. The only argument against it is that the necessary amount of capital may not be forthcoming easily. That at least nowadays no difficulty is experienced in securing capital from Indian sources where the concerns in question inspire public confidence, is so well-known that any reference to this fact appears superfluous.

INDIANISATION OF THE DIRECTORATE

With the same end in view, the Indianisation as far as possible of these non-Indian concerns, it was suggested that the Boards of Directors should be located in India with the implication that the head offices should be in India. The purpose of this and the previous suggestion as well as the demand that a certain percentage among the directors should be Indians is to do everything possible to identify non-Indian concerns as intimately as possible with India. This was the position accepted and recommended by both the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee where non-Indian concerns enjoy concessions. Indians have yet to find what they consider a satisfactory explanation for making a distinction, so far at least as these suggestions are concerned, between the two categories of companies.

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of the suggestion that a certain proportion of the directors should be Indians on the plea that it would imply the introduction of communalism or rather racialism in business. This criticism would be fair only if the Indian directors were elected by Indian share-holders. The presence of Indian directors in the boards of non-Indian concerns was recommended by it and accepted by Government in the case of companies to which concessions are given by Government. The Indian demand merely sought to widen its scope. The communalism or rather racialism complained of would be practically eliminated if all the directors are elected by all the share-holders with the proviso that a certain number of directorships should be reserved for Indians.

Another objection to the presence of Indian directors on the boards of non-Indian companies not in receipt of definite concessions from Government is based on different grounds. In paragraph 24 of its report the External Capital Committee says: 'Our objection to a statutory minimum of directors is based on the right of share-holders under ordinary circumstances to have an unfettered control over their own directorate, and the principle that it would be unbusinesslike and uneconomic to compel

companies to labour under a proportion of directors whose business qualifications were only a secondary consideration.'

Continuing, the External Capital Committee quotes with approval the opinion of the (European) Burma Chamber of Commerce which in its reply to the questionnaire issued by it, had observed that—'capital demands the choice of its own directorate, failing which its cost will be raised or its supply entirely withheld.'

Here certain things are taken for granted, the first of which is that all directors in all non-Indian concerns are qualified to occupy the positions they do by reason of their experience as businessmen, that a majority of the Indian directors are not likely to possess this experience, that the supply of properly qualified Indian directors is limited and, lastly, that Indian directors are not likely to command the confidence of the shareholders.

The present writer while disclaiming any knowledge of business has heard of 'guinea pigs'. He is aware that the services of members of the English aristocracy and of the Houses of Parliament and of prominent men, not all of whom have business experience, are sought and obtained by promoters of companies. He also knows that members of Indian Civil Service and other All-India services who, so far as an Indian judge from such information as is available to him, are quite innocent of first-hand business experience, have after retirement blossomed out not only into directors but also into Presidents of the Boards of Directors of large and prosperous British companies operating in India. He has heard that here, as in committees etc., in general, the lion's share of the work is nearly always done by the few experts the boards contain and that the rest are there to represent the views of the ordinary man who claims the possession of common sense only.

Today we see Indian businessmen launching out by themselves in industrial and commercial enterprises on fairly large scales. To suggest that such men would be a drag on their non-Indian colleagues in the boards of non-Indian concerns is hardly warranted by facts. Equally incapable of proof is the assumption that the supply of trained Indian businessmen is so inadequate that it will run short if any undue demand is made on it by the inclusion of Indian directors in such non-Indian concerns as may be started after this demand is conceded.

While the Fiscal Commission admitted that the adoption of the above suggestions would be advantageous it, at the same time, disapproved of them, because in its opinion, 'such business concerns as did not wish to comply with these conditions would be

encouraged to carry on as private companies instead of forming themselves into joint stock companies and this we would regard as an unfortunate result'.

As against this, Indians maintain that, ordinarily, it is not likely that all the capital required for starting large-scale industrial and commercial enterprises can be provided by individuals forming themselves into private companies. Such a contingency is likely to arise only where the profits are so very high that the people concerned do not relish sharing them with the people of the country where they are earned which, obviously, is unjustifiable. If non-Indians persist in exploiting our resources in this way, Indians would insist on special legislation to check this tendency.

TRAINING OF INDIAN APPRENTICES

While Indians admit that the desire to reduce the cost of production or of working expenses has induced foreign capital to train up Indians to fill up subordinate positions, they maintain that it has hitherto failed to give effect to this policy where the more remunerative and more responsible positions are concerned.

The Fiscal Commission felt that compulsion exercised in this direction is not likely to yield the desired results. It therefore suggested that advantage should be taken of the keen competition for Indian orders and that—'whenever important Government orders are placed with firms outside India, one of the conditions of tender should be that the firms should, if required, agree to afford facilities for technical training to Indian apprentices sent by the Government of India'.

It is obvious that the above suggestion does not recognise the fact that the placing of orders under such a condition implies compulsion though in an indirect way. Then again, this provides for the training of Indian apprentices in certain industries only and fails to take into account and suggest methods for ensuring the training of Indian youths in banking, commerce, etc.

The Indian position was made clear in the Minute of Dissent, the signatories to which suggested that legislation for compelling both Indian and non-Indian concerns to train Indian apprentices should be passed and that the powers granted under it should be used only when there was obvious failure to give effect to this policy. Indians believe that though, at the beginning, the firms concerned might not relish what they might be inclined to regard as Government interference with their internal management, they would, in time, reconcile themselves to it till at last the training of Indian apprentices would become a normal feature of their day-to-day activities.

RESERVATION OF SHARES FOR INDIANS

Suggestions were made freely by a large number of witnesses examined by the Fiscal Commission that—'it should be provided by law that a certain percentage of the share capital should be held by Indians, or at least that Indians should be given a fair chance to subscribe to such companies (that is, concerns floated by foreign capital) on their initiation'.

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of these suggestions as they would 'not only discourage the investment of foreign capital, but would also injure the interests of the Indian investors.' It held that—'such reservation could only be secured by practically preventing the transfer to Europeans of shares held by Indians, whilst permitting the free sale of shares held by Europeans'.

Granting, for the sake of argument, the correctness of this view, we believe that today we have sufficiently large numbers of Indian investors willing to invest their capital in enterprises even though restrictions such as these may have the immediate effect of reducing the market value of their holdings by a statutory limitation in the number of prospective buyers. But there cannot be much doubt that, with the passage of time, Indians will gradually participate more largely than in the past in this type of business and that the smallness of the amount of money involved in such transactions would probably be more than counterbalanced by their numbers. At the worst, if the difficulty envisaged does arise, it is not likely to be permanent. Then again, competition among Indian buyers will automatically lead to the obtaining of fair prices for there is nothing to show that Indian buyers of shares held by Europeans or their own countrymen will offer a price below the market value which is ordinarily determined primarily by the yield. It is admitted that ease in disposal, when a share is used as a counter for speculation, undoubtedly adds to its attractions. This is bound to come with time.

It was also urged that restrictions on the distribution of shares as between Indians and non-Indiahs would be evaded. The opinion of the External Capital Committee on this matter which appears in paragraph 24 of its report is as follows: 'Restrictions on the transferability of shares could be evaded by the large capitalist and would only penalise the small investor, both Indian and non-Indian, by increasing the difficulty of finding purchasers, for which brokers would naturally also charge an enhanced commission.'

Indians do not deny that these difficulties may arise. They, however, do not believe that the evasions referred to will be on

anything like such a large scale as to stultify the purpose aimed at, specially if those guilty of illegal transactions are penalised. No complaint regarding the narrowness of the market available for the disposal of shares is justifiable if we remember that the people concerned will make their investments with full knowledge of the difficulties contingent on these restrictions. Then again, Indians believe that it will not be necessary to impose restrictions on the free transferability of shares permanently, for sooner or later the people of this country will learn how to take care of their financial interests by investing their savings in flourishing commercial and industrial undertakings. They have to be led to it and this is one of the means, though not an ideal one, for doing so.

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his note of dissent to the Report of the External Capital Committee suggested that in order to encourage Indians to invest their capital in concerns started by aliens, it was desirable that 'at least half of the share capital should be reserved to Indian subscribers for a definite period of time'.

The External Capital Committee in its criticism of this proposal of Malaviyaji said that some witnesses had held that this period should not be less than six months, which, in its opinion, would unduly delay the starting of actual work.

Later on it was suggested that the 50 per cent of the shares reserved to Indians should be kept for them for a minimum period of 30 days only, which seems a more reasonable proposition specially as the opinion of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya as recorded in his note of dissent was that—'if after that period Indians have not subscribed their share, the company should be free to acquire the remaining capital where they could'.

But even this proposal, reasonable from every point of view, the External Capital Committee condemned because—

> It would be a simple matter for non-Indian investors to arrange for their applications to go through an Indian. Such measures might deter the small external investor but it would be a very simple matter for the larger capitalist to get round them by employing an Indian agency.

In this connection it is worth remembering that though the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee had disapproved of measures to secure the presence of a proportion of Indian shareholders, Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy, who participated in the discussions of the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference said on the 19th November, 1931:

> I quite follow the argument that where, for example, in future public utility undertakings of public concerns in which public money is to be invested or used, the Government of

India may say: 'Well, we think that a company which is to get the benefit of the subsidy that we shall give or of the advantage that we shall give, by some direct payment or use of money, must be a registered company in India with rupee capital, with a moderate reasonable proportion of Indian directors, and with a reasonable and moderate proportion of Indian share-holders.' It may be that I go further than some of my colleagues in thinking that that is not an entirely unreasonable proposition for the Government of India to put forward.

Indians have no desire to exclude alien capital from operating in India but if it wishes to do so under the favourable conditions rendered possible by protective tariffs which constitute a self-imposed indirect taxation of Indians, it must be prepared to carry on its activities under such terms and conditions as are acceptable to us. If it refuses to do so, it will secure the necessary permission but in that case it will be liable to penal taxation which would approximately amount to the pecuniary advantage derived from the adoption by us of the policy of protection.

It may not always be easy to assess this amount but surely rough justice can always be shown to the offending concerns which are not likely to be very large in number. A systematic adherence to this policy is bound to discourage the incorporation of concerns of the type. If the profits which may be earned in India by alien capital are sufficiently attractive, as appears to have been the case hitherto, there cannot be much doubt that insistence on the observance of the conditions demanded by commercial, industrial and political India would not deter it from seeking a field for its activities in India.

II

WHERE THERE IS A WILL THERE IS A WAY

While it is true enough that the imposition of restrictions on alien capital seeking unimpeded entry into India is not easy, it is maintained that the difficulties have somehow to be surmounted once we admit their necessity for our economic welfare. In this connection one might well remember what Mr. (later on Sir) C. Y. Chintamony, the well known moderate, veteran journalist and ex-Minister under dyarchy in the United Provinces said at the Franchise Sub-Committee at its second meeting held in London on the 22nd December, 1930.

Referring to the desirability of granting franchise to every Indian adult, male and female, and the administrative difficulties involved in arranging and recording the votes of the many millions of voters involved in such broadening of the franchise, Mr. Chintamony observed:

> Administrative difficulties exist in order to be overcome, and not to baffle us. If administrative difficulties were to be put forward as an extinguishing reason against a political and social (why not economic?) advance, I do not think there would have been any progress in any country in the world; because the permanent officials who are engaged in that administration come to believe in the perfection of things that are and in the undesirability of things that are suggested.

If the opinion expressed above is correct, all that the Indian would say is that here too, such difficulties as may be encountered, and these surely are not so extensive as those incidental to the acceptance of adult franchise, will have to be overcome, that it is possible to do so always provided that the will to do so is there and lastly that the proverbial lion in the way exists only for those who lack this will.

RESTRAINTS NO DISCRIMINATION

British capital should not regard either the restriction of its activities to certain spheres or the restraints on its unimpeded entry as a grievance, for Indians hold that in matters such as these their interests should always have the first preference. That the fairness of this claim has been admitted by British officials and British statesmen is proved by the pronouncements of such men as Sir William Clarke, Member of Commerce when the Royal Industrial Commission was appointed, and Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India.

Speaking on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission, Sir William Clarke assured the Indian members of the Central legislature that Government did not contemplate the taking of any steps which might 'merely mean that the manufacturer (or the businessman by implication) who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries'.

Replying to a deputation from Lancashire on the Indian import duties on cotton goods, Mr. Montagu said:

> It was absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which I believe was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give to the Government of India the

right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire without any complaint from us, have always chosen the tariff arrangements (and by implications other economic safeguards) which they think best fitten for their needs, thinking of their own citizens first.

The Indian position was very clearly expressed by Sir Pheroze Sethna, industrialist and financier and, from the political point of view, a liberal, at the Second Round Table Conference where he said that it was not so much a matter of discrimination as of equalisation and in that connection observed: 'Essentially the question is not of discrimination but of safeguarding of national interests; and if some kind of differentiation between nationals and non-nationals is needed for economic development, the interests of India and India alone must be the supreme consideration'.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE FISCAL COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION AND ITS RESULTS

The British administration accepted the principle laid down by the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee. The result was that only three of the conditions which Indians irrespective of caste, creed and political affiliations had desired to impose on the entry of foreign capital were made applicable to both Indian and non-Indian concerns where certain concessions were granted to them. This is proved by what the spokesman of the India Government stated in the course of a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 2nd March, 1922, when he is reported to have said: 'The settled policy of the Government of India is that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have a rupee capital, unless such firms have a proportion, at any rate, of Indian Directors, and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their works'.

The net result was that the more powerful non-Indian concerns which had such large financial backing that they had no need of any concessions and which, therefore, from the Indian point of view, were more formidable, were allowed to go their own way and to exploit Indian resources and our industrial and commercial backwardness to earn profits and, occasionally in doing so, to seriously hinder such feeble efforts at entering industry and commerce as the people of this country were capable of.

That the decision of the British administration was welcomed by British manufacturing and commercial concerns then operating

in India as well as by British capital in its home land is clearly proved by a reference to the editorial comments, correspondence, etc., which appeared in the Anglo-Indian periodicals and their counter-parts in England. And it was so because the interests concerned felt confident regarding the security of their privileged position.

THE INDIAN ATTITUDE IN THE NEHRU REPORT

Political India always desirous of giving a square deal to the non-Indian made its position clear in the Nehru Report which stated:

> As regards European commerce, we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should at all be nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India. . . . . If there are any special interests of European commerce which require special treatment in future, it is only fair that in regard to the protection of these interests Europeans should formulate their proposals, and we have no doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those who are anxious for a peaceful settlement.

The Nehru Report was accepted by the Congress in 1928 and became part of its programme though it is admitted that, owing to the very cold if not positively discouraging attitude of the British official and non-official, it was shelved at Lahore the next year. It had been meant as a basis for friendly discussion but their condemnation of it *in toto* showed that the nature and amount of the political advancement achieved by India would be determined without consulting Indian opinion. The Congress, however, has never formally repudiated its formula on commercial discrimination and, whatever might be said to the contrary, there cannot be any doubt that, at least here, it has been voicing the sane opinion of India.

It is noteworthy that the above pronouncement in no way goes against the Indian demands referred to previously which were sought to be made applicable to non-Indian concerns seeking to engage in commerce and industry after the proposals had been accepted with of course the proviso that no further enlargement of existing non-Indian vested interests would be permitted without the imposition of these conditions on them.

SIMON COMMISSION AND BRITISH BUSINESS

Section 84A of the Government of India Act, 1919, envisaged the appointment of a commission to enquire into the

working of dyarchy, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in India. It was also to be entrusted with the task of reporting as 'to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government' actually existing at the time of its enquiry. In response to Indian public opinion, the Simon Commission was appointed about two years before the normal time.

Anticipating the inevitability of further political advancement and desirous of strengthening the position it was already occupying in the economic life of India, British businessmen did not make any delay in entering their demands for economic safeguards. Accordingly, in July, 1928, the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission, which was circulated among the Members of Parliament and commercial organisations in Britain, insisting on 'a definite and clear provision for the protection of European trade and commerce against discrimination'.

In July, 1930, the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce issued a circular protesting vehemently against discrimination in trade and commerce. Then came drafts providing against discrimination submitted to the Simon Commissoin by the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce and the All-India European Association, which these two organisations desired to be incorporated in the constitution.

The proposals for preventing discrimination by defining it in a constitutional instrument were rejected by the Simon Commission and caused dismay but, at the same time, made British capital determined to put forth fresh and more vigorous efforts to ensure the stability of the position already held by the incorporation of economic safeguards in its behalf in such legislation as might follow. This takes us to the activities of the representatives of British capital at the three Round Table Conferences.

BRITISH BUSINESS AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

Sir Hubert Carr who was representing the European community at the First Round Table Conference demanded separate electorate for it. The following extract from the speech delivered by Sir Hubert Carr in the Minorities Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference shows the attitude of the European

community as regards the second of the matters referred to above:

> We are not asking for any rights or privileges for our own community; we simply want to be recognised to have exactly the same rights—when I say 'we' I refer to those of us from Great Britain and Northern Ireland—as any of His Majesty's subjects in India with regard to commerce and industry. That is a point which we do not attempt to make on behalf of all citizens of the British Empire. We recognise the position of India, and we feel that it should be open to the Indian Government to make such arrangements as it wishes to make with other parts of the Empire who may discriminate against India. Therefore, my claims are made on behalf of those from Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The claim of British capital to carry on its activities behind the tariff wall so as to secure all the advantages contingent on it and which implied Indian sacrifice for the development of indigenous industries, was put by Sir Hubert in the following terms:

> We are not wishing in any way to attempt to put any restrictions upon Indian fiscal policy. If India wishes to go in for a tariff wall, she must be allowed to decide her own destiny, but behind that wall we would expect to be allowed to work in exactly the same way as Indians.

Sir Hubert Carr even went so far as to criticise the recommendation of the External Capital Committee that, under certain well-defined and specific conditions which have been mentioned previously, the Government of India should insist on a certain percentage of Indian directors, rupee capital, etc., and in that connection said:

> We could not possibly accept that as any basis whatever for the treatment of British commerce in India . . . . To start with, we do not believe it is really practical to insist upon a certain number of Indian directors . . . . As regards capital, we claim absolutely equal rights for sterling and rupee companies except when Government makes a specific financial assistance to some concern: then we recognise obviously the right to demand that that capital shall be rupee capital; but indiscriminate instances of this point would only militate against the standing of various useful institutions such as Banks, Insurance Companies, etc., and would achieve no good object in our opinion.

The whole Conference accepted the views of Sir Hubert

Carr as conveyed to it by the Minorities Sub-Committee in the following words:

> At the instance of the British commercial community, the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained.

Then came the pronouncement of the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who at the final plenary session of the First Round Table Conference said on the 19th January, 1931:

> The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

This pronouncement could not be regarded as a satisfactory one, as, according to it, the 'political liberties and rights' of Indian minorities among whom British capital had placed itself had been specifically mentioned. There was, however, no mention of the special safeguards it had demanded.

British vested interests were aware that however distant the time, India could no longer be denied Dominion Status and that if this was of the same type as that enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions, nobody could prevent India from enjoying commercial freedom with its implication of imposing whatever restrictions she pleased on the entry of foreign capital. It was remembered that Canada had won the victory in her controversy with Britain in 1867 when she had vindicated her right to impose tariff on even British imports in order to build up her industries and that, as a result, absolute freedom in the commercial sphere had been tacitly accorded by Britain to the Irish Free State, Australia and to the other Dominions.

The loss of the privileged position British capital enjoyed was a certainty if and when India acquired Dominion Status. Under these circumstances, British capital felt called upon to make further and still more strenuous efforts to secure the special privileges it had demanded and it attained its object by seeking

its allies from among the more grasping and foolish minorities. There was much running to and fro and wheels within wheels were set working at the Second Round Table Conference, as the result of which a combination of the reactionary elements torpedoed all the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to present a united front to Britain in the matter of our political and economic freedom. The Minorities Pact was accepted on the 13th November, 1931, under which the special claims of the European community were laid down in the following terms:

> Equal rights and privileges to those enjoyed by Indian-born subjects in all industrial and commercial activities.
>
> The maintenance of existing rights in regard to procedure of criminal trials, and any measure or bid to amend, alter, or modify such a procedure cannot be introduced except with the previous consent of the Governor-General.

It was thus that the principle of the protection of the political liberties and rights of the minorities was extended in the case of the British community so as to include protection against so-called economic discrimination, thus maintaining its *status quo*, a matter which had hitherto been a source of grave anxiety to it.

The Third Round Table Conference, where Indian nationalism of the militant type went unrepresented, dealt with the question of commercial safeguards in detail and with thoroughness. The Joint Select Committee, partly due to the very natural concern it felt over the anticipated difficulties to which British capital might be exposed and partly to the apprehensions felt in England on account of the loose talk of foolish Indians, accepted the views of the Third Round Table Conference on this matter and the results we see in the so-called anti-discrimination clauses (Sections 111-121) of the Government of India Act, 1935.

BRITISH CAPITAL UNDER THE ACT OF 1935

Coming to the anti-discrimination clauses which have a direct bearing on the subject under discussion here, we find that they are Sectoins 113 to 116 of the Act of 1935, referring to which the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1935, said: 'It is suggested in India that, in seeking to clarify the fiscal relations between India and themselves, His Majesty's Government are seeking to impose unreasonable fetters upon the future Indian Legislature for the purpose of securing exceptional advantages for British, at the expense of Indian trade. The suggestion is without foundation.'

We shall try to ascertain how far this contention is borne out

by facts. The professed object of Sections 113 and 114 is to guarantee equality of treatment to British and Indian companies in such matters as the places of incorporation, the situation of their registered offices, the currency in which their capital or loan capital is expressed, the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence of the directors, share-holders, agents, etc.

It is also provided that no person or concern is to benefit from Section 114 if, and so long as, similar restrictions are imposed by or under the law of the United Kingdom in regard to companies incorporated in and persons domiciled in India, which of course is merely giving effect to the policy of reciprocity.

The real effect, from the legal point of view, is that companies incorporated and registered in Britain and companies incorporated and registered in India with British capital and British directors are placed on the same basis so far as safeguards are concerned. Further, as a general rule, Section 114 does not permit any preferential treatment either through legislation or executive action for Indian concerns incorporated and registered in India with Indian directors, which would prejudicially affect the two classes of British companies referred to above. The protection contemplated here applies not only to the British companies already incorporated but also to such companies as may be incorporated after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

That the real motive for the inclusion of Section 114 was to afford protection to British concerns incorporated and registered in India becomes clear when we remember what the Attorney-General said in the course of the Commons Committee Debates in 1935. Here he is reported to have stated that the intention underlying Section 114 was 'to do for companies incorporated in India but with British capital and British directors, precisely the same as is done by Clause 113 for companies registered in the United Kingdom carrying on business in India'.

Under Section 115, no ship registered in Britain is liable to any treatment affecting the ship herself, her master, officers, crew, passengers or cargo, which discriminates against such ships, except in so far as ships registered in India are, for the time being, subjected by or under a law of the United Kingdom to treatment of a similar character.

Section 116 deals with subsidies for the encouragement of industry and trade and lays down that British and Indian companies shall be equally eligible so long as there is reciprocity. An exception is made where a Federal or a Provincial law inaugurating the

system of direct financial assistance is passed in the case of companies not engaged in trade and industry the encouragement of which is sought by the giving of grant, bounty or subsidy. In such a case, the company may be required to be incorporated by or under the laws of British India or of a Federated State, a percentage of the directors not exceeding one-half must be British subjects of Indian domicile or of a Federated State and reasonable facilities must be provided for the training of apprentices who must be British subjects of Indian domicile or of a Federated State.

Besides safeguarding British companies in the ways mentioned just now, we have, in addition, the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General. This requires him to 'prevent' measures calculated to subject British goods imported into India from the United Kingdom 'to discriminatory or penal treatment'. Here the Governor-General will act in his discretion.

It was at the Second Round Table Conference only that the Indian National Congress had been represented by Mahatma Gandhi. Here he had appealed to the British 'to cease to be rulers and become friends'. In developing this idea, he had observed that 'as friends they cannot claim privileges', adding that 'one gives guarantees to enemies, not to friends'.

Sir Pheroze Sethna, industrial and commercial magnate of Bombay and a liberal and therefore acceptable to the administration, had pointed out that—

> The future of the European community in India really depends on the extent to which the community is prepared to identify itself with India's interests, and to the extent to which Europeans in India are prepared to regard themselves as partners.

Sir Pheroze underlined this statement by saying that—'There can be only one safeguard against discrimination for all times; that safeguard is goodwill and co-operation'.

The reply to this appeal was, in the language of Mr. G. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 71): 'The British community in India cannot and will not place its future at the mercy of so uncertain and nebulous a thing as Indian goodwill.'

The Indian can only throw up his hands in despair and regret that judgment is passed on him without giving him an opportunity of proving his *bona fides*.

III

THE INDIAN VIEW OF THE ECONOMIC SAFEGUARDS

The Fiscal Commission accepted some only of the suggestions coming from Indians recommending their application within a strictly limited sphere. The Minute of Dissent signed by the Indian minority did not fail to draw pointed attention to the evils this would give rise to. This was as early as 1922. It said:

> If our colleagues' recommendation is accepted it will be open to every foreigner to establish manufacturing industries in India by means of companies incorporated in their own countries and in their own currency. This danger did not exist under a policy of free trade, but it is bound to materialise when the benefit of protective duties becomes available. We may have under such circumstances companies incorporated elsewhere, say in America in dollars, in France in francs, in Italy in liras, in Germany in marks, in Japan in yens and in China in dollars, etc. It will be also possible for these companies to obtain their whole capital in their own countries and thus carry away the entire profit of manufacturing industries established behind the tariff wall. The consumer will have paid a higher price, due to protective duties, and the entire manufacturing profit wll have gone out of the country.
>
> No foreign country should be allowed to monopolise the profits due to the policy of protection in India and at the cost of the Indian consumers.

The External Capital Committee in its turn gave its support to the recommendations referred to, thus strengthening the position of alien capital.

In the meantime, India had adopted discriminative protection and Imperial Preference. The British felt that just as under the latter, they had an advantage over their non-British rivals, they should also see to it that they enjoyed similar advantages so far as the entry of non-Indian capital into the economic life of India was concerned. Not content with this, they proceeded to take advantage of India's political subjection by imposing such legislation on her as would enable them to participate in the benefits contingent on the granting of subsidies and bounties thus indirectly hindering her rapid economic development.

These facts explain why in the so-called anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935, emphasis has been laid on the principle of reciprocity and why the power of controlling British capital has not been entrusted to the India Govern-

ment or even to the Viceroy and Governor-General who, in many other matters equally or perhaps more important, enjoys what many regard as almost autocratic powers.

The net result of the inclusion of these clauses is that though non-British capital has been denied the privilege of free entry, the doors so far as British capital is concerned have been thrown wide open.

Apart from the fact that the incorporation of the economic safeguards practically amounts to a serious curtailment of the powers and sovereignty of the central legislature, its indirect implication is the continuance of the privileged position of non-nationals in India. Attention was drawn to this fact by Mahatma Gandhi when he observed that—'to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English and European is to perpetuate Indian helotage.'

One of the Indian delegates at the Second Round Table Conference stated that in 1931 there were 821 concerns nearly all of which were British with a paid-up capital of nearly £ 600 million registered outside India and operating in our motherland. There cannot be much doubt that there has since been an increase in the numbers of such concerns. As against this, we find that according to the Secretary to Indian Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain there were in September, 1934, only 42 Indian concerns in Britain. It is probable that the total capital of all these concerns did not exceed £ 100,000.

Under these circumstances, the principle of reciprocity under which India would not be allowed to impose restrictions on British enterprises so long as similar restrictions are not imposed on Indian enterprises in Britain, is meaningless specially when we remember that, up to the present, there is no Indian enterprise worth the name in Britain competing on equal terms with British enterprise in that country. It would have some meaning only when and if Indian industry and commerce become comparable to their British rivals, in strength and vigour.

Another fact which antagonised Indian opinion was that Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, had said that the proposals 'would embrace all existing British companies trading in India but not new ones, when special privileges (such as subsidies, bounties etc.), were intended to be offered to Indian enterprises by the legislature.'

Before proceeding further, some reference, however brief, has to be made to the reaction of British capital operating in India to the Indian contention regarding her inherent right to impose conditions on non-Indian concerns proposing to start basic or key

industries in our motherland. What was stated at that time by one of the spokesmen of British industry reflects its attitude to this suggestion which Indians, rightly or wrongly, regard as fair and just. It was said:

> It is all very well for Indians to make spacious reservations affecting their so-called 'key industries'. That is only the thin end of the wedge, and in time by devious processes every industry can be turned into a key industry. Throughout British rule in India equality of opportunity has prevailed and there has been nothing to prevent Indians engaging in all those activities which they consider are of national importance. That they have not done so has been entirely due to absence of initiative, consequent lack of knowledge and an inherent dislike of the proper organization of either capital or manpower.

No Indian disputes the correctness of the view that British capital has found it easy to establish itself in India mainly because of our backwardness in industry and commerce, but from this it does not follow that we shall be so unwise as to depend on it for all times to come for progress in these spheres or that we shall permit ideas which we regard as erroneous to stand in the way of our adoption of such measures as are calculated to speed it up. We have no desire to interfere with existing concerns for we believe in the sanctity of property but Indians if compelled will not hesitate to impose conditions on such concerns as may, in future, desire to carry on their activities in our motherland and in doing so they feel that they are perfectly within their legitimate rights. And yet we find that the commercial safeguards, including the right of free entry of foreign capital, were made available not only to existing concerns but also to those which might be incorporated after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

We have the further fact that Britain invested millions of pounds in the Argentine, Mexico, Egypt, Persia, etc., but she had never thought of demanding constitutional guarantees for these investments nor is there any likelihood that if such a demand had been made, the countries concerned would have acceded to it. The incorporation of these safeguards, specially where they are concerned with the investment of British capital after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, is not only unprecedented but has no sanction in international law or custom. There could be no clearer proof of the nationalist contention that here political subjection had been utilised for ensuring the economic benefit of British capital at the expense and against the protests of industrial, commercial and political India.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan who represented his community in all the three Round Table Conferences, who is today High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and who can hardly be regarded as one likely to overstate facts has, in his *Indian Federation*, (p. 128) given the reasons for the incorporation of the safeguards and their extension so as to protect the future of British capital in India in the following words:

> It was perfectly clear to those who had pondered over the question that His Majesty's Government would not be prepared to concede any power in the Centre unless they were assured that British capital and industry in India would be amply safeguarded. No discriminatory measure, by whomsoever passed, would be agreed to by any party in England and safeguards would have to be devised to prevent the possibility of such a measure being passed by the Indian legislature.

That the opinion of Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan with regard to the insistence of British politicians on the incorporation of safeguards in the Government of India Act, 1935, is correct is proved by what Lord Reading ex-Viceroy said at the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference on the 19th November, 1931:

> The Minister, however he may be or to whatever party he may belong . . . . who would go to Parliament and tell them that in the constitution he is curtailing the rights which hitherto British traders have had here or in India, would hardly meet with a very favourable reception, and I do not think it would be a very ingratiating way of introducing this new constitution.

Similarly, in the general discussion of the Third Round Table Conference held on the 23rd December, 1932, Lord Winterton reminded the Indian delegates that 'especially the 400 Conservative supporters of the Government are very important in respect both to India and to many other matters. In fact the existence of His Majecty's Government depends upon the goodwill of the 400 members of the House of Commons who belong to the Conservative Party.'

This merely emphasises the opinion expressed by Lord Reading and Sir Shafa'at.

Rightly or wrongly, Indians believe that the unbending attitude of all political parties in England as regards the incorporation of safeguards for British capital invested in our motherland was due to the conviction that, in their absence, the Indian legislatures would not show much hesitation in implementing a programme of expropriation. They had been led to the belief

by the Civil Disobedience movement, the wild utterances of certain irresponsible Indians and the unremitting and vigorous propaganda carried on by British capital and its allies in Britain.

It therefore follows that it was distrust of India coupled with the desire to maintain unimpaired the dominant position of British capital in our economic life which exploited India's political subjection for this particular purpose.

Those responsible for these ill-advised and irritating measures showed utter lack of that farsight and statesmanship which were responsible for the following statement of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, to which industrial, commercial and political India have always attached very great importance:

> Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall, in the interests of of the trade and commerce of Great Britain. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.
>
> Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.

What is most regrettable is that both the British and the India Governments had ample warning of the discontent consequent on the adoption of such a wrong attitude and these warnings, it is necessary to add, came not from Indians holding extremist views but from liberals who have always stood for co-operation with the British administration and whose considered pronouncements on matters such as these possess a significance all their own.

UNHELPFUL ATTITUDE OF BRITISH CAPITAL

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar submitted a joint memorandum at the end of the Third Round Table Conference in which, among other things, they gave their views on the question of commercial safeguards. Referring to the British view that Indian demands such as those for protection and the control of alien capital were discrimination on purely racial grounds they observed:

> While we agree to the general principle that discrimination in legislation on purely racial grounds should be avoided, we are not sure that the principles accepted in the

report of the Committee which considered that question do not go too far. To take only a few instances we are clear in our minds that for the future development of Indian industries, many of which are lying fallow or are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy, or protection should occasionally look like discrimination. We are equally strong in our view that ample power ought to be left in the hands of the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, to control the evil effects of unfair competition, such as sometimes has been practised in the past by powerful organisations against their weaker rivals.

The last sentence of the above extract gives India's principal reason for the demand for economic safeguards put forward viz., apprehensions based on actual experience that Indian interests are bound to be affected adversely by the presence of powerful organisations backed by foreign capital and controlled by foreigners whose one preoccupation is the earning of profits and, to that end, the destruction occasionally of indigenous enterprises likely to develop ultimately into their rivals.

It may be argued that the suggestions put forward by Indians as regards the regulation of foreign capital are too drastic and that it would be difficult to enforce them. As against this, it may be urged that, without an actual trial, no one can say to what extent the regulation of alien capital on the lines previously indicated will have the effects aimed at. What Indians feel is the need of restrictions and they maintain that if experience shows that the above suggestions have to be modified, withdrawn or substituted by others, it will have to be done.

British capital may of course argue that it is unwise, if not risky, to adopt a wavering policy, now extending a welcome to it and at another time taking such steps as are likely to antagonise it, in one word shaping India's policy towards it according to the demands of the hour. This has been met by what was said in the Despatch of the India Government, dated the 20th September, 1930.

The India Government in paragraph 119 of the Despatch said:

> There are enterprises which Indians regard as national and which at present are mainly or wholly in British hands. It would be idle to expect that they would be content for an

indefinite period to remain without their appropriate share in the conduct of these enterprises, and if the methods at present proposed in order to justify Indian hopes must be ruled out because they involve injustice or are inconsistent with the position which Britain holds in India. Indians may fairly ask that the British business community should co-operate in finding other methods to bring about the desired result.

It takes two to make a bargain and mutual give and take is the only satisfactory method for arriving at a compromise. The recommendations of the Fiscal Commission and of the External Capital Committee did not go far enough to meet legitimate Indian demands while the anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935, have worsened the situation from the Indian point of view. These have thrown the doors wide open to the unhampered entry of British manufacturing and commercial interests into our economic life where they can, within legal limits, play havoc with corresponding Indian interests so long as they do not accept financial assistance from Government.

These facts have not tended to soothe the exacerbated feelings of Indians. On the other hand, they have strengthened the conviction that India's economic salvation will become an accomplished fact only when she has acquired complete political freedom from foreign domination. And a very grave responsibility lies on foreign commercial and industrial interests which, by their persistence in clinging to their privileged position, rendered possible by their racial, economic and political affiliations, have complicated the whole situation.

THE ONLY SATISFACTORY WAY OUT

Britain needs the Indian market as an outlet for her goods. She also needs India as a field for the investment of her capital. Business relations must, however, be reoriented if it is Britain's aim to retain the trade relationships which have existed hitherto, on something like a permanent basis. This can happen only when both British and Indian interests remind themselves of and give effect to the wise advice contained in paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Written a quarter of a century ago, these words have lost none of their force and applicability to conditions existing today.

Referring to the obligations of British capital to India where it has been earning profits for a century and half if not more, the Report says:

> Clearly it is the duty of British commerce in India to identify itself with *the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community* ; to take part in political life ; to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to commend itself to India ; and having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of Government *in the wishes of the people.*

The words italicised have a significance all their own viz., that Indian economic interests should have preference to those of any community including those of British capital and that whatever privileges it enjoys must rest primarily on the goodwill of India's nationals. That this has not been the case has been proved already and that the old attitude towards India's economic aspirations must undergo a radical change is also equally clear. And that this change if and when it comes must take into account the Indian demands for the safeguarding of her economic interests is also equally clear.

Equally wise and emphatic is the comment of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the attitude of Indians towards this important question:

> No less is it the duty of Indian politicians to respect the expectations which have been implicitly held out ; to remember how India has profited by commercial development which only British capital and enterprise achieved ; to bethink themselves that though the capital invested in private enterprises was not borrowed under any assurance that the existing form of government would endure, yet the favourable terms on which money was obtained for India's development were undoubtedly affected by the fact of British rule ; and to abstain from advocating differential treatment aimed not so much at promoting Indian as at injuring British commerce.

Just as it is the duty of Indians to wipe out from their memory all recollections of past economic wrongs inflicted on them by the more selfish sections of British capital, it is equally the duty of British business to forget such wild talk as it may have heard from irresponsible quarters regarding expropriation and differential treatment. Indians and Britons earning their living in India must recognise one another's right to serve India, Indians soliciting the assistance and co-operation of Britons when the necessity for them arises and Britons acknowledging the right of Indians to have the first preference in our commerce and industry.

THE INDIAN VIEW OF THE JUTE INDUSTRY

I

Every one has to admit that while Indians have supplied the land and the labour for growing jute and all the labour for manufacturing the raw product, Britain or rather Scotland has furnished the leadership and the capital so that today the jute industry may be regarded as a joint achievement.

Obviously, such benefits as have resulted from the development of the jute industry must have come, if we omit the middlemen concerned, to one or more among five classes of Indians. The first of these would be the growers supplying the raw material, the second, the workers who turn it into manufactured goods, the third, those supervising this process, the fourth, the investors in the jute concerns and, fifth and last, those standing at the top and directing the industry. It is proposed in what follows to try to ascertain which among those classes have benefited and, if so, to what extent.

Though grown in Assam, Bihar, Orissa and, to a small extent, in the United Provinces, Bengal, to all purposes, holds the monopoly of jute in the world. Such attempts as have been made hitherto to grow it elsewhere have not so far been commercially successful. Its importance lies in the fact that raw and manufactured jute accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the total value of exports from Bengal and about 25 per cent of the total value of exports from the whole of India.

There is a demand for raw jute both in and outside India. According to a recent estimate (*Our Economic Problem*, by Messrs. Wadia and Merchant, p. 305), 'over half of raw jute is turned into cloth in Indian factories', the balance finding a ready market outside India. In 1928-29, we exported 898,000 tons valued at Rs. 32·35 crores. The outbreak of the present war reduced the amount exported in 1938-39 to 568,000 tons which, however, fetched better prices for we received Rs. 19·83 crores for it. It goes without saying that the sale of raw jute to the jute mills located in India must have fetched nearly the same amounts.

It is clear that though the jute growers may have to put up with lower prices on account of the falling off in the world demand for raw and manufactured jute, it is not unnatural for them to

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expect that they would be able to sell their jute at prices sufficient to cover at least the cost of production so long as the mills managed to earn profits.

Jute can be grown in land constantly enriched by the deposit of rich alluvial silt. The extraction of the fibre is a laborious and a comparatively expensive process. It is therefore that its cultivation ceases to be profitable when the price goes down below a certain level. So far as the cost of production per maund is concerned, it appears from a note submitted to the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee of 1929-30 by the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, that in that year the cost of production of jute per maund was Rs. 6-8 on the assumption that the average yield per acre was 16 maunds. This figure, however, did not take into account 'the value of the land, union, rate or interest liability of the Bengal cultivator'.

We thus see that the European purchasers of jute as compared with officials, experts, etc., have always tended to underestimate the cost of production, which explains their attitude as regards the fixing of an equitable price for raw jute. We shall now proceed to consider the price actually received by the jute grower.

The European purchasers of jute were either inclined to underestimate the cost of production through ignorance or to knowingly offer less than the cost of production. Whatever the reason for this attitude, it is clearly against the interests of the jute growers. And it has been a constant complaint with them and their champions that they are rarely paid an equitable price, and that in many instances they cannot get a price sufficient to cover the cost of production.

It cannot be justifiably held that the price paid for jute is governed exclusively by competition among the growers. This would be true if there was no other complicating factor. On the other hand, there are sufficient grounds for holding that it is largely determined by demand. Theoretically, this demand is the demand of the industry as a whole in and outside India. The location of a very large majority of the jute mills almost next door to the raw material market makes knowledge about their requirements easy. The amount of raw jute held in stock by them is also known, or at least can be guessed at without much difficulty. Similar information with regard to the needs of Western jute mills is not available with the result that those engaged in the export of raw jute have to be cautious as regards the amount they purchase to carry on their business. This imposes strict limitations on the competition for raw jute as between jute mills located in and outside India. The consequence is that, almost universally, foreign

mills do not pay higher prices for their raw jute than Indian mills or, to put it differently, it is the Indian mills which, more or less, control the price of raw jute.

If the growers had been in a position to control the production and the marketing of jute, they might have been able to secure a fair price. But want of concerted action and poverty does not permit them to wait for any expected rise in the price of jute. In addition, landlords, moneylenders and those who, directly or indirectly, finance them are aware that it is their only money crop and that prompt realisation of their dues depends on its sale. The effect of all these factors is that growers are compelled to sell their jute as soon as the fibre is ready. The agriculturists do not give up growing jute even when they are forced by circumstances, over which they have no control, to sell it at below cost prices, first because there is no alternative money crop to the cultivation of which they can betake themselves and secondly, because they hope that next year they may be able to obtain better prices. As against the economic helplessness of the jute growers, we find that concerted action among the jute mills is easy in view of the existence of their organisation, the (European) Indian Jute Mills Association. The Indian Jute Mills Association is in such a strong position that it could dictate the price with the fullest confidence that no one would dream of offering higher prices and, lastly that though earning what many would consider fairly high profits, the Association failed to take into account the high price of rice.

The attempt of the Bengal Government to assist the growers of Bengal to obtain a price for their jute which would, at the same time, guarantee normal profits to the manufacturers, was torpedoed by the perversity of the manufacturing interests in supplying relevant materials to the Fawcus Committee.

It is believed that this information was withheld because it was apprehended that it would not only warrant the fixing of a minimum price of raw jute by the Bengal Government but also that it would justify the demand of jute workers for higher wages. Either or both these contingencies would of course have led to serious deductions in the profits—a prospect far from agreeable to the jute industry.

Obviously, one of the easiest ways to assist the growers would be to reduce the area under jute thus making it possible for them to get a fair price for it. If the jute industry had any sympathy for them, it would not think of opposing any move which the administration might contemplate in this direction. Surely if limitation of output for the ensuing of profits is justifiable in the case of jute mills, it is equally so in the case of jute growers who

want only a fair price. But it is not so. The jute manufacturers were against the reduction of jute acreage for the higher prices which would inevitably follow and would immediately affect their profits. The jute mills industry is, perhaps, the best paying industry in India. Whenever it is proposed to control the output of raw jute, those engaged in the manufacturing of jute are the strongest opponents of such proposals.

The attitude of the jute mills which have so far utilised their strong bargaining position to the detriment of the jute growers has been clarified by the statement that business is no philanthropy and in business-economics one is always entitled to purchase at the lowest price if he can arrange it, just as a seller is entitled to sell things to his own best advantage. While conceding that the jute industry is entitled to a fair margin of profit in order to retain its efficiency, this writer maintains that the grower also must obtain a fair price for the raw materials he produces.

The facts already placed before the reader, all drawn from authoritative sources, will most probably be regarded as sufficient justification for the opinion ordinarily held by Indians that if the jute industry has earned profits about which there is very little doubt, they have not come to the grower. It is therefore that Indians contend that it is a downright mistake to assume that the jute industry was started with the idea of benefiting the grower.

II

The first jute spinning mill was put up near Serampore, Bengal, in 1855 and was followed in 1859 by the first power-loom factory at Baranagore close to Calcutta since which time the jute industry has developed prodigiously under European leadership and control. The last war with its large demand for jute products gave such a stimulus to the industry that the pre-war average in the value of jute manufactures exported rose from about 20 to about 45 crores till the close of hositilities. The high profits earned during the war period led to the establishment of a large number of jute mills after its close.

Depression started from about September, 1929 and profits declined. This tendency was strengthened by the existence of accumulated stocks and labour troubles. The Indian Jute Mills Association which has nothing Indian in it except the name, entered into an agreement which came into force from the 1st August, 1932. Under it, the mills worked 40 hours per week and sealed down 15 per cent of their looms. Some small Indian mills

which were not members of the Indian Jute Mills Association agreed to reduce their working hours to 54 per week. Curtailment of production with a view to stabilising profits led to two results. Several new jute mills were established in India and these persisted in working full time, utilising all the machinery they had, to the fullest possible extent. Mills outside India captured an appreciable amount of the Indian jute trade. Faced by these difficulties the Indian Jute Mills Association gradually withdrew the restrictions on productions between 1934 and 1937. In October, 1938, came an Ordinance of the Bengal Government restricting the working hours of all jute mills to 45 per week. This was followed by a fresh agreement, as regards the limitation of output by reduction in working time.

The war, which came before the results of this agreement manifested themselves, brought about a change in production and profits. The falling off of the army demand for jute manufactures and the loss of the continental markets had a sobering effect on the industry and has led the Indian Jute Mills Association to curtail production. From what has appeared above, it is clear that the jute industry in Bengal has, like all other industries, known its periods of prosperity as well as those of adversity. While it is true that this may have happened in certain years and that rarely, it is correct to hold that, on the whole, it has met bad times when they have come very much better than almost all other industries. It has to be admitted that this is due to the maintaining of adequate reserves and the curtailment of production when necessary as also that all the credit for this must go to British leadership.

Practically located in Bengal which to all intents and purposes enjoys a monopoly in the production of raw jute, its jute mill industry consumes nearly two-thirds of the jute grown in the province. It finds employment for almost three lakh persons while, when it works under pressure, it enables nearly four lakhs to earn their living through it. What is noteworthy about this industry is that though, within recent times, there has been a transfer of shares from British to Indian hands, the control and the management continue to remain with non-Indians. If this is so, it follows that just as all the credit for the development of this large and important industry must go to Britons, similarly all the responsibility for such defects as may be found in it must rest with them.

There can be little doubt that the dividend-paying capacity of the jute industry is due to certain valuable advantages it enjoys and to the fact that its organisers adopted steps calculated

to counter the worst effects of depression when it came. Where jute mills outside Bengal and specially those outside India have to import raw jute, being thereby put to considerable expenditure, the Bengal jute mills undoubtedly enjoy a substantial advantage over their rivals, by their location in practically the raw material area, buying it as they do in Calcutta, the market for raw jute transactions. This one factor only has enabled them to hold a monopoly in certain lines. Another advantage is an ample supply of cheap labour. Nearly one hundred out of the one hundred and ten Indian jute mills are located in a small area on the banks of the Hooghly for about thirty-five miles above and twenty-five miles below Calcutta. This concentration of the industry in a small area and the fact that the control is mainly in the hands of Europeans have facilitated common action towards labour and the fixation of price to be paid for the raw material used in the industry. It has also rendered easy concerted action in the matter of limitation of output through restricted operation for the purpose of avoiding over-production leading to financial loss. The Indian Jute Mills Association founded about half a century ago has always been alive to the interests of the industry, has taken advantage of every circumstance in its favour and met, as far as possible, all the difficulties which have confronted it from time to time.

We shall now proceed to ascertain to what extent this industry has benefited from the advantages it enjoys and its efficient organisation, as gauged by the profits it has been earning with the assistance of the Indian labour and the Indian grower.

Difficulties in importing machinery and stores prevented the starting of new companies during the last war when the jute industry experienced a boom so that the mills then in existence had no fresh competition to face. The operation of certain sections of the Factory Act was suspended in order that they might meet the requirements of the British administration. In addition, during the later stages of the war, the export of raw jute except under a license was not permitted thus making available an abundant supply of the material at cheap prices. The wage level also did not rise. The natural result was the reaping of very handsome profits. Then came the depression which not only reduced the demand for jute manufactures, but also increased the cost of production by the mounting up of wages. The situation was worsened by the floating of new and extensions of existing companies. The prosperity of the jute industry even during this depression is also proved by the fact that the total gain taking the reserve funds and profits together

during 1915-24 amounted to £300 million that is 90 per cent per annum of the capital. The dividends paid to shareholders do not, however, give a correct picture of the earnings of jute mills almost every one of which is managed by European managing agency firms. These charge head office expenses ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,200 per mill and commission generally on gross sales. This not only permits the management agents to remunerate themselves even when the concerns in question are not earning profits, but also to make large profits when they are flourishing. There are also some jute mills which pay their managing agents a commission on profits in addition to a minimum commission and what many would be disposed to regard as a generous allowance for office expenses. In certain concerns, the managing agents are guaranteed a minimum commission varying, according to the size of the companies, from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 50,000 per annum. This allows them to remunerate themselves for their services even when no profits are earned by the jute mills under their management.

As regards the wages paid to jute mill workers, these depend on the nature of the work done by them, weavers drawing higher wages than winders, winders higher than spinners and spinners higher than batchers. Further, rates are appreciably lower in multiple shift working four days per week and higher in single shift working 5½ days per week.

In the evidence tendered before the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (Vol. V, Part I, p. 304), the Jute Mills Association made an attempt to justify the low wages paid to workers on the plea that 'one foreign worker, either in Dundee or the continent (where much higher wages are paid) has to do work that requires the services of two operatives in India.' There can be little doubt that, compared with the foreign worker, the Indian jute mill worker is inefficient so far as the output is concerned. But as the wages paid to the latter are lower, the labour cost to the employer is less. There is nothing to show that the efficiency of the Indian jute worker has diminished since the above statement was made. Under these circumstances, it does not seem that the comparative inefficiency of the Indian worker has tended to lower profits or that it can be urged as a reason for the payment of low wages.

These wages, inadequate as they appear to be, are subject to certain avoidable reductions the chief among which are those involved in the expenditure on narcotics and stimulants, payment of interest on debts and what has been called, *dasturi*. Those who have taken any interest in the welfare of industrial workers

are aware how very often the provision of amenities has the effect of greatly reducing their expenditure in these directions. As regards indebtedness, the Royal Commission on Indian Labour expressed the opinion that 'at least two-thirds of the industrial workers are in debt' as also that 'in most cases the debt is larger than three months' wages.' If, as frequently happens, the workers are unable to pay the whole of the interest, the arrears are added to the sum advanced so that the original loan, nearly always a small amount, is gradually turned into a large and permanent debt which it is impossible for the workers at any time to pay off. It is also felt that if concern had been felt for the jute workers the mill authorities with all the resources at their command would have somehow contrived to at least reduce the intensity of the exploitation by moneylenders.

The normal duties of the *sardar* inside the factory are those of a foreman, his importance lying in the position he occupies as an intermediary between the British manager and his British assistants and the workers. Under the well-known system of bribery known as *dasturi* for which the jute industry is notorious, the *sardar* who engages the workers charges for the original appointment and gets certain percentage which may vary from one to ten per cent of the wages. The Royal Commission on Indian Labour after stating its conviction as regards the prevalence of corruption of this type went on to say on page 24 of its report that—'The jobber himself has at times to subsidise the head jobber ; and it is said that even members of the supervising staff sometimes receive a share of the bribe.'

The Royal Commission on Indian Labour impressed with the extent of the bribery going on unchecked under the noses of the managerial staff, suggested its substantial reduction, if not total elimination, by the appointment of men of proved integrity and attractive personality as labour officers directly under the general manager. This suggestion has not been found acceptable by a large majority of the jute mills, from which the inference has been drawn that the British managers feel very little concern for the welfare of their labourers.

Now that we have ascertained the wages earned by the jute workers and the reductions caused in it on account of his addiction to drink and drugs, payment of interest on debt and *dasturi*, the question which suggests itself is whether in addition to the expenditure which he must incur for such necessities as food, fuel, lighting, clothing and house-rent, there are any other legitimate demands on his earnings. Educational and medical expenditure, expenses connected with the celebration of social

and religious functions and on such occasions as births, marriages and deaths as also expense for washing clothes, renewing cooking utensils, providing bedding and for the services of the barber and the like, are other legitimate demands on his earnings.

All these factors compel the jute workers to spend as little as they can on food, clothing and housing. Animal food like fish or meat and milk or ghee are very rarely taken because they are beyond their means. The result of the ill-balanced and often insufficient food taken by jute mill workers, mainly due to their meagre wages, is that their physique deteriorates rapidly, necessitating frequent visits to their village homes.

So far as housing is concerned, some of the mills have put up what are called *pucca* 'lines' for their workers. The majority of the workers in jute mills have, however, to arrange housing for themselves. This is secured in what are called *bustees*. Apart from the toll taken by epidemics in *bustee*, the habits and the general surroundings of the workers, the unsatisfactory nature of their diet, their low standard of life combine to make them victims of many ailments such as malaria, hookworm, dysentery, and other preventible diseases, weakness caused by which has been regarded as, at least partly, explaining the inefficiency of Indian labour.

The inadequate wages, unsatisfactory living conditions, the exactions of the *sardars* and moneylenders and ill-health naturally enough lead to a chronic state of discontent. This manifests itself in strikes whenever the sufferings of the workers are heightened by a rise in prices of the necessaries of life leading to a wide gap between their wages and the cost of living. Though occasionally caused by oppression, real or fancied, it is an admitted fact that a large majority of labour disputes are due to economic causes, the intensity of the discontent being increased when there are reasons for thinking that the industry is making large profits without at the same time allowing the jute workers to participate in its prosperity. The correctness of these views is proved by the history of all the major strikes from 1914 down to recent times. It is not perhaps incorrect to assume that friction between the employers and the employees in the jute as in other industries will continue so long as the latter are not given living wages.

Apart from the wrong, for it is nothing else, involved in the low prices paid for raw jute and the inadequate wages paid to workers, the European jute industry as organised at present has also committed a mistake by its deliberate refusal to seek the association of Indians in the directorate or in the management.

Whether this is a desirable state of things or not is for those controlling the jute industry at present to consider. There can, however, be little doubt that it has made easy the aggravation of bitterness of feelings in the inevitable conflicts between employers and employees by making it possible for designing labour leaders to give them a racial complexion. Further, Indian shareholders have regarded it as a grievance that they have been kept out from influencing to any appreciable extent the policy followed by the jute industry. These point out, it must be admitted with some justification, that as many non-Indians hold multiple directorships in jute mills without always holding a fairly large number of shares, they should be replaced by Indians who have larger financial stakes in these concerns.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN

I

The various measures by which the economic interests of the non-official European Community have been safeguarded have been sought to be justified on various grounds the most important of which are the social service it has rendered to India and the benefits it has conferred on us through the development of our foreign trade and our industries. Our attention has also been drawn to the many advantages we have derived from investment of European capital in India.

It is proposed in this and the following articles to ascertain whether the benefits we have derived under these heads have been of such a magnitude as to lend countenance to the view that the non-official European community is entitled to the favoured position it now enjoys in our political and economical life.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 and the Simon Commission Report of 1930 divided the European community into three sections. The first of these consists of the British section of the Indian Army, the second of those employed in various departments concerned with the civil administration of British India and the last, of Europeans not employed by Government with whom only we are concerned here, as it is to them that certain economic privileges have been given and it is also from them that the representatives of the European community are drawn.

This third section, the non-official Europeans, fall into four broad classes. The most important and influential among them in the language of the Simon Commission (Report, Vol. I., Paragraph 64) are 'the men of business, who with their families, are found in the principal shipping and trading centres and in other places of organised productoin, like the tea estates of Assam or Darjeeling or Chota Nagpur, the tea or coffee plantations in the Nilgiris, certain coal fields, or the rubber plantations and oil producing areas'.

It is to be noted that here the Simon Commission has lumped together Europeans engaged in commerce, industries, mining, planting etc., probably because the one thing common to all of them is their connection with capital invested in India with a view to the earning of profits.

From *Modern Review*—June, August, September, 1944.

Another class, confessedly small, of non-official Britons found in large centres of population consists of journalists, medical men, lawyers, engineers and other professional men.

Then we have some retired officials, army officers and planters who have settled down in the cooler parts of India with the idea of making India their home. The number of such men is so small that, for the purpose of the present discussion, they may be safely neglected.

A more important section consists of missionaries, male and female, of various Protestant denominations and members, male and female, of various Roman Catholic orders directly engaged in Christian propaganda. With these should be mentioned a small and devoted band of workers, male and female, engaged in educational, medical and other social work.

An examination of the directory issued by the National Christian Council in behalf of all the Protestant denominations, and of the Roman Catholic gazeteer issued from Madras will show that this section of non-official Europeans consists approximately of 10,000 adult males and females of whom roughly 25 per cent, as citizens of Britain or the self-governing Dominions, are entitled to exercise franchise in India, to seek election to our legislatures as representatives of the European community as a minority community and also to enjoy the advantages flowing from the economic safeguards incorporated in the Act of 1935.

Even the most orthodox non-Christian Indian will admit readily the unselfish devotion of these people to what they consider their primary duty—the preaching of Christianity. He will still more willingly acknowledge the important services rendered by those among them who have spent and are today spending themselves for educational, medical and other social work for the benefit of Indians irrespective of caste and creed.

Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 referred to their work as consisting in 'furthering education, building up character and inculcating healthier domestic habits . . . for which India should be grateful'.

Continuing it was stated in the following paragraph that—'It is difficult to over-estimate the devoted and creative work which missionary money and enterprise are doing in the fields of education, morals and sanitation'.

These missionaries and other social workers are stationed not only in the larger towns but also in remote corners of our motherland and it has to be admitted that their primary aim is to convince the Indian of the superiority of Christianity and then to convert him to their faith. Even though, according to many, their theologi-

cal propaganda has, from the standpoint of the material results achieved, been more or less a failure, it cannot be denied that they have done great service to India by spreading widely the knowledge of Christian ethics which the present writer, himself a Christian, regards as one of their most precious contributions.

With the spread of political knowledge among the middle class intelligentsia and its communication to the masses by the politically minded middle class leaders, the position of these missionaries has become very difficult. It is pointed out to them that the cardinal principles of the religion to which they seek converts and, worse still, the ethical standards to which they exhort their followers to adhere, are not always strictly observed by the more prosperous or the more honoured among their countrymen. If, led away by enthusiasm, they preach unselfishness which manifests itself in the political sphere as non-communalism, they are immediately confronted by the selfishness of a large section of non-missionary non-official Britons.

Their unselfish devotion to what they consider their duty is only too often ascribed to the necessity of earning their salary, which, few Indians are aware, is so small as hardly to deserve this description. In this connection, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that they could have easily earned far more than their meagre allowances had they but chosen some other walk of life.

So far as the knowledge of the present writer goes, the Roman Catholic missionaries are not permitted by the rules of the different orders to which they belong to take active part in politics. As for those belonging to the different Protestant denominations, it is well-known that they too are not encouraged to do so if only for the reason that they are sent to India for an altogether different purpose to which they are expected to devote all their time and energy.

From the contacts the present writer has been able to establish with European missionaries coming from Britain, Ireland, the self-governing Dominions, the United States and the continent, scattered in nine British Indian provinces and more than two dozen of the larger and more important Indian States which he has visited and these, it may be added, have been many and intimate, he feels justified in stating with all the emphasis at his command that, as a class, the only preoccupation of these servants of God is whether in an independent India, they will be permitted to carry on their present beneficent activities and the preaching of their faith with the same freedom as at present. On many occasions, apprehensions have been expressed that their liberty in the matter of propaganda would be curtailed and probably hindrances

placed in the way of conversions. On not a single occasion has any missionary expressed any desire to secure political influence by entering our legislatures in order to ensure the permanent enjoyment or extension of the existing political and economic rights guaranteed to the non-official European community under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

From enquiries made by the present writer it appears that since 1919 when communal seats were thrown open to Europeans in our legislatures, not a single European missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, has even once tried to enter them through election. It is also a fact that in two or three instances, European missionaries were nominated to them for particular purposes and for a limited period only, as for instance when the Rev. Dr. George Howells was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council under dyarchy in order to pilot the Serampore (Theological) University Act.

Where British businessmen have to safeguard their economic interests in order to continue earning profits the major part of which, Indians have always maintained, is taken away from and spent outside India, European missionaries collect money from their homelands and spend it here for our benefit. This fundamental difference is responsible for their attitude in regard to the question of both European representation in our legislatures and the continuance of economic privileges.

As a class, the European missionaries seek the friendship of Indians with whom they mix more intimately than any other class of aliens and are always unwilling to say or do things which are likely to lead to misunderstandings between them and the people among whom they have cast their lot. While they may not always be able to approve of the technique adopted by nationalism specially of the militant type, almost all of them sympathise with the economic and political ambitions of India.

On many occasions, as for instance during the last fast of Mahatma Gandhi at Poona, many of these mission workers have advocated an approach to the Indian problem much more sympathetic than that recommended by European businessmen on the one hand and British officials on the other. Whenever there is something like a crisis, British missionaries have, as a class, very rarely failed to react to them in the truly Christian manner. And this is true from the time of the Jallianwala tragedy down to more recent dates when efforts were made by some leaders among them to persuade the British Government to end the Indian political deadlock by releasing those Congressmen including Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and others who

were not associated with the disturbances of August 1942. And all this has not certainly added to their popularity with all their countrymen.

The Indian cannot forget that in none of the numerous reports of Committees and Commissions appointed by the Parliament or the Government of India has any mention ever been made as to any permanent organised efforts for conferring educational, medical and social benefits on Indians irrespective of caste and creed initiated by non-missionary non-official Europeans. The obvious reason for this is that they have been drawn to India by other considerations. Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, an English journalist said to be connected with *Capital*, the organ of British commerce and industry operating in Eastern India, says on page 37 of his *Danger in India* published in 1932 that—'The British businessman is in India primarily for business purpose, and for the making of money for the concerns which he represents', which, naturally does not bar out the making of money for himself.

What, however, seems ridiculous is that non-official Europeans, of whom businessmen form the most influential section, supply the leadership and shape the policy, should claim representation on the ground that their missionary countrymen have served India in these particular directions. If the Indian is told by non-missionary Europeans that some seats have to be reserved for these friends of India if only as a recognition of the services rendered by them to us, he would regard it as a very obvious subterfuge adopted with the definite purpose of increasing the influence of other and probably more selfish sections of the European community in our public life. Nor will he change this view unless and until he finds these European missionaries claiming representation in Indian legislatures through their own organisations or, in the alternative, seeking election to our legislatures from the European communal constituencies and in doing so, being supported by their non-missionary countrymen.

As none of these things has happened in the quarter of a century which has elapsed since elected seats from communal constituencies were thrown open to Europeans, the only conclusion the Indian feels he is entitled to draw is that missionaries do not seek recognition of the services they have rendered to India in the form of representation in Indian legislatures and the granting of economic privileges to their countrymen and that those who claim them for the European community as a whole on that score are not only guilty of misrepresenting the views of this most estimable class of people but also of exploiting, for their own purposes

and probably in ways which often do not find their approval, the very great benefits conferred on us by them.

What grieves the present writer, a Christian Indian, is that the work of the British missionaries is almost always made difficult by claims such as those concerned with the protection of British vested interests often urged by people who, sometimes barely tolerating them, claim to speak in their behalf and that without caring to ascertain their views—an attitude only explainable by the selfishness of the business section of the non-official European community.

It is, however, only fair to add that from such contacts as the present writer has been able to establish with non-official European businessmen in the executive of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Bible Society and other Christian organisations, he is convinced that almost every Briton associated with these organisations is a devoted Christian. Not only these men but others who do not profess to be strict Christians, and among these he would include some of his European colleagues in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as individuals are not only upright by nature but also make every attempt to be fair to those who are unable to agree to their point of view. Some among these have even gone so far as to admit, but invariably in an indirect way, that they do not approve of the over-representation in the legislatures accorded to their community as also that they have sufficient confidence in Indian goodwill to forego the special safeguards provided for British interests under the Government of India Act, 1935.

But it has to be observed at the same time, that whenever it is a question of acting as a community, the policy followed is the policy of the European Association, a policy dictated by the leaders of business and as such, conditioned exclusively by business considerations.

This reminds one of what Lord Acton said nearly half a century ago on page 506 of his *Historical Essays* where he expressed the opinion that—'The principles of public morality are as definite as those of the morality of private life, but they are not identical'.

What Christ whom these men profess to follow stood for long ago and what Gandhiji is advocating today is the identification of public and private morality, the divorce between which is leading today to such awful carnage and destruction that the human imagination reels back at their mere thought.

It is to be hoped that, by the time we have the next revision of the constitution of India, non-official Europeans will have acquired sufficient unselfishness to set an example to our Indian minorities so as to place general above sectional and group

interests, failing which what leadership under the profit motive they have given in the development of our industry and commerce will be regarded by us not as a blessing but as a curse specially if it leads to the creation of yet another disruptive force in our national life.

II

That the non-official European community has always realised that the excessive representation and the economic safeguards demanded by and accorded to it need some kind of justification becomes evident when we remember the plea it put forward before the Government of India on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. The representations it made to the British administration were summarised in the following terms in Paragraph 4 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms, dated the 5th March, 1919. It was said there that—'They (non-official Europeans) claim a separate electorate and representation in proportion to their importance rather than their numerical strength and they doubt whether even this will sufficiently secure the interests of trade and commerce'.

This short and pregnant summary makes three things clear. The first of these is that the non-official European, like his successor a quarter of a century later when the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted and like most of his Indian fellow-subjects, was out to secure his economic interests by demanding communal seats and that here his democratic heritage and his professed admiration for it as well as his experience of parliamentary procedure made no difference between him and the politically uneducated and often illiterate Indian. The second fact is that the non-official European to safeguard his interests demanded representation not on the basis of his importance wherein he was in no way different from or superior to the communal-minded Mussalman who claimed weightage on account of his historical importance and the Sikh who stressed his contribution to the Indian Army. The concluding part of the statement makes crystal clear where this importance lay, viz., his trade and commerce.

Be it remembered that all this was said at a time when, under the Montague-Chelmsford-Reforms, the non-official European was about to be accorded altogether 58 seats in our Central and Provincial legislatures.

In Paragraphs 81, 82 and 88 of the second volume of its report the Simon Commission referred to the important services rendered by non-official Europeans. Drawing attention to the valuable

contributions made by British businessmen, it admitted incidentally in paragraph 81 that the European communal seats were generally occupied by them. In this connection the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following sentence quoted from page 68 of the second volume of the Simon Commission Report where it was stated that—'the numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country, or of the influence they exert'.

Similarly, paragraph 13 of the Government of India's Despatch on the proposals for constitutional reforms dated the 20th September, 1930, refers to 'the important contribution which this (non-official European) community has made to the economic development of India'.

This refers specially to industrial development for in almost the next sentence, mention is made separately of the widespread commercial activities of Britons and the benefits India has derived from them.

The fact that the above two statements were made in the course of discussions regarding the representation to be accorded to non-official Europeans in Indian legislatures is abundant proof that this was regarded as an important factor in determining its amount.

It has been shown previously that the industrial revolution in England and improved communications in India due to the construction of railways, the establishment of steamer services and improvements in roads promoted the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures, mainly from England. As a consequence of this, there were such large accumulations of capital in England that the openings available for its advantageous investment in its homeland failed to absorb them. Alec Cairncross in *The Victorians and Investment* which appears in *Economic History* has shown how the funded debts in England 'went on yielding decreasing incomes due to falling interest rates', the natural consequence of which was the export of capital.

There were certain very good reasons for the influx of British capital into Indian industries. At that time, a British community engaged in banking and commerce had already established itself in the principal ports and centres of trade. Among the Britons who came to our motherland in connection with the purchase of raw materials, the sale of British products, shipping, etc., a number, generally ambitious and enterprising, stayed on to take advantage of such openings in business as were available here. Most of these people had either capital of their own or could command easy money in the shape of exported British capital.

These men found that India possessed large amounts of inexpensive raw material, an abundant supply of untrained but cheap and tractable labour and a ready market for such goods as her children needed. Further, Indians lacked the necessary leadership, business organisation and capital to exploit all these advantages. Political subjection stood in the way of the development of our resources with borrowed foreign capital and imported technicians.

At the same time, most British business leaders possessed conspicuous ability. The training they had undergone in Britain coupled with the widening of their outlook due to travel and experience abroad enabled them to plan well on a large scale. Indeed, at this particular stage of our economic development, these men had the monopoly of business enterprise in India. There was no fear of competition from indigenous sources nor was there a jealous national government to place impediments in their way if and when they exploited our material resources and man-power primarily for their own benefit.

Indians may be wrong but they believe that one of the attractions India possessed for these men lay in the fact that, as a dependency and on the principle that blood is thicker than water, these businessmen felt, perhaps not always rightly, that they would meet with greater consideration from their countrymen who were ruling India in behalf of Britain than in the Colonies and Dominions where they would have men of their own race and blood as their rivals and where probably the colonials would have the first preference from their governments. So far as the question of protection of life and property was concerned, India as a dependency was in no way inferior to any of these countries.

Even then, the Britons who took up the task of industrialising India were careful to engage in industries where the minimum amount of risk had to be faced. This is clear when we remember the general order in which three different types of industries were developed.

Probably disinclination to face the risks involved in power manufacturing on a large scale the products of which might not find an immediately profitable market in or outside India and which would require the investment of large amounts of capital in somewhat doubtful enterprises induced the English investors as well as those engaged in the import and export trade of India to direct their attention first of all to what are called plantation industries, such as indigo, tea and coffee, the market of which was assured as Britain herself stood in need of them.

All the above industries with the exception of indigo are engaged in the cultivation of the crops and their preparation for the market and every one of them is organised along the same lines as the factory industries. They have been established by Europeans with European, generally British, capital mainly in areas formerly sparsely populated. Where Indians have appeared, as for instance in the tea industry, they have been late comers who have found to their dismay that all the best land suitable for cultivation has been appropriated by purchase or long lease by European concerns long before their appearance in the field.

As a general rule, the labour required is recruited from considerable distances mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the same workers are engaged in different times in both agricultural and industrial processes which are carried out scientifically. Each plantation is practically a productive unit employing a large number of workers under capitalistic control and therefore falls under the category of industries.

The returns from plantation industries, the high expectations entertained about their future prosperity as well as the increasing amount of English capital seeking investment combined to lead to the development of Indian mining industries which, beginning with the raising of coal were gradually extended till today the major part of our mining industries is under European control.

The opening of the Suez Canal which reduced the length of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope by nearly two months and practically halved the cost of carriage stimulated our foreign trade so much that England which by that time had become 'the workshop of the world' was enabled to pour into India and other industrially backward oriental countries an unending stream of her manufactures.

These factories, however, indirectly assisted the establishment of power industries in India for the eminent success achieved by them in England and the facilities for easy communication brought about by the starting of shipping services between Britain and India and the construction of railways in the latter, carried along with them the implication of the easy transplanting of factories to India and the oriental countries. Machinery could be imported, spare parts could be obtained quickly and cheaply, engineers and skilled labour to install, operate and repair them could pass to and from between England and them at much less sacrifice of time, money and convenience.

Indians believe that Europeans engaged in the gradually increasing import and export business discovered that it would

be more profitable for them to start those industries in India the raw products of which were available locally and to export them in a partly or fully manufactured state. There were two factors in their favour the first being that they could use cheap Indian labour thus reducing the manufacturing costs and secondly, that the processes through which the raw materials would pass would reduce their bulk and weight which of course would reduce the cost of carriage.

Still another fact which must have weighed with the more far-sighted among them was that it would be wise for Britons to start industries manufacturing such consumer's goods as had ordinarily to be imported. In addition to the fact that they would have a ready and large market almost next door, the establishment of industries of this type would entitle them to claim the benefits of protection if and when that became the accepted policy of the British administration in India.

These are some of the reasons for the appearance of factory industries in our motherland though, as was but natural they, at the beginning, were confined to the manufacture of a comparatively few lines of goods.

While it is not maintained that chronologically there were three distinctly marked stages in the development of different types of Indian industries under British leadership, it is nonetheless correct to assume that, in spite of a certain amount of overlapping, factory industries made large advances after the most important among the mining industries had been stabilised and that they in their turn succeeded in securing a firm position after the plantation industries had been established.

Though many of the plantations, mines and industries were originally started by individual Britons, it was not long before the force of circumstances converted them into joint-stock companies as for instance when the founder at the time of his retirement thought it necessary to retain some interest in the business and therefore formed a limited liability company in which he retained a large number of shares, the actual management being entrusted to either some individuals or some organisation commanding his confidence.

When India's foreign trade and large-scale industries with their demand for large amounts of capital passed to Britons, it had to be procured from their countrymen and the organisers were therefore compelled to incorporate them in England. Even when such concerns were registered in India with rupee capital, the money had to come from Britons. The capital and influence of

these concerns, however, as Dr. Anstey has pointed out 'were small in comparison with that of companies registered outside India'.

The organisers, almost always well known for their integrity and business ability, were able to raise the amount required from their own countrymen without any difficulty and did so because they had not realised the desirability of associating the people of the country where they were earning profits by the exploitation of Indian labour and Indian raw materials, in their activities. Few Indians will agree to the view that any attempts made in this direction would have failed for Indian capitalists are as eager as any other people to invest their savings profitably. There was also the fact that British business enjoyed the confidence of Indians and this would have attracted Indian investors.

Actual experience proved that it was not easy to maintain the requisite continuity of policy and efficient direction and management in these British joint-stock concerns with sterling capital and with their head offices in London because managers with first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions were hard to get and these salaried officers paid frequent visits to England either on leave or for recuperation after illness. There was also the problem of replacing them when they left the concerns they were serving to better their prospects or when they died.

These were the circumstances which called the managing agency system into existence. The firms acting as managing agents not only enjoy an unimpeachable reputation for their integrity and financial soundness but usually have a number of competent and experienced partners able to replace one another thus ensuring continuous expert supervision of the concerns entrusted to their management. As they do business continuously in India, they always have, in addition to the partners, a European staff familiar with Indian conditions and able to take responsibility thus ensuring efficiency and continuity of supervision for each individual concern under their care.

There are at least three principal reasons for the dominant position occupied by managing agency firms in the industries controlled by them. The first of these is that they invariably hold a certain minimum of shares which, along with those held by their friends, is sufficient to place them in an advantageous position. While theoretically, no one can exercise effective control without holding 51 per cent of the shares, what actually happens is that as they are distributed among people living in different parts of the country the number of whose shares is not large enough to make them take the trouble of organising a movement against the managers so long as they receive satisfactory dividends, the agency firms

enjoy perfect freedom to pursue their own policy without any interference.

A method for securing control is through written agreements, terminable and non-terminable. These accord such wide powers that the managing agency firms are, to all intents and purposes, at perfect liberty to carry on their activities without any kind of let or hindrance. The fact that these cannot be revoked or cancelled unless by a 75 per cent majority of the shareholders is sufficient to practically convert terminable into non-terminable agreements.

The financial advances made by the managing agency firms as well as the fact that they are often the largest holders of debentures having a lien on the assets of the company make them the chief creditors and this makes their position almost unassailable.

It would be idle to deny that just as attempts for the attainment of the largest possible measure of commercial and industrial self-sufficiency when they are likely to yield little or no profits or even to involve loss are made only where they are directed by a national government in pursuance of a national policy, similarly all ventures, commercial and industrial, whether undertaken by Indians or non-Indians, can have only one motive—the earning of profits. The British shareholders, directors and the managing agency firms entrusted with the conduct of business enterprises in India constitute no exception to this rule.

It will also be readily admitted that the principal reason why the British managing agency firms have been permitted to enjoy almost unlimited power is that they have succeeded in this task of earning dividends which, on the whole, have satisfied those who have invested their savings in the enterprises controlled by them. Nor can it be doubted that failure on an extensive scale in this their primary task would sooner or later have led to the withdrawal by their financial backers of the powers enjoyed by them and that, taking all things together, the British managing agency firms stand to lose much more than individual shareholders however large their holdings for, as Dr. Nabagopal Das, Ph.D. (Econ.), London, I.C.S., has pointed out on page 85 of his *Industrial Enterprise in India*: 'They have generally regarded their earnings from shares (as shareholders) as subordinate to their (generally much larger) earnings in other capacities and in other fields of activity.'

From all this it follows that the desire to avoid loss and the profit motive operate more strongly in the case of the agency firms than in that of the shareholders.

These facts have a two-fold significance. The first of these is the minimum profits which would keep the shareholders contended and the second the industries where these could be secured

with the minimum risk. So far as the first matter is concerned, we find that the opinion expressed by several leading business men (*Indian Tariff Board: Paper and Pulp Industries, Evidence*, 1925, Vol. I, p. 639) was that the minimum return necessary to draw capital into new fields was 10 to 15 per cent on the investment with of course the implication that not only would larger returns be more welcome to investors as a class but also that aliens would naturally enough prefer to lay out their savings in those enterprises which offer fair prospects of earning them on the principle that investments in foreign countries ordinarily involving larger risks are expected to yield higher returns. Still another implication equally important is that once experience shows that high or fairly large profits can be earned with comparative ease and with minimum risk in certain industrial enterprises, the tendency to concentrate on them would immediately and automatically manifest itself.

Applying these deductions to the industries organised by Britons in India, we find that the (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce in its evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission as referred to by the Indian Fiscal Commission (*Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 929) said: 'In Calcutta, the sources from which capital is drawn for enterprise with which members of this Chamber are concerned are two-fold: Europeans in India and the United Kingdom.'

Even those with limited knowledge of European business in Calcutta are aware that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is the strong-hold of British big business, that is to say, of people engaged in commercial pursuits and of those connected with the various managing agency firms which control jute, tea, coal and inland transport industries.

It is true that of late a certain percentage of jute shares are owned by Marwaris but these, generally used as counters for speculation, are rarely looked on as investments for profits. Excepting these, the bulk of the shares are held by non-Indians.

Dr. Vera Anstey on page 209 of her *Economic Development in India* explains the British concentration on these industries in the following way: 'The initiative . . . has lain mainly with Europeans, who also provided the bulk of the capital. Capital is dear, much of the interests and profits earned is payable in England, whilst only those industries have been promoted which appear most desirable in English eyes.'

All these industries satisfy the first requirement—fairly high and regular dividend earning capacity while all except inland transport have earned phenomenal profits at certain times as is

easily proved by the following quotation from page 221 of H. N. Brailsford's *Property or Peace*:

> It is usually estimated that from £600 to £700 millions of British capital are invested in India. Part of this capital is sunk in industries which in favourable years yield fabulous profits. Coal mines have been known to pay 100 and 120 per cent on a daily wage of 8*d*. Out of 51 Jute mills, 32 paid as much as 100 per cent in one or more years between 1918 and 1927 ; 29 never paid less than 20 per cent, and 10 never less than 40 per cent. During the early post war years the profits of these jute mills ranged from six to eight times their total wages bill. For every £12 that they paid in wages to their Indian workers, they remitted £100 in profits to their shareholders in Scotland.

III

The British managing agency firms which have their fingers on the pulse of the British investor have therefore concentrated on the development of old and well-tried enterprises, jute mills, tea gardens, and coal mining all yielding fairly high dividends, a fact noted by the *Holland Industries Commission* which referred to their 'undue reluctance to embark on new ventures,' observing in Paragraph 288 of its report that—'The investment of capital has been upon comparatively restricted lines up to the war and there has been little enterprise in new directions'.

Taking a broad view of the services rendered to India in the industrial sphere by British leadership, one cannot help but agree to the view expressed by two eminent Indian economists, Professors P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant, on page 282 of their recently published book *Our Economic Problem* that:

> It is significant that British investment in modern industries in India was confined exclusively to enterprises like railways, coal mines, jute mills, and to tea, coffee and sugar plantations—industries related to the production and export of raw materials.

It is admitted that the question as to whether a new enterprise should be started or not is the responsibility of the investors and the promoters. But when Britons enter what we maintain exaggerated claims in regard to the value of the leadership rendered by them in developing our industries and on that score demand what most people of this country consider over-representation in our legislatures and statutory safeguards to retain and, may be, to extend their hold on our economic life, we hold that we have the

right to ascertain whether they are based on unimpeachable facts. While it is admitted that, from the point of view of earning steady and respectable profits, there is ample justification of the British concentration on certain industries only, it is believed that the services rendered to India would have been much more valuable if Britons engaged in industries had, instead of being content with merely reposing on their laurels, embarked on new and uncertain but probably equally profitable ventures calculated to encourage the all-round industrial development of India, success in which would have established an irresistible claim on our gratitude, specially if this had gone hand in hand with the association of Indians in these and other enterprises started by them.

Tested by standards such as these, it is doubtful whether Britons are entitled to that amount of consideration from us which is a condition precedent to our granting them the position they demand in our economic life.

On page 723 of his *Eastern Industrialisation and Its Effect on the West,* a publication sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, G. E. Hubbard has summed up the Indian view of the services received from Britons in the industrial development of their motherland in the following terms:

> Investment has been guided by British rather than by Indian interests—profits and interests have been drained out of the country, . . . enterprise has been concentrated upon commercial and a few special types of industrial concerns to the neglect of broader industrial needs. . . . Indians have not enjoyed full opportunities for technical and managerial training and experience and . . . undue advantage been taken of the cheapness and abundance of Indian manual labour.

After stating that these allegations may be exaggerations and that there is nothing to show that these objectionable features of the British industrial policy have been due to the adoption of a deliberate policy, this author expresses the view that 'some of them contain an element of truth'.

It has been suggested that one reason for the establishment of factories in India under British leadership was that the export of materials like jute, hide, etc., in a manufactured or semi-manufactured state would be more profitable than their export in the raw state. Additional profits would come from the saving in the cost of carriage and the use of the abundant supply of cheap Indian labour. Then again, these two factors would play their part when these factories manufactured and marketed commodities consumed in India and which formerly had been imported, the highest profits being secured when they used

easily available Indian raw materials. Under the class would come things like matches, soap, aluminium and enamelled ware, rubber tyres, chemicals, etc.

The Swadeshi movement and the war of 1914-18 played an important part in stimulating our industries and several new ones were started. Many of them had to be closed down and others languished when normal conditions were restored and when these had to face competition from Western countries. It was from this time that the Indian demand for protection grew so insistent that the British administration felt that it could no longer afford to ignore it and it appointed the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1921 and the External Capital Committee in 1925.

British industrial interests which had watched the trend of events realised that though the industries promoted by the managing agency firms producing goods which, on the whole, did not compete with home products were safe, there was some risk that their products manufactured with the assistance of costly British labour and imported into the country would find it difficult to compete with articles manufactured in India by our cheap labour out of our raw materials specially if protection implied the raising of high tariff walls.

The Indian Fiscal Commission submitting its report in 1922 recommended discriminating protection under clearly defined conditions. The report of the External Capital Committee supported the views of the Indian Fiscal Commission on the problem with which it was directly concerned suggesting unimportant modifications here and there. Their recommendations to a certain extent safeguarded British industrial interests. To make assurance doubly sure, British capital now began entering India in large amounts and established many industrial concerns under the control and management of aliens many of which captured the fields in which Indian industries had been operating for a long time. Some of these took up new and profitable lines of work which Indians had been planning to occupy.

With their vast financial resources, their technical knowledge and experience of business organisation, it was easy for Europeans to ruin their Indian rivals by cut-throat competition which sometimes took the form of selling their goods at below cost of production prices. It has been held that a deliberate attempt to exploit the bias for Swadeshi goods was made by the addition of the words "India Ltd." to their names. Occasionally, an Indian or two was taken into the directorate and his name added to the original non-Indian name of the concern.

Not only were the goods manufactured advertised widely

but claims to the enjoyment of the same protection extended to genuine Indian concerns were advanced and conceded by the British administration. Unable to meet competition at their very doors, indigenous industries are rapidly succumbing to this onslaught with such rapidity that in the view of some Indian publicists, it is only a question of time when they will be wiped out altogether.

It has been urged that the shyness of Indian capital and the lack of qualified Indian technicians are responsible for the appearance of "India Ltd." concerns. In reply it may be said that if we had absolute control over our fiscal policy and had been in a position to adopt full-blooded protection, Indian capital could have easily followed the example of Tata's and imported alien technical staff under contract and gradually trained up its Indian personnel. As for the alleged shyness of Indian capital, we find Mr. G. W. Tyson, C.I.E., Editor, *Capital*, the most influential organ of British business in Eastern India, admitting on page 7 of his *India Arms for Victory* published in October, 1942, that—'Never within recent years has there been any lack of capital in India or a reluctance to stake it on new and sometimes speculative projects.'

The recommendation of the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee that restrictions should be placed on foreign capital only where it is accorded some kind of concession as well as the provisions against discrimination embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, under which discrimination against British capital, etc., can be adopted only when it is exercised against their Indian counterparts in Britain, have made it possible for British manufacturing interests to establish their industries behind our tariff walls while the extensive scale on which their operations are conducted has made it unnecessary for them to discriminate against the very few Indian activities in Britain.

Today we find non-Indian concerns taking advantage of the above factors and establishing themselves in India industries under very serious handicaps and flourishing at the expense of the Indian consumer. In effect, he has to pay a higher price for such goods produced under the shelter of tariff walls as he uses and the whole of the manufacturing profit is lost to India. It cannot be denied that the primary object of imposing tariffs was the fostering of Indian industries thus promoting our national interests as also that the starting of alien "India Ltd." concerns does not fulfil this purpose.

In this connection, it is profitable to recall what the Com-

merce Member of the Government of India, a British official, speaking on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Indian Industries Commission said more than a quarter of a century ago: 'The building up of industries where the capital control and management should be in the hands of the Indians is the special object we (India Government) have in view.'

Continuing, this official expressed his disapproval of taking any steps which might 'merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries'.

This undertaking, for that is how it is regarded by Indians coming as it did from a Briton speaking in his official capacity before the Central Legislature, has not been fulfilled for the fiscal policy of the British administration in India and the anti-discrimination clauses in the Act of 1935 have made the establishment of "India Ltd." concerns feasible and that in spite of the strongest of Indian protests.

The incorporation of subsidiaries of alien concerns under the specious title of "India Ltd.", the occasional association of Indian capital in these enterprises in a junior capacity and our political subjection which prevents us from framing our industrial, commercial, tariff and fiscal policies so as to fully safeguard our economic interests, have raised apprehensions regarding the future economic development of India which cannot be allayed until we enjoy much larger powers than we do today. Rightly or wrongly, India feels that unless restrictions are imposed and imposed quickly, foreign capital will occupy such fields of remunerative industry and commerce as still remain uncovered with the result that her children will permanently occupy a position of economic inferiority.

Non-Indians engaged in industries often declare that, granting for the sake of argument that little has been done for the members of the educated and the well-to-do classes, there is not much doubt that they have benefited their workers. The Indian view is that the best test for ascertaining the correctness of such claims is to find out the scale of wages for labour and the efforts put forward to improve its standard of living.

While considerations of space render it impossible to give anything like a detailed account of the wages paid to labour in even one of the industries mentioned above, the following information taken from authoritive sources should prove interesting as throwing a flood of light on the amount of benefit derived by Indian labour from the establishment of industries in India by European businessmen.

After taking into consideration the wages paid to labour in all our large-scale industries, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan on page 354 of his *Industrial Organisation in India* concluded that—'The Indian industrial worker is in receipt of wages which are insufficient to satisfy even the primary needs of civilised existence.'

Inadequate as these wages are, it would be a mistake to take it for granted that industrial labour gets all the wages it earns. There are first of all certain deductions made by employers in the shape of fines levied for breaches of discipline and absence from work, deductions for damage to materials or machinery due to some fault of the workers and, occasionally, for benefits supplied by the employers, such as medical attention and the like.

Then comes the payment the workman has to make to the jobber or foreman under whom he works. This consists of a sum paid on appointment and a percentage from the periodic wages. The coal mines and the jute industry have a particularly bad reputation for this practice.

Indebtedness is still another factor preventing labour from benefiting fully from its wages. The estimate of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour was that at least two-thirds of the labourers are in debt and that this, in most cases, is equivalent to three months' wages. This burden is aggravated by reason of the high rate of interest charged which the above Commission held is commonly '75 per cent per annum'.

It goes without saying that the sums which go out of the wages of labour under the above heads are not met out of the surplus which would otherwise have been spent on petty luxuries. 'They have often,' in the language of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (Report, p. 226) 'to be provided by trenching on the primary needs of a healthy life'.

In the General Report on Industrial Labour in India issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, we have a number of statements showing the average size of working class families in different centres and in different industries, the number of wage earners, the average monthly earnings of some families and lastly on page 280, the average monthly family incomes and expenditures and the percentage expenditure on main consumptions groups. The conclusion drawn from this table by two eminent Indian economists, joint authors of *Our Economic Problem*, is that—'If we consider the first four items of expenditure (food, clothing, rent, fuel and lighting lumped up together) . . . . the average expenditure amounts to 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing,

bedding and house-hold articles, the percentage will increase to 85.'

On page 376 of his *Industrial Organisation in India,* Dr. P. S. Lokanathan after a review of the above facts concludes that—'The large proportion spent on the primary necessaries of life is evidence of the insufficiency of the wages, and of the very low margins between subsistence and starvation available to the workers.'

The insufficient and ill-balanced diet and the deplorable housing conditions of industrial labour leading to preventable diseases and premature death have been dealt with in detail by the present writer elsewhere and he is not therefore disposed to say anything further on these matters. He will content himself with quoting here the views expressed in 1938, by Mr. Harold Butler of the International Labour Office on page 9 of his book *Problem of Industry in the East* where, after referring to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour made in 1931, he says,—'The fundamental reforms suggested in the recommendations on education, industrial relations, health, housing and the standard of life still remain for the most part to be carried out.'

The result is that what Dr. V. S. Rutherford M.A., M.B. (Cantab.), a former Member of the House of Commons said in 1927 on page 125 of his *Modern India* is equally true today. His words were as follows:

> The only advantage that India derives from British-owned industries is sweated wages and a low standard of life for Indian labour, a very dubious advantage which Indians might be better without.

As contrasted with these benefits derived by Indian labour, the same author summarises the advantages enjoyed by Europeans as consisting in higher salaries paid to the British management (with) the dividends going to England.

It is true that after the present war had started and when there was a sudden increase in the demand for certain types of goods, rises in wages, allowances, bonuses, etc., were given as also food-grains and other necessaries of life supplied to labour at concession rates. Employers have taken credit for these steps referring to them as proof of their desire to discharge their responsibility towards their employees. Labour leaders explain all these measures not as indicative of a spirit of generosity but as being due to their anxiety to earn the high profits due to inflated prices and war contracts, obviously impossible without a contented labour force. They will believe in the bona fides of the em-

ployers only if the treatment persists when, with the end of the war, prices slump and high profits disappear or almost disappear and if no attempt is made then to seriously cut down the wages which are being paid today.

The Indian does not deny that in expressing the view that the measure of representation given in our legislatures to non-official Europeans should be conditioned by their 'importance' and their 'contribution,' the executive of the India Government of 1919 of which seven out of eight members were Britons as well as the Simon Commission in 1930 all the members of which were Britons, were voicing a conviction, no doubt honestly held by the European community resident in India and their friends and supporters in Britain. Aldous Huxley was explaining this attitude when he pointed out many years ago in his *Jesting Pilate* that if he had been a member of the Indian Civil Service or the owner of a sufficiently large block of remunerative shares in the Calcutta jute mills, he would have felt little hesitation in believing, and that in all sincerity, that British rule has been an unmixed blessing to Indians who are constitutionally incapable of governing themselves as also that industries incorporated in England and operating in India and carrying away everything except the wages paid to manual labour have been an equally inestimable boon to us.

Indians maintain that the examination of the value of the services rendered by British industry along with other facts to which no reference has been made here entitle them to draw the conclusion that they have no reason to feel any excessive gratitude. Such small benefits as have come to the people of this country have not emerged as the result of any deliberate effort put forth by British industry but only because they are unseparable from the activities carried on by it in pursuit of its own ends. They are also convinced that they would be withdrawn tomorrow if doing so would be helpful to the interests of British capital.

The claim that non-official Europeans are entitled to fabourable treatment in the form of commercial safeguards, excessive representation, etc., because of the services some of them have rendered to our economic development by the establishment of industries in our motherland reminds India of what Count Sforza, the Italian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs who, because of his hostility to fascism was forced to remain in exile during the period when Mussolini was in power, wrote some years ago, to be precise in October, 1927, in *Foreign Affairs* when he referred to 'that precious gift bestowed on the British people, the possession

of writers and clergymen (and it may be added of other apologists of British capital) able in perfect good faith to advance the highest moral reasons for the most concrete diplomatic (and legislative) action, with inevitable moral (and economic) profit to England (and Englishmen).'

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MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

I

A striking feature of the large scale industries established till recently in India is that they were generally started by individuals of foreign extraction on their own initiative. For instance, though the establishment of plantation industries like indigo and tea was encouraged by the East India Company, many of the European indigo planters established their business independently.

As regards tea, we find that though the Assam Tea Company was the first of the tea concerns to be incorporated, there is ample evidence on record to show that, after the withdrawal, under the Charter Act of 1833, from the East India Company of the monopoly of the China trade one of the most profitable items of which was the export of tea, many officials, army officers, medical men and other Europeans started tea gardens in India on an experimental basis and were successful and that, later, most of them commenced the growing of tea on a commercial scale though they had to face competition from larger and better organised joint-stock tea companies incorporated in England. All the pioneering work in the cultivation of coffee was done by Europeans. The predominance of Europeans in this particular plantation industry is evident from the fact that the ownership of the larger coffee plantations is generally in the hands of Europeans or European concerns.

The Government of India introduced rubber from Brazil about 1870 and the first plantation was established in Ceylon. The Maharajah of Travancore was responsible for its introduction into his State about 1900, whence it gradually spread to Cochin, Coorg and Malabar. But as Dr. Buchanan points out, here too the leadership in large scale planting was assumed mainly by Europeans and often by joint stock companies registered in London.

According to the *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, p. 128, the first person to undertake coal mining was one Mr. S. G. Heatley, Magistrate of Chota Nagpur. In 1774, he along with Mr. John Sumner obtained from Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of Bengal, permission to mine coal in Pachete and Birbhum. They were later joined by one Mr. Redferne

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and secured the monopoly 'to mine and sell coal in Bengal and its dependencies. By 1777, six coal mines were at work which produced 90 tons of coal but of very poor quality.

At the suggestion of Warren Hastings, a mining engineer named Jones was sent to India by the East India Company in 1814 to investigate our coal resources. He started coal mining on his own account at Raniganj. His death which followed soon after resulted in the taking over of his mine by Messrs. Alexander & Co. Last of all came the Bengal Coal Company, followed by the amalgamation of most of these concerns.

Modern mining was founded in South India by M. T. Lavelle, an Irish soldier, who commenced work on what are now the Kolar Gold Fields in 1871 and it is well-known that this great mining industry in this particular part of India is completely in the hands of Europeans. The same thing may be said about the manganese, petroleum and many other mining industries.

The first jute mill in India was built in 1854 by Mr. George Acland, an Englishman who left the British Navy to settle in Ceylon whence he came to Bengal locating his factory at Rishra, near Serampore. The second mill started by Mr. George Henderson, a Scotchman, commenced both spinning and power-weaving from 1859.

The engineering industry originated with railway repairs in the workshops at Kharagpur, Jamalpur, Bombay, Lahore, etc. The Ordnance Factories of Government also played their part in its development. Then came worskshops to meet the needs of the jute, tea, coal, cotton and other large scale industries as well as those of the Public Works Department in connection with its irrigation, building and bridge-making activities. Today the largest engineering enterprises in most manufacturing centres are controlled by non-Indians while, till very recently, what ship-building we had in India was also their monopoly.

The different industries controlled today by the British India Corporation of Cawnpore originated in the activities of Sir Alexander MacRobert of the Cawnpore Woollen Mills fame and of Mr. Albert Horsman of the Swedish Cotton Mills fame. Today the British India Corporation represents the merging of a number of woollen and cotton mills and of tanneries and manufactories of leather goods.

The above facts show that many of the plantations, mines and factory industries were originally started by individual Britons, who undertook their management and supplied their finances. Circumstances, however, tended to turn them into joint-stock companies. This generally happened when the founder had to retire

and could not either find a purchaser or was desirous of retaining an interest in the business he had started. In such cases, the management went either to individuals, who had been trained up by the founder or, more generally, to an organisation specialising in this kind of work.

Management by individuals however honest and efficient was not, on experience, found quite satisfactory as occasionally these men had to return home on long leave for various personal reasons. There was also the problem of replacing them when they took service elsewhere or when they died. These hard realities encouraged the rise and popularity of the managing agency firms.

Europeans engaged in commerce and banking realised very soon that there were some factors which favoured the starting and location of industries in our motherland, such as its vast undeveloped resources, a large consuming population, an abundant supply of cheap and tractable labour and the absence of the fear of competition from within the country. This explains why they gradually included the organisation of industries among their activities and also undertook the management of industries started by others which sought their services. We have only to remember how firms like Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co., Messrs. Martin & Co., etc., which originally came to India as trading concerns, utilised the experience gathered in that capacity for the development of industries. Availing themselves of the services of experts for technical purposes, they developed tea gardens, coal mines, jute and flour mills, railway companies, engineering firms, etc.

Managing agency firms are partnerships or, more generally, private limited companies formed by a number of individuals with considerable business experience and strong financial resources. So far as the direct establishment of business enterprises by them is concerned, we find that they undertake the pioneering work which must, under all circumstances, precede the starting of new concerns and promote joint-stock companies. Managing agents also see to the supply of finance by acting as guarantors. The managing agency firms not only provide finance themselves but, as guarantors whose financial reputation is established, secure the necessary capital from credit organisations. Loans are also advanced by them. In addition to subscribing themselves to the shares and debentures of the companies under their management, they assist in placing these securities on the market. Further, they undertake full responsibility for securing land, erecting buildings, purchasing and installing machinery, appointing the staff, purchasing the raw material, manufacturing it and marketing the products of their companies.

From the time that the managing agency system came into being, it has grown into a custom for nearly every one of them to control a number of concerns operating in widely different spheres of industry. Dr. P. S. Lokanathan on pages 48-49 of his *Industrial Organisation in India* has supplied a statement, and remarks on this matter which occur on page 15 of his book are as follows: 'From one industry they (managing agency firms) turned to another . . . . because each line of business opened the way for another. Thus managing agents for jute mills started colliery concerns and found that the jute mills were good customers of their coal. Then again, when some of them floated boating and inland steamer companies, these latter were able to get their own jute mills and colliery companies and tea estates to send their goods by their line of steamers. It was thus a great thing for them to know that they had a market which was controlled by themselves and thus one line of activity led to another.'

The above facts explain why the managing agency firms have been responsible for developing a miscellaneous range of industries as well as their popularity with the joint stock companies which are aware that their prosperity is more or less assured if they are managed by reputable firms of this type.

The multiple management of industrial enterprises rendered feasible by the concentration of control referred to just now, secures co-ordination of activities, economies in the matter of sales, purchases and supervision and also in day-to-day administration. Further, it makes possible a certain amount of financial co-operation. Small companies specially profit from this arrangement as they are thus enabled to extend their activities much beyond the limit which would be desirable for them if they had to depend exclusively on their own resources.

As managing a number of concerns engaged in different types of industries, the managing agents are in a position to increase their earnings from fees for office expenses, from management charges based on output, sales or profits and from the sale of goods to the companies controlled and, it must be admitted that, within limits, this concentration is beneficial and credit for it must go to the managing agency firms.

No fair-minded man can deny the value of the pioneering work done by European managing agency firms in the development of our industries as well as the success with which they nursed them at a time when credit organisations were even more reluctant than now to provide the necessary finances.

II

From what has been said above, it follows that at least in the early years of most industries organised by Britons, the managing agency firms had to undertake larger financial risks than others. These consisted in the money they invested in the shares ordinary, preference and deferred, debentures, loans, guarantees, etc. The result was that they enjoyed the privilege of nominating one, two or even three directors on the Board of Directors who are practically irremovable. It has been maintained that this is fair as they hold a substantial part of the shares but in fact it is not always so. Apart from very rare exceptions, they never retain more than 50 per cent of the shares. This, however, is only one part of the story. In order to satisfy legal requirements in regard to the representation of persons other than the managing agents on the Board of Directors, these firms have adopted the device of seeking the assistance of friends, drawn generally from their business associates, as directors who were perfectly aware that their continuance on the Board depended on their loyalty to the managing agents who had the power to choose their own friends.

Some objectionable results of this monopoly of power by the managing agency firms have been noticed and commented on by economists, Indian and non-Indian. The managing agents occupy such a dominating position that they usually formulate policies and carry them out while the Board of Directors merely gives assent to already accomplished facts.

V. S. Davar on page 28 of his *Business Organisation* refers to the evil consequences of having figureheads as directors when he points out that as they 'are relieved of any responsibility for the enterprise, this is apt to result in a surprising and even culpable ignorance on their part.'

This is underlined by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan on pages 332-333 of his *Industrial Organisation in India* where he refers to the utter failure of the managing agency system of administration 'to train a band of new men for the task of directing industry. By reducing the directors to mere figureheads and by weakening their responsibilities, the system kills all incentive to learn and understand, and industry is not able to revitalise itself by drawing from the experience and talents of persons outside the ranks of the managing agents. . .'

Something has been said previously about the limitations on the powers of the shareholders in regard to their choice of directors due to the rule under which the managing agents enjoy the privilege of nominating some directors and the almost universal

practice of including a number of their men in the directorate. This would not have been resented if the managing agents had always held a majority of the shares. But this is not generally the case. It is the rule with managing agency firms to part with some of their holdings, generally at a premium, after the prosperity of the concerns managed has been assured and the confidence of the public in their financial soundness acquired. One of the reasons of this is their desire to utilise the capital freed in this way to finance new enterprises. Another reason is that managing agents have generally regarded their earnings from shares (as shareholders) as subordinate to their earnings in other capacities and in other fields of activity.

Whether these explanations are accepted or not, there can be no doubt regarding the gradual withdrawal of capital as is clear from what appears below. On page 187 of *Industrial Organisation in India*, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan has supplied two tabular statements to which the attention of the reader is specially drawn. In the first of these, concerned with the jute industry, he shows how eight European managing agency firms which control 33 mills hold shares varying from 1 to 38 per cent. In the secend dealing with coal mines we find that six European managing agency firms controlling 47 coal mines hold shares varying from 17 to 44 per cent.

Experience extending over many years has shown that managing agency concerns are in a position to control the destinies and to lay down the policies of the concerns under their management as if they were their absolute masters so long as their holdings amount to about 25 to 30 per cent of the total number of shares. This rule holds good even in England.

A more serious but not equally well-known method of ensuring their control over the concerns managed by the managing agency firms is that under which the shareholders are deprived of their voting strength by the issue of deferred shares with equal or multiple voting rights.

That with the help of devices such as the above, the meetings of shareholders are called only to get their formal sanction for policies laid down by the managing agency firms as also that they are denied opportunities of even discussing them. The natural result of a system which permits the managing agency firms to practically ignore the shareholders is that the latter have gradually tended to become more and more critical of any policy, good, bad or indifferent, followed by the managing agents and their creatures, the more or less ornamental directors.

The extraordinary powers enjoyed by managing agency firms

have made it possible for them to nominate the same directors for all the concerns under each of them. For instance, a particular old-fashioned European managing agency firm controls 12 coal mines. Four of these, established before the passing of the Indian Companies Act of 1913, carry on without Boards of Directors. The remaining eight companies have altogether eight directors. Among these two are on six boards, one on four, one on three, one on two and the remaining three on one board each. The same firm also manages jute mills which altogether have eight directors; one person is on all the eight boards, one on seven, one on six, one on five, one on two and three are each on one board.

What has to be emphasised for the purposes of the present discussion is that so far as the control of industries organised by Europeans and the policy to be followed by them are concerned, the ultimate decision lies neither with the shareholders, nor with the directors nor even the managing agency firms but with the handful of people who are dominating the last. The inference we are entitled to draw from these undeniable facts is that these men are responsible for the prosperity of the industries, they are also equally answerable for their policies. It is they who dictate and influence them through the managing agencies of which they are the most prominent and influential members.

III

That the European managing agency firms or rather the comparatively few powerful persons behind them were not farsighted enough to associate Indians with them, the wisdom of which course appears to have dawned on them recently, becomes abundantly clear when we remember the complaints made by our representatives before the Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-22 and the External Capital Committee of 1925, the appointment of which was regarded as an excellent opportunity of ventilating our grievances and seeking redress for them. In brief, the demands put forward from the Indian side were that non-Indian concerns should be incorporated in India with rupee capital, that their Boards of Directors and, by implication, their head offices should be located in India, that a certain percentage of the directors should be Indians, that all industrial concerns, Indian and non-Indian, should train Indian apprentices so as to give them a reasonable chance of acquiring such qualifications as would enable them to rise to positions of responsibility and that Indians should be

afforded a fair chance of acquiring the shares of the British concerns by reserving a certain percentage of the shares for them at the time of their incorporation. All these demands coming from Indians belonging to the capitalistic and the educated classes betray their resentment at their exclusion from participating in the benefits derived from the establishment of industries in India under British leadership.

The British Administration accepted all the Indian demands excepting the one concerned with the reservation of a certain percentage of shares for Indians and they were made applicable to both Indian and non-Indian concerns but only where certain concessions were granted to them. The result of this is that powerful British industries with large financial backing with political influence behind them are at liberty to adhere to their old policy of exploiting the Indian producer and the Indian worker on the one hand and of making things as difficult as possible for their natural leaders to acquire business experience and technical knowledge on the other.

In spite of diligent enquiries made by the present writer he has not come across any facts tending to prove that European managing agency firms and British industrialists have changed their policy to any appreciable extent in the matter of seeking the co-operation of Indians in the directorate or the superior staff. There is not, so far as the present writer is aware, a single Indian manager of any large British industry in India. It is perfectly true that, here and there, a few Indians are being taken in as apprentices but this is only where either the men at the top have realised its desirability as a means of soothing Indian resentment or where personal friendship has been the deciding factor. The truth of the matter is that such instances continue to be rare.

So far as the holding of shares of British industries is concerned, it is a well-known fact that many industries organised and controlled by Europeans were incorporated in England and as such their shares were not available to the people of this country. Such others as were incorporated in India with rupee capital were often placed beyond their reach as Indian applicants were deliberately shut out and the shares distributed by the European organisers among their friends, acquaintances and fellow-countrymen. Till recently, nearly all the capital for the British industries came from Europeans. The (European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce which, as is well-known, is dominated by British big business, in other words, by the members of the larger and the more important European managing agency firms, stated that—'In Calcutta, the sources from which capital is drawn for enterprises with which

the members of this Chamber are connected are twofold: Europeans in India and the United Kingdom.' Since that time there has been a change in the situation, a fact proved by which Sir David Chadwick has said—'The proportion of Indian shareholders in British-managed local industries (for example, in jute and tea) has very greatly increased.'

Sir David has referred to those industries only which have been incorporated in India with rupee capital. There is nothing to suggest that Indians have been able to secure shares in industries incorporated in England with sterling capital. He is, however, definite as regards the control exercised by Europeans in at least one of these industries. Referring to the jute industry Sir David has said that—'it has been developed almost entirely, and is still controlled by Scotsmen.'

What is stated here in regard to this particular industry is true of British industries in general—that even where Indians have succeeded in securing a high or fairly high percentage of the shares, they do not enjoy any effective power in either laying down the policy or in controlling the management. But whether we accept these views at their face value or not, facts as known to the public show that there has been no transfer of control or anything like a permanent change in the attitude of British business towards India's economic aspirations.

When Indians have charged leaders of British industries established in India with the deliberate exclusion of Indians from the Boards of Directors and from the superior staff, the absence of facilities for the training of Indian apprentices as well as with the exploitation of our producers of raw materials and our labour, the answer has been that the real reason is the apathy of Indian shareholders who have always failed to take steps for their removal. In reply it may be stated that shareholders, whether Indian or non-Indian, are distributed over large areas and are therefore incapable of taking concerted action. It is also admitted that the average shareholder's interest in the concern in which he has invested his capital is generally confined to the obtaining of dividends and that so long as they are not too small and are received more or less regularly, he does not care to interfere with its management. While all this is perfectly true, we cannot forget that so strong is the position of the managing agency firms that shareholders, even if they had the desire to make themselves felt, are practically helpless. This is because occasionally as the largest holders of debentures, the managing agency firms occupy an almost unassailable position as the principal creditors or guarantors. In a word, these managing agency firms have made

themselves indispensable and that is the reason why they are allowed a free hand.

The above facts also explain why Indians cannot agree that at least part of the responsibility for the far from satisfactory treatment meted out to Indian labour by British industrialists must be borne by Indian shareholders. It is not contended for even one moment that Indian industrialists treat their labour more generously than their European rivals or that its lot would be materially improved if the Indian shareholders had a large voice in the management. The present writer feels no hesitation in stating that Indian industrialists are, if possible, worse exploiters of their own flesh and blood. The charge against European managing agency firms and the small handful of men behind them is that if their fellow-countrymen in Great Britain though earning smaller profits could afford to treat their labour much better, they could, if the desire had been there, have followed in their footsteps and set an example to Indians. If the British industrialists had risen to the occasion, it would have immediately placed them in an almost unassailable position, for the attempts of their Indian rivals to discredit them in the eyes of the Indian public, would have been easily frustrated.

There are many Indians who believe, perhaps wrongly, that the leaders of British industries in India are fully cognisant of the dissatisfaction caused by their indifference in regard to our aspirations for a large share in the development of our industries and the enjoyment of the advantages incidental to it. They are also aware of the criticisms they have invited by their treatment of the Indian grower and the Indian worker. In addition, they also know that their attempts, successful so far, to safeguard their economic interests through political and semipolitical means have deepened this feeling.

In pursuance of this policy, these men have secured excessive representation in our legislatures where they have, when necessary, utilised the influence thus acquired for the maintenance of their economic position. Apprehensions of attacks on it induced them to ask for statutory safeguards and the British Government, partly on account of the political pressure put on it by their friends and supporters in England and perhaps partly on account of sympathy with them due to racial affiliations, acceded to their demands.

Whether this move has, on a long view, been wise or not cannot be discussed here but the one thing clear is that devices such as these can at best have only a temporary utility. A national Government if and when it comes, as come it must, if

determined to liquidate alien business can easily do so while keeping strictly within the letter of the law. There is only one method open to Britons to continue their commercial and industrial activities in India as was pointed out in the Montague-Chelmsford Report where it was stated that—'clearly it is the British commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community; . . . . to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to commend itself to India; and having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of Government in the wishes of the people.'

From what has appeared previously, it is abundantly clear that British business has not accepted and carried out this advice up to the present. What remains to be seen is whether a change in the attitude will appear in the near future, failing which we are bound to see further embitterment of Indo-British relationships.

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SOME ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIAN OFFICIALS

Sir Michael O'Dwyer maintains in his book *India as I Know It* that the improvement in the probity of the Indian personnel which he found when he was Governor of the Punjab is due to 'British example and British control.'

Sir Michael treads more dangerous grounds when he says that the too rapid Indianisation of the services has given rise to complaints from nearly every department of the increase of corruption and nepotism in the Indian elements of the public services, and the administration is now becoming so weakened that it is powerless to cope with the growing evil and in fact does not face what it knows to be the fact. The ground so slowly gained in the past is rapidly being lost, and at the present pace of deterioration the Indian masses may soon find that Indianisation has resulted in placing them under the heel of an officialdom almost as corrupt as that of any purely oriental administration.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not offered any proof that corruption and nepotism have increased as the result of Indianisation on a more liberal scale than in the past. Let fair-minded men judge whether a statement of this type based on what is after all a general impression can be regarded as a substitute for a conclusion founded on well-ascertained facts. A very dangerous admission is that the administration still predominantly British while quite aware of the most undesirable state of things had not either taken the public into its confidence or adopted any effective measures to check it—a left-handed compliment which, I feel sure, found no appreciation from those of Sir Michael's old colleagues who were in service when he wrote his book. Sir Michael also made the prophecy that if Indianisation proceeded at the rate it was going on at the time he published his book, the masses would soon find themselves under a system of administration so corrupt that it would not, in any sense, be superior to any purely oriental administration. I am not in a position to give any idea as to whether as the result of these and similar attacks on the probity of Indian officers, the pace of Indianisation has been slowed down materially. I, however, do know that, inspite of the presence of a larger number of Indians than before in the different services, the administration has not degenerated in the manner or to the extent predicted by Sir Michael.

From *Modern Review*—May, 1941.

Sir Reginald Craddock, another retired member of the Civil Service, is more charitable towards his Indian colleagues who, under official etiquette, are not permitted to reply to ungenerous charges of this vague and general type. He permitted himself to observe in his book *The Dilemma in India*: 'When I joined the service (this was in 1884) the majority were not trusted, and a great many fell into the category 'notoriously corrupt'. There were quite a number who took bribes from both sides, decided the case on its merits, and returned the money to the unsuccessful party.'

But he had also the fairness to add: 'There has been immense improvement in the honesty of our Indian magistrates and judges, which better education has brought about in the last forty years.'

Sir Reginald Craddock's opinion regarding the Indian members of the Civil Service is more favourable. He says: 'I have known many Indians in the I.C.S., several of whom were under my own observation. There have been some who have had a brilliant record. I have never heard of any corruption among any of them.' He, however, does not find the same high standard of integrity among the members of either the Provincial or the Subordinate Provincial service. His words are as follows: 'In the various Provincial Civil Services the best Indian officers are very good, but they tail off badly, and there are more cases of corruption among them than ought to occur in these days when the personnel is more highly educated. The subordinate Civil Services are very unequal. Some of the men are wonderfully good ; others deplorably bad.'

An attempt has been made later on to place the Indian point of view so far as the lower grades of Provincial services are concerned. With reference to the members of the Provincial services, one can only say that the evidence is the other way, provided of course one bases his inference on the number of those punished for bribery and corruption either departmentally or proceeded against in courts of law.

It has also been suggested that the presence of British engineers is essential in the Public Works Department where large sums of money have to be disbursed and where the temptation to favour particular influential contractors or to 'pass' inferior work is almost irresistible. An opinion such as this carries the oblique hint that while highly placed Indian officials may succumb to this weakness, the British official will not do so. It can very well be pointed out that as the minor officials of this department have little to do in matters like placing contracts or

passing work they, at least, are safe so far as this charge is concerned. With regard to officials holding higher ranks, there is ample justification for the opinion that there are black sheep not only among us but also among the English officials.

The experience of the above two English officials must have been more unfortunate than that of others who have passed their lives in other parts of India. And this may be regarded as the only explanation of their attitude. The real reason for the lack of an All-India outlook on the part of many members of the different services is the fact that as soon as an officer is appointed, he is assigned to a particular province and has to undergo a period of training in Britain of India. And he passes practically the whole of his official career in that province and as he generally does not trouble himself to find out what is happening elsewhere, he bases his findings on what little he sees for himself and feels that the conclusions he arrives at are applicable to the whole of India. That the opinion advanced is correct is corroborated by what Sir Edward Blunt, Kt., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., who, starting life as an I.C.S., of the United Provinces in 1901 and ending as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of the same province in 1935, has said on page 7 of his book entitled *The I.C.S.,—The Indian Civil Service*. His words are as follows: 'Though in theory, a civilian may be sent from one part of India to another, he usually serves the whole of his time in a single province. Accordingly, though he has full personal knowledge of his own province, he has little knowledge of others.'

The evidence of Sir Edward who served 34 years in India in various capacities should clinch the matter. In explaining the system referred to above, the Simon Commission in Vol. I, Para 290, of its report says: 'A recruit to the Indian Civil Service for example studies at one of the British universities, the principal vernacular of his province and the legal system with which he will be concerned. Unless he is transferred to service under the Central Government, he passes the whole of his career in the province to which he is first assigned.'

I would, however, be quite unwilling to believe that prejudiced as these two English officials, *viz.*, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock seem to be against Indian officials, their opinion has not been based on well-ascertained facts. As against this, I would draw the attention of my readers to the fact that in 1929 there had already been one Indian Governor of a Province, that three out of the seven members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were Indians while 50 per cent of the members of the Provincial Governors' Councils were Indians. That year,

out of a total of 1,261 members of the Indian Civil Service, 894 were Europeans and 367 Indians. In the Indian police, about 35 to 40 per cent and in the Forest and the Education services about 45 per cent were Indians. In the Indian Irrigation service, out of 494 members, 250 were Europeans and out of 8,000, only 500 were Europeans and in the Judiciary out of 2,500, only 230 were Europeans. In the whole of British India, there were only 200 Europeans in Civil Medical Department out of a total of nearly 6,000 medical men. Lastly, in the General Administration, out of 6,130 only 630 were Europeans.

Eleven years and more have passed since the Indian officials referred to above were serving Government. We have yet to learn that the charge of bribery and corruption brought against a set of worthy men and faithful servants of Government on the basis of what may be true of say fifty or even a hundred among thousands in service can be regarded as proved to any one's satisfaction. It does not seem generous to indulge in this kind of criticism based upon prejudice and a very inadequate acquaintance with facts on the strength of which no reasonable man will dare bring such monstrous accusations.

The most favourable soil for bribery and corruption is the law court. It has been admitted both by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock that, whatever the cause there has been an improvement. If that is so, things must have been worse half a century ago. Yet while giving his opinion at the time of the controversy over the Ilbert Bill introduced in 1883 which proposed that Europeans should be tried by Indian judges, the Lord Chancellor of England was pleased to observe: 'In respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the judgments of the native judges were quite as good as those of the English'.

From the Memorandum on Indian Administration Cd. 4956, 1909, it appears that 90 per cent of the original civil suits and 75 per cent of the magisterial business of India come before Indian officials. Ramsay MacDonald commenting on this fact has observed: 'It is pleasant to bear record that although I was in the very best position to hear in confidence of the character of the Indian magistrates, a very small number of them were even suspected of tempering justice with monetary considerations and this did not apply to a single important judge.'

Mr. Raymond Fosdick published in 1920 his well-known book entitled *American Police System* in which he gave a detailed account of the various reasons which, in his view, explained the unsatisfactory police administration of that great western demo-

cracy. According to this authority, the five most important of these are the heterogeneity of the population, the law's delays, the technicalities of procedure, the wrong attitude of the public towards crime and criminals and a corrupt judiciary. Sir John Cumming, Kt., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who was a member of the Executive Council in his contribution to *Modern India* entitled *Law and Order* commenting on Mr. Fosdick's book has said that the last factor does not apply to India 'for the general integrity and competency of the Indian magistracy and judiciary can hardly be assailed'. This was an opinion expressed in 1931, six years after the pronouncement of Sir Michael and two years after the publication of Sir Reginald Craddock's book.

The Simon Commission was appointed in November, 1927 and paid two visits to India in the course of 1928 and 1929 and submitted its report in May, 1930. It examined witnesses both Indian and non-Indian and based its findings on their evidence and the vast mass of documentary material placed at its disposal by both the Central and Provincial governments. Boycotted by nationalists of all camps, the British officials who were opposed to Indian aspirations of every type enjoyed exceptional opportunities of pressing their point of view upon its members and that without fears of any challenge coming from nationalist sources. It has yet to be proved that they failed to take advantage of such opportunities. The Commission did not include a single Indian and it was boycotted by nationalists wherever it went. Such treatment was not likely to leave a very favourable impression upon the members. And yet commenting on the bribery and corruption supposed to be present extensively among the judiciary, the Simon Commission in Vol. I., Para 331, of its Report observed:

> The confidence reposed in the competence and integrity of the higher judiciary is practically universal. We have heard that some dissatisfaction is felt with the status and attainments of the lowest ranks of the stipendiary magistracy and, when the method of their recruitment is considered, this is not surprising, for they are frequently selected from the clerical staff of the District officer. Economy has little to recommend it here. How far exactly the taint of corruption extends in the subordinate judiciary, it is difficult to say. We have not had much positive evidence on the point, and we realise that this depends partially on the vigilance and capacity of the superior controlling authority. While in two or three provinces there is known to be much room for improvement in the lower judiciary, our belief is that on

the whole, despite individual instances of malpractice, when the capacity demanded and the comparatively small remuneration offered for it are taken into account, the general standard of efficiency and honesty of this class of judicial officers in many provinces reaches a high level.

It seems to me that the crucial test with regard to this question is the evidence of men who deal or have dealt with civil and criminal cases daily during their official career. I give below an extract from an article contributed by Sir Maurice Hayward, K.C.S.I., Judge, High Court, Bombay, 1918-21 and Member, Executive Council, Bombay, 1921-1926, to the book entitled *India From a Back Bench*, the joint work of five conservative members of the House of Commons. Sir Maurice whose position as a judge and an Executive Councillor had enabled him to acquire first-hand information about the machinery created for the administration of justice as well as about the integrity of those Indian officials who had anything to do with it observed in 1934:

> Selected members of the subordinate executive services are invested with magisterial powers for the trial of minor offences in every district. They are all Indians. They exercise these powers in strict subordination to the District Magistrate, who is ordinarily a member of the Indian Civil Service. Their judgments are subject to revision by the Sessions Judge, who tries all major offences in the district. He also is ordinarily a member of the Indian Civil Service. Criminal and civil appeals lie from the judgments of the District and Sessions Judges to the Provincial High Courts, which include a number of Indian judges. Appeals lie from the High Courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.
>
> The Courts are subject thus to strict supervision, which is secured further by the submission of detailed returns and by the periodical inspections of superior judicial officers. Corruption which was rife in times past is seldom charged against the magistrates and judges of the present day who are well educated and highly paid and who, moreover, depend for promotion upon their efficiency and integrity as observed by the High Courts. The opinions of the latter are taken in nearly every case of promotion or posting by the Executive Government.

No doubt, there are individual Indian officials against whom the charge of corruption may with justice be brought forward and also that it is not always possible to accuse them formally of

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corruption and to prove it in a court of law. As against this, national India would urge that it is nothing but hypocrisy to maintain that these defects are confined to India. Let those members of the Indian Civil Service who believe the contrary remember the sixth article of the covenant they had to sign before their appointment. This, as they should know, forbids the civilian to accept presents or to make corrupt bargains under certain pains and penalties. While it is not for a moment suggested that they are guilty of such malpractices, it is only fair that such critics of India's shortcomings should not allow themselves to forget that the presence of this article is a memento and a most significant memento of those spacious days when such practices were so common that they had to be made punishable under law and extortion.

Coming to more recent times, every one who has cared to make anything like a careful study of the history of the public life of England is aware that, till recently, the control of public affairs was under the direction of a few well-known English families which cannot by any means be regarded as always having been above similar weaknesses. To the educated and intelligent Indian, it appears like downright hypocrisy when the leaders of the House of Commons, whether sitting in the treasury or the opposition benches, though differing radically from one another in other matters, agree solemnly about the necessity of maintaining English standards of political honesty knowing as he does that very often the party funds from which came the expenses of their election campaigns and to which therefore they owe their position, have been derived from the sale of honours.

An accusation very often brought against Indian officials is that, as a rule, they are guilty of utilising their position in order to show undue favour in various ways to their relatives. Referring to this defect in the Indian character, the anonymous author of *The Lost Dominion* has remarked that the presence of the British official alone has been responsible for keeping nepotism within bounds if not preventing it altogether. In developing his thesis he has observed: 'No Indian will ever believe that any fellow-countrymen of his can be so lost to all decent feeling as to sacrifice at the shrine of an abstract virtue like impartiality, the interests of those who should be most dear to him.'

This gentleman who, if my information is correct was, before his retirement, a member of the Indian Civil Service and held a very responsible position is apparently ignorant of the history of the recruitment to that service of which the Indian

Civil Service is a lineal descendant. We have it on record that between 1790 and 1838 altogether seventy-seven directors were elected of whom fifty-six were Bengal civilians who held between them 170 posts. Among these were one peer, nineteen sons of peers, twelve baronets and one Mr. Treves—a protege of the Prince Regent. Some of these drew their salaries while staying permanently in England while others, let us say relatively more conscientious, paid flying visits to our country. We do not know whether the long voyage round the Cape was taken for reasons of health, Bengal being utilised as a place for passing the interval pleasantly between the two voyages in new and therefore interesting surroundings. In a formal communication addressed to the Board of Directors the complaint was made that the service was filled with men who 'had no recommendation but their high birth and great interest.' The author of the above mentioned book should know that people holding such a high rank as William Markham, the Archbishop of York, used their influence to provide for their unqualified young dependants, that Hastings, strong man as he was, found it impossible to abolish certain unnecessary posts only because they were held by relatives and dependants of the Directors and that Lord Cornwallis was pressed very hard by the Prince Regent to supersede an Indian officer 'of great talent and universally respected' in favour of his protege though at that time Treves had been in India only two years while the Indian had grown grey in the service of the Company. The last instance to which I shall refer is that of one Dundas, a Scotchman, who was President of the Board of Control for quite a number of years. During his time, nominations to service became, to a certain extent, the price of political support and young Scots 'were able to obtain his patronage through the intervention of their members of Parliament'.

All these facts have been put before the reader merely to show that nepotism is not the monopoly of India, and that though events which happened a century ago repeated themselves less than half a century ago, I have not referred to them here only because I have no desire to mention in this connection the names of some of the most reputable families of England whose scions are now serving their motherland with an unselfish zeal which is not often paralleled. My contention is that nepotism appears at a certain stage of social development, that the best way of combating it is for society to realise its evil effects, for public opinion to crystallise itself against it when it is bound to disappear. This has happened in England and is happening in India to-day and must end it.

Let us admit that such is the influence of the joint family system in India that, to some at least among us, nepotism appears almost like a religious duty and that it is responsible for many an act of injustice. At the same time, may we remind our critics that it has got to be proved that the claims of a relative to promotion are stronger in India to-day than, for instance, they were in England less than a half a century ago? If, as is claimed, England has succeeded in shedding these weaknesses, why should not India do the same? If England did not import aliens to overcome these defects, why should India be expected to get her officials from outside her own borders?

National India, however, does not believe that Indian officials whatever the position they occupy in the different services should, in any way, be justified if the corruption of which they are accused and supposed to be guilty as a class, is also found in the West.

Even at the risk of being misunderstood, I am compelled to add that there have been occasional lapses on the part of some British officials and that these have been noted and commented on by Indians. Who does not know that some among them make large amounts out of travelling allowances which they never spend, some going even so far as to enjoy private hospitality while charging daily allowances? Are there not some even now who utilise their position to draw travelling allowances for visiting friends or paying flying visits to a more salubrious climate on the plea of consulting their superior officers? And is nepotism quite unknown among them? Have not posts been either created or filled more than once by illqualified Englishmen just to give them a chance of earning their living? That nepotism and jobbery are not quite unknown among the British may be proved by what Sir Valentine Chirol, who was not very well-disposed towards India's political ambitions, has said on page 301 of his book *"Indian Unrest"*. His words are as follows:

> Men are too often sent out as lawyers or as doctors, or even, as I have already pointed out, to join the Education Department, with inadequate qualifications, and they are allowed to enter upon their work without any knowledge of the language and customs of the people. Such cases are generally the result of carelessness or ignorance at home, but some of them, I fear, can only be described as jobs—and there is no room in India for jobs.

Is it not a fact that where such men have made good, it has been due to the training they have received in India and that at the expense of the Indian tax-payer? Surely there is not much

difference between this type of partiality shown to people of one's own nationality and the partiality shown to one's relatives? National India would ask these critics to first persuade their own countrymen to get rid of their own shortcomings and then to ask Indians to follow in their footsteps.

Every student of Indian history is aware of the huge bribes taken by the higher officials of the East India Company. In this connection the names of Clive and Warren Hastings will naturally occur to our minds. Mir Jafar's present of three millions sterling and the three different occasions between the murder of Serajuddowla and 1765 in which unbelievably huge sums changed hands are instances of corruption not easily forgotten. What is suggested is that so far as the junior officers were concerned, such records as are available do not tend to show that they had any share in what amounted to the Indian loot.

Sir Edward Blunt in his history of the Indian Civil Service has told us that originally the apprentices who occupied the lowest position in the service of the East India Company were appointed on £5 per annum rising to £20 in ten years. The scales of salaries of its other servants were as follows: Writers £10 to £20 ; Junior Factors £20 to £30 ; Senior Factors £30 to £50 the maximum in all cases being reached in 10 years. Fifty per cent of these salaries were drawn in India if they exceeded £10 per annum. Later on, the salaries of writers and factors were reduced by £5 each and these rates remained in force till as late as 1758. All were paid allowances for their servants' wages and washing with free board and lodging and travelling expenses.

And still we are told that the Company servants were guilty 'of pride and extravagance as shown by the wearing of gorgeous apparel and the use of umbrellas ; . . . . of drunkenness ; . . . . and of excessive gambling'—to the extent that some of them 'lost as much as three years' salary in as many hours.' All this was possible partly because under the shelter of the privileges granted to their employers, the East India Company, they engaged in private trade which had been forbidden—and also because they took bribes right and left without any objections from their superior officers who too were equally guilty of the same reprehensible practice.

It was only in 1793 that these junior men were at last given living wages. The improvement which made its appearance at that time was partly due to the increase in their salaries and partly to the legislative measures enacted against corrupt practices and the strictness with which they were enforced. One of

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the first signs of this improvement consisted in numerous resignations submitted by those who had come to India with the distinct purpose of enriching themselves quickly by the calculated adoption of illegal methods. These facts to which attention has been drawn with considerable reluctance prove beyond any doubt that the adoption of identical methods in India would root out corruption among our minor officials.

It should further be remembered that so far as our minor officials are concerned, they have no influence and therefore the question of nepotism cannot arise. In the matter of bribery and corruption, India has not, as yet, heard of any country in the world in which bribery is unknown or in which the urban police is so upright that it will not accept what is called illegal gratification from those who make it their business to purvey illicit delights. National India does not admit that direct bribery with its popular variant, the taking of commissions, is a characteristic oriental vice. They will persist on an extensive scale so long as inadequate salaries are paid to those whose good offices have to be sought for carrying through business expeditiously. For instance, the landlord's agent who collects his rent is often paid such a ridiculous sum as five rupees a month on the tacit understanding that he will add four to five times to this amount by underhand means. The clerk who examines bullock carts and tongas before they enter the towns in order to ensure the collection of octroi is paid twelve to fifteen rupees a month and quite naturally he falls a victim to the temptation of abusing his position in order to add to his income. The observations of an acute Englishman on this point are worth quoting here. He says: 'The servants who attend collectors are paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per month; village accountants, who keep the records on which assessments are made, receive Rs. 10, Rs. 12 and Rs. 14; field superintendents, who check these accountants, get Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The ordinary police, the most corrupt of all the public servants of India, are paid from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per month, and head constables, whose dishonesties and impositions can hardly be surpassed, are only paid Rs. 15 to Rs. 20.'

The Englishman, if he has any desire to be fair, should not forget the system prevalent in his own motherland of paying the waiter an inadequate salary on the clear understanding that he will supplement it by "tips". As a matter of fact, what the Englishman calls bribes, the Indian regards as tips. Is it not a fact that unusual difficulties have been encountered in England in the attempts made to get rid of the tipping system and in enforcing the legislative measures against illegal commissions?

The real remedy is the payment of adequate salaries along strict supervision and swift punishment. It is only of late that few among the countries of western Europe have adopted this policy with the result that corruption has very largely disappeared. This process, however, cannot be regarded as complete. Educated and well-informed Indians are aware that there was a remarkable increase in peculation among minor officials in both Great Britain and France and that the German civil service which had, in the past, enjoyed an enviable reputation for its integrity, began to take bribes during the "valuta" crisis. In all these three countries, the corruption which manifested itself has been explained as the result of the smallness of the salaries paid, all which suggests that human nature, whatever the colour of the skin, is very much the same and reacts in identical or almost identical ways in similar circumstances.

Lord Curzon, never very charitable to India's political aspirations, one of whose 'greatest ambitions while in India' in his own words was 'to assist the Congress to a peaceful demise' observed in 1904:

> It (India) reveals a European system of Government entrusted largely to non-European hands; what is called a subject country, though I dislike the phrase, administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons; and, beyond all, it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future.

It was Lord Teignmouth, better known in India under the name of Sir John Shore who, promoted from the position of an ordinary servant of the East India Company to the Governor-Generalship in 1795, said in 1843—'that there never would be peculation in India is only saying that it is not a desert, for where men are, some ways be found; but there is as much virtue, principle, and active zeal here as in any part of the world'—a truism which let all our critics lay to their heart.

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LABOUR UNREST, COMMUNISM AND CONGRESS

The industrial workers are, for the most part, ignorant and disorganized. Strikes are more common now than they were before and, in nearly every case, they reflect the demand for better wages and better living conditions which is all to the good, for the standard of life in India is miserably low. It is true that they are better paid now than in the past but, what is pitiable is that, except for an individual here and there, they are quite content to accept their lot as mere drudges.

The tragedy of industrial labour in India has been that it is illiterate and unintelligent. It has yet failed to understand that the strike is its last resort and that this method of ventilating grievances should be adopted only when every other means of obtaining redress has failed. On the whole, it has not as yet been able to appreciate fully the possibilities of collective bargaining through well-organized trade unions. And it is to the interest of both capital and labour that the growth and development of strong and healthy trade unionism should be encouraged in all possible ways. Matters must be adjusted in such a manner that there will not be even the slightest suggestion of the employer having any influence on its internal working. I do not for a moment suggest that this has happened on any large scale but what I desire to emphasise is that nothing should be done which may have the effect of rousing the distrust of labour.

Every one who has come into contact with industrial labour has to admit, however unwillingly, that at least now and again the cordial relations which ordinarily exist between the employer and the employee have been and are being disturbed by selfish outsiders who seek to exploit their position either for financial reasons or for the sake of notoriety. At the same time, let us not forget the very valuable services rendered to workers, by outside leadership of which the case of Mr. N. M. Joshi is a good example. The pity of it is that whereas labour leaders like Mr. Joshi are disposed to adjust industrial disputes peacefully, the labour leaders of the objectionable type do not welcome such settlements. They prefer to exacerbate feelings and to encourage strikes for one or other of the purposes mentioned above.

No one would describe Mr. Gulzari Lall, Parliamentary Secretary to the late Minister for Labour, Bombay, as one inimical to

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the interests of labour or partial to those of capital. And yet, while referring to the undesirable activities of selfish labour leaders, he was compelled to observe that cases had come under his notice where an offer of, say, a 15 per cent increase in the wages recommended for acceptance by reasonable leaders of the type of Mr. Joshi, was turned down by selfish leaders. He analysed the situation thus created in the following way. The selfish leader would say to himself that if the offer of a 15 per cent increase in the wages was accepted, the leader who had recommended it would come to be regarded as the leader and then where would he be! He would, therefore, press for an increase of say 20 per cent which he was aware, the industry could not bear and which could never be granted. As extremism flourishes on ignorance, he would be hailed as the true friend of workers. Negotiations would break down and a strike follow. He would be in the lime-light and, in addition to the notoriety he seeks, he would, if he is selfish and knew how to play his cards, profit financially. In these circumstances, it seems desirable that something should be done to check the activities of such mischievous or rather dangerous men.

Let us admit that in many cases strikes have been engineered by selfish leaders and by designing politicians. But surely if the grievances complained of are genuine and, in a majority of cases they must have been so or else where was the necessity of removing them, the unworthiness of the leaders can, by no means, be regarded as a justification for retaining them. If from the side of the workers it is said that, without the application of pressure, grievances are not ordinarily removed, one can hardly blame them if, in the absence of leaders among themselves which again is due to lack of education, they come to rely on selfish and interested politicians to fight their battles.

Having no sympathy whatsoever with communism with its anti-religious attitude, its appeal to violence and class hatred and its declared policy of encouraging insurrection and blood-shed on a mass scale, or personal contact with communists, it is impossible for me to say how far these strikes are due to communistic influence and assistance. I do not, however, have much doubt that communism is being preached both among agricultural and industrial labour and the only reason for its appeal for them is their misery. It further seems to me that unrest among the agriculturists is primarily due to uneconomic holdings, the unremunerative prices of agricultural products and the landlessness of many persons who, by heredity and training, are not qualified to earn their living in any other way.

It is admitted that communism may be fought through legislation and that the more law-abiding, and the better-off section, whether European or Indian, has the right to seek its protection. This, however, is only a palliative. There ought to be sound counter-propaganda, in order that the insidious propaganda in favour of communism may be checked. Industrial workers must be made to realize the economic futility of strikes and specially that it should be a weapon to be used only when all other methods of settling disputes have failed. But even this I do not consnider enough. To kill communism, we must see that the poverty and the economic uncertainty which are most favourable to its propagation are fought as far as possible.

A general grievance with industrial workers is the want of regular employment. When I was in the Central Provinces and Madras, I heard demands made for unemployment relief and provision for old age. In these places, improved housing accommodation has been provided, co-operative societies introduced, schools and welfare centres started. These are making an appeal to workers and I am looking forward to the time when, as in the countries of the West, we shall have a class of skilled industrial labour sufficiently intelligent and educated to enter into collective agreements with employers.

The difficulties of employers have to be explained to their men and hence the necessity of having tactful labour officers everywhere. Efficient machinery or arbitration has to be set up. This has been done at Ahmedabad under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi with the most satisfactory result. Let me quote the figures which I have been able to gather. I am sorry that they are not up-to-date. There are three principal centres of the textile industry in western India. These are Bombay, Sholapur and Ahmedabad. In the eight years from 1926 to 1933, the time lost in Bombay was 32 million days. In Sholapur over 1 million and in Ahmedabad 13,800 only. In terms of wages, Bombay was a loser to the extent of over 427 lakhs, Sholapur about 10 lakhs and Ahmedabad less than 2 lakhs. The success achieved at Ahmedabad is very largely due to the influence which Mahatma Gandhi exercises over labour and the workers abide by his findings because they have absolute reliance on his sense of fairness and justice. It is for the employers to establish a similar machinery in their mills and factories all over India.

It cannot be denied that indiscipline is a growing menace in our industrial organisation. This is a very serious handicap, specially in the case of small and medium size industries in which the capital is small and resistive powers weak. More often than

not, these do not enjoy any kind of protection. Any dislocation specially if it is timed in such a way as to interfere with their activities when they have to work under high pressure in order to fulfil contracts which do not come with much frequency in their way, is not only unfortunate but sometimes disastrous. I know of more than one small engineering concern which has been practically ruined in this way.

One of the requisites for the development and prosperity of industry in India is industrial peace. There has been injustice against labour in the past ; even today labour does not always get even-handed justice in every case. But mutual recriminations of wanton and irresponsible attempts at the disturbance of the relationship between capital and labour do not appear likely to improve the condition of the latter at a rate more rapid than what may be expected to normally result from collective bargaining carried on through the agency of strong, well-organized and healthy trade unionism.

Let me also in this connection draw the attention of my readers to the wise advice given by Sir William Benthall to European captains of industry when he spoke at the conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in India in December 1938. He said:

> The more the management is able to establish contact with the workers, the better is it able to diagnose what are the workers' real troubles, and so to effect safeguard against industrial unrest. . . . It cannot be too often stressed that justice and a fair deal for labour is not only the only right but also the only safe policy for employers to follow.

It has been authoritatively stated that the communist party in India has no more than a few hundred members. What these lack in number is made up by their energy and activity. It is held by many that they are insidiously penetrating the Congress organization disguising their real objective under the cloak of legitimate agitation. That the accredited leaders of the Congress have recognized this danger is evident from the following extract from a recently published statement of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru:

> There are a few, somewhat new to the Congress, who, while apparently agreeing plan differently. They realize that there can be no national and nation-wide movement except through the Congress. All else would be adventurism. They want, therefore, to utilize the Congress and at the same time to break through it in directions which are opposed to Congress policy. The proposed technique is to embed themselves in the Congress and then to undermine its basic creed and

method of action. In particular, the continuance of the technique of non-violence is to be combated, not obviously and patently, but insidiously and from within.

This conclusively proves that the Congress has set its face sternly against any encouragement to communism. The reaction of the communists to this attitude of the Congress may be inferred from the programme of work which they have outlined in the following terms:

> From our past experiences we know that while top leaders of the Congress are suspicious of socialists and communists, the rank and file is generally sympathetic. And after a few weeks of struggle it will be the rank and file that shall in many places control the war-councils. If we win their confidence today and start anti-war activities with them, we shall be soon able to more and more influence the movement.

It therefore follows that while the Indian National Congress under the leadership of sober-minded, wise men like Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others seeks to utilise all legitimate opportunities for constructive work for our country as a whole, these other men, working underground, are making a definite attempt to utilise our All-India organisation which has built up a reputation for itself by the self-sacrificing devotion of thousands of our countrymen and countrywomen, to bring about a bloody revolution as a prelude to the acceptance of communistic principles by India.

The only logical way of fighting this menace by the Indian is not to keep away from the Congress, but to strengthen the moderate elements in it ; not to refuse to admit new members but to see that only the true blue Congressmen are admitted. This, I contend, is the motive underlying Mahatma Gandhi's move to purge Congress of members not pledged to non-violence and truth.

I would also draw my readers' attention to the resolution presented last year at the All-India Working Committee deploring the abuse of civil liberties as exemplified in speeches and articles printed by certain sections of the press and declaring that the Congress governments would no longer allow such efforts to encourage violence and hatred to go unpunished. In this connection, the Premier of the United Provinces said that it was the duty of all established governments, including the Congress governments, to maintain law and order and that society, life and property are synonmous with the preservation of civil liberty.

If it is said that it is only recently that the Congress has changed its policy, I would refer my readers to a publication of the Communist party which, translated into several vernaculars,

was distributed widely in India and specially at the Karachi Congress in 1931. This document mentioned the various aims of the Communist party and made a very vigorous attack on Gandhism and the Indian National Congress maintaining that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress were formidable impediments in the way of India's attainment of freedom.

If it is argued that only the right wing of the Congress is attacked and the left wing left untouched because it contains only the subversive elements, I would refer my readers to the section in which the authors discuss the means to be adopted for winning freedom. After pointing out the utter futility of individual acts of terrorism or any ordinary revolutionary armed insurrection, it recommended a general national armed insurrection against Britain and concluded by saying that the most dangerous obstacle to the victory of this revolutionary movement was the leftist element in the Indian National Congress and very strongly recommended that a ruthless war should be waged against the left nationalists.

Another communist programme for India based on a paper submitted to the Communist International in 1932 was published in 1933 the very first item of which reads as follows: "The liberation of the masses from the influence of the National Congress."

Today contentment, peace and joy have fled from the land. The so-called leaders who are all intellectuals are offering various panaceas. Some are for the old regime, some for Congress and Purna Swaraj, some for Marx and Communism. But whatever political opinion they are preaching, slowly the hitherto inert masses are being inoculated with new aims and aspirations. A general restlessness is observable all over India. They are no longer satisfied with things as they are. By its mass contact movement, the Congress is calling them to join and strengthen its ranks and so far its efforts have been crowned with success. And the reason why it, more than any other organisation, can claim to embody the national will is that it makes certain demands which concern us as Indians irrespective of the religion we may profess individually and also because the ameliorative programme the High Command is seeking to implement is calculated to benefit all classes of people. The one way to combat Communism in India is for employers and capitalists to cooperate with the Congress and not to fight for retaining all the privileges and advantages they have been enjoying so long.

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LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE COALFIELDS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

There are two organisations of those that are engaged in coal mining, one very largely of European concerns raising first class coal and the other composed exclusively of Indian concerns raising second class coal. The strong position of the European Association may be inferred from the fact that in 1920, 134 coal companies, all of which were its members, produced more than 66 per cent of the total output and that 50 per cent of the total number of coal concerns, all members of the Indian Federation, produced only 6·3 per cent of the total output. Most of the smaller Indian coal concerns producing second class coal were established during the coal boom in 1919 and 1920. Unable to face the depression which followed, many of these had to shut down so that between 1925 and 1929, the number of coal mines was reduced from 810 to 548. One reason for their failure in meeting the depression was their uneconomic working. This is proved by the fact that out of the 810 coal concerns working in 1925, as many as 336 did not use mechanical power while, after the closing down of most of the smaller Indian concerns, 382 used mechanical power and the rest carried on the struggle with the greatest difficulty and were thus unable to declare any dividends till there was a distinct improvement in the situation.

The European coal companies to which reference has been made here are, like the corresponding tea concerns, managed by managing agency firms. The dividends paid to the shareholders do not represent the total profits earned, a respectable proportion of which goes to them.

In the larger coal mines controlled by Europeans, the managers and most of their immediate subordinates are non-Indians who have occasionally little but generally no knowledge of the dialects used in the coalfields and are ignorant of the ways and habits of the miners. It is this which explains the existence of the contractors and the sardars. Though aware of their evil practices, the Europeans in charge find it almost impossible to get on without their assistance. Most of the coal is extracted by labour working under people called "raising contractors" who receive a fixed payment per ton in return for which they supply the workers. A second system is to obtain labour through sardars, who are leaders of gangs consisting of 10 to 30 people.

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all coming from a single locality. These are in a position to ensure a more or less regular supply of miners as generally they are influential in their villages. But even here payment for work done is made in a lump sum which the sardars divide among their men. Under these circumstances, there is nothing to prevent the contractors and sardars from exploiting the ignorant and helpless people who work under them. This generally takes two forms. In order to have a hold on their men, the contractors and sardars advance loans always at high rates on interest so that repayment is difficult. The second form of exploitation is the extraction of bribes before taking them in. While bribery is common in almost all industries, coal mining has a particularly bad reputation for this practice. Nor is it confined to the humble Indian contractor and sardar only. Dr. D. H. Buchanan says that 'this practice extends to the managing agency firms, that certain mine managers actually pay to the agency firms handsome salaries for the privilege of being managers'. The Royal Commission on Indian Labour of 1929-31 condemned this type of recruitment of labour and its supervision and recommended the direct employment and dismissal of miners by the colliery managers ; but as this was not made obligatory under law the suggestion has not been accepted, with the result that the contractor and the sardar still flourish

In view of the physical strain involved and of the dangerous nature of the work, one would expect that the miners would demand and succeed in obtaining higher wages. What has stood in the way so far is the casual character of the labour force. Passing to and fro between the mines and the villages and regarding their wages as supplementing their earnings as agriculturists or as landless agricultural labourers, the people concerned do not feel called upon to make any very strenous efforts to increase them. This would have been a life and death matter with them if they had been compelled to rely exclusively on their wages for their living. There is also the fact that while a majority of the workers come from the *Santalis,* the rest are drawn from lower caste Hindus and some from the poorer sections of the Muslim population. This too does not encourage concerted action especially as the aboriginals prefer to keep very much to themselves.

Poor as are the earnings of the coal miner, we shall now try to ascertain how he spends it. The first charge on his wages is the bribe he must pay and the second the interest on his debts. With what remains of his wages, the miner, often with his wife and even the older children, pays a visit to the liquor shop where

about half the monthly earnings is spent on alcoholic beverages. That such a large proportion of the wages was, and is still, spent on liquor is clearly proved by the annual excise report of the Bihar Government. Before condemning the illiterate miner for his intemperance, let us remember how dull and wretched his life is, how few the amenities he enjoys and how hard he has to work to earn his poor wages. What remains after paying the bribes and the interest and the purchase of drink and occasionally of drugs is spent on clothes, light, fuel and food. So far as clothes are concerned, most of them find it almost impossible to purchase the minimum amount necessary to hide their nakedness. As regards the food consumed by these people, we are told that "the usual diet of the miners (boiled rice and pulses, and scanty vegetables) is entirely unsuited to those engaged in hard muscular labour". Milk, fish, meat, ghee, and nitrogenous edibles in general are said to be almost entirely lacking. The unbalanced and occasionally the inadequate diet of our miners together with their ill-health accounts for their inefficiency. The difference between the British and Indian Miners is that the British miner works in mines much deeper than those in which his Indian compatriot works.

There are two types of housing in the coalfields. In some places those regarded as permanent labourers are provided with small plots of land adjacent to the mines on which they raise their huts out of materials supplied free by the concerns employing them. Accommodation of this type therefore is not available for any except small numbers of landless men who have to depend exclusively on their earnings as miners. The majority of the workers who generally take to mining when they are in need of money or when they have nothing to do in their homes, constitute a floating population for whom, in their own interests, the coal concerns have to provide housing.

As regards the other amenities provided for the miners, it is a well-known fact that the water supply is not always pure being often taken from surface tanks, badly protected wells and streams. The number of latrines in the housing areas is not always adequate. Such vegetables as are consumed are kept for sale in the open often near road gutters and get contaminated by germs of all kinds of diseases to which the miners fall easy victims. Malaria, cholera and dysentery take their toll. Of late, tuberculosis has made its appearance. Hookworm is common specially among those working in underground mines. All this is regrettable in view of the fact that the Bihar and Orissa Government passed the Bihar and Orissa Mining Settlement Act (IV) of 1920 dealing with housing and sanitation. Pressure has been put on the mining concerns with

the result that only the barest minimum requirements under law have been met and that in a most grudging spirit. To those who have watched the gradual physical and moral deterioration of the agriculturists who have betaken themselves to mining and compared them with their sturdy and independent spirited fathers, the opening of our coalfields must, at least now and then, appear not a blessing but a curse so far as these poor people are concerned.

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OPIUM POLICY UNDER BRITISH RULE

The opium manufactured by the Opium Department and made available to the public may be divided into four categories. First comes medicinal opium for Europe. Next we have medicinal opium supplied to the Indian Medical Department and to charitable medical institutions recognised by Government.

Thirdly, there is the opium meant for export known as *provision* opium, the explanation of the term being that, in the early days of the Government monopoly, this drug was exported mainly to China, "to make provision for the Company's investment."

Lastly, there is *excise* opium that is to say the opium that is handed over to the Provincial Governments for non-medical use inside India. With the practical disappearance of exports of Indian opium, the revenue derived from local consumption has almost insensibly grown into an important item in the total excise revenue.

An attempt has been made in what follows to place certain facts and figures before the reader to prove that the adherence of the British administration to a particular policy explains why it continues to supply this narcotic used mainly for euphoric purposes in India though it has stopped its export for any except medical use thus indirectly agreeing to civilised world opinion about its harmfulness.

Opium in Pre-British Days: In the territories ruled by the Moghul emperors as well as in other parts of India where opium was produced in pre-British days, there did not exist anything like what we call the excise system. So far as revenue from opium consumed internally was concerned, the right to sell it to the public was granted only after the payment of a local fee. This system, it may be added, was also followed in other parts of India governed by non-Moghul rulers. It is doubtful whether the revenue from this source, never a large one, reached Delhi in its entirety. It appears more than likely that the local officials managed to intercept a large proportion of it.

Patna had been the emporium for opium in the eastern part of India long before the East India Company had assumed its monopoly, large amounts being purchased here, generally by Europeans, for export mainly to China and the Far East. This

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export trade was more valuable from the revenue point of view than the internal trade. At that time, the cultivation of poppy, like that of any other crop was free. There was nothing to prevent the cultivators from consuming as much as they wanted of the opium produced by them. They could also sell it in small lots to individuals for their consumption without being interfered with in any way. The consumption of what we would call illicit opium in both urban and rural areas was quite large in those days.

Opium Policy of the East India Company 1773-1797: The opium trade which had Patna as its centre was ruined in the course of the struggle between Seraj-ud-Daula and the East India Company. With the restoration of some stability by 1765, there appeared a keen demand for opium by the European companies trading in India. These companies feeling that they could no longer rely on the Indian middlemen doing business at Patna, sent their agents who dealt directly with the cultivators. Attracted by the immense profits of the export trade, their unscrupulous servants generally non-Indian began to trade clandestinely on their own account, which in due time led to the appearance of large quantities of adulterated opium in the market.

At length in 1773, Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal, on behalf of the East India Company, assumed the monopoly of all the opium produced in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The right to the exclusive manufacture of opium on account of the Company was sold at first annually and, later on, by four-year contracts till 1797 when a new system was adopted. For nearly a quarter of a century, the old Moghul system of imposing a small fee on shops vending opium was retained. Nor was any well-planned effort made to secure revenue from the opium consumed throughout the rural areas and in the smaller towns. It was only in large centres of population that fees were demanded and realised from those selling opium. So far as the largest part of the opium revenue was concerned, the East India Company was content to depend exclusively on the export trade.

Opium Consumption 1773-1797: Under these circumstances, it is not at all surprising that the malpractices which had prevailed in pre-British days should have continued. In the absence of any attempt at the regulation of cultivation of poppy and supervision of the manufacture and distribution of the narcotic by the Company itself, the cultivators generally succeeded in keeping back a portion, however small, of the crude opium produced. Probably part of this was consumed by them and

part disposed of. Smuggling of the opium obtained in small lots from the poppy cultivators to those areas in old time Bengal, that is, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, where poppy cultivation was not carried on, must also have been common. Further, the East India Company was master of only a small part of India and that in a precarious way ; its inhbaitants could revolt at any time and it was also open to attacks by enemies, Indian and European. As it had to devote nearly all its attention to safeguarding the territories it had acquired, the Company could hardly find eiher the time or the means required to properly supervise the control and distribution of opium inside its territories in an efficient manner. Apart from the illicit consumption of opium by the producers and the contraband trade in it in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, poppy was cultivated practically all over India which, in those days, had not yet come under the Company. Here too, its cultivation was free, here too the cultivators enjoyed perfect freedom to consuming as much of the drug produced as they pleased and, at least part of it could be, and actually was, sent all over India. From what has appeared above, it is clear that if large amounts of opium had been consumed by Indians in pre-British days, there was but little improvement in the situation in the early days of the East India Company.

Opium Policy of the Company 1797-1857: With the prohibition of poppy cultivation in Bengal proper and its restriction to the Bihar part of the old province in 1797, the attention of the East India Company was drawn to the strong demand for the drug, a demand that was being supplied in two ways, clandestine cultivation in out-of-the-way areas and systematic smuggling. To stop the former, a law prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy without a license was passed so that by the beginning of the 19th century, it was extinguished in all areas controlled by the Company, with the exception of parts of Bihar and Benares where only licenses were issued. The gradual enlargement of the excise staff reduced but failed to end smuggling of the drug from non-British territories. It was thus that the revenue drawn from opium consumed internally assumed a new importance which, in time, led to the regulation of the traffic in it. A gratifying result of the above policy of confining poppy cultivation to certain definite areas so far as British India was concerned, was the removal of the temptation to opium addiction from peasants who had formerly cultivated this crop in nearly every part of India. It also diminished consumption among that class of people who had procured their supplies of the drug directly from the poppy growers. If the above policy explains the diminu-

tion in the amount of opium consumed in British India, there were, and also are other equally important factors, the influence of which cannot be overlooked. The first step taken was the Bengal (Opium) Regulation of 1813 laying down the principle of maximum revenue with minimum consumption. After that other measures were taken from time to time by the agents of the Company, the one thing common to all being the limitation of the consumption to the lowest possible amount at the same time raising as high a revenue from this source as possible. This policy accounts for variations in the retail price of opium in different parts of India both before and after the Montagu-Chemsford Reforms when the control of the internal distribution of opium came to be the responsibility of Indian Ministers.

Opium Consumption 1797-1857: Though we cannot make even something like a guess as regards the total amount of opium, licit and illicit, consumed in British India during this period (1797-1857) it would be difficult for the objective student to deny that just as the consumption of opium was lower in the early days of the East India Company than in pre-British days, in just the same way there was smaller consumption in the period under review as also that this took place in successive stages determined by the concentration of cultivation and the tightening up of the agency for distribution. As the East India Company thought it inexpedient to interfere with the internal affairs of what have been called the Protected States, there was utter absence of any check on the cultivation of poppy, the maunfacture and distribution of opium as well as its consumption by their people. Large amounts of the opium produced in them were smuggled into British India, part of which was consumed internally and part exported. The magnitude of the opium problem so far as these States are concerned, may be easily inferred from the fact that long after India had passed under the Crown and after practically all of them had agreed to come into line with the policy of restriction of cultivation and control of distribution of the drug of the British administration in India, Lord Irwin who had summoned a conference of these opium producing States in May, 1927, in the course of his introductory speech, was compelled to observe: 'No one, I believe, can deny that large quantities of opium are smuggled out of Indian States. The high rate of consumption in the States is bound to arouse increasingly unfavourable comment in India and outside India and bring discredit on both the States and Governmet of India.' There is, however, a general impression that very large quantities of opium were and are

consumed not only in nearly all the Rajputana and Central India but also in the Punjab and Simla Hills States.

Reasons for the Company's Attitude: When Warren Hastings and a majority of his Council took over the opium monopoly, their professed objects were first, to raise a revenue for the East India Company's territorial Government, secondly, to prevent the agents of the French and the Dutch Companies from dealing directly with the poppy cultivators in the interior, thirdly, to keep up the quality of the drug by stopping its adulteration by cultivators and private traders which had caused a falling off in opium exports and lastly, and a long way behind, 'to have power to regulate or restrict internal consumption if necessary'.

That the first of these objects was secured by the export trade the proceeds from which at one time formed the second most important item of revenue in India, that non-British European Companies were shut out from establishing trade relations with the poppy cultivators which, it had been apprehended, might be exploited for political ends, and that the State monopoly ensured uniformity of standard of both *provision* and *excise* opium are indisputable facts. But it does not appear that any special steps were taken to restrict internal consumption probably because this was not felt to be necessary. And there were very good reasons for the apathetic attitude of both the Directors as well as of the agents of the Company. It had its critics. These wanted an excuse to attack it and that was supplied by its opium trade. Missionaries who had established their stations in different parts of China had done so with the backing of influential home boards behind them. They found that the Chinese were aware that the export of Indian opium to their country in which the British administration in India was vitally interested had the indirect support of the British Government. The condemnation of the export trade by these obviously honest and sincere Christians, by their home organisations and, lastly, by various temperance organisations made things very uncomfortable for the Company.

One reason for this outcry against the China trade undoubtedly was the wide prevalence of opium addiction in that country as contrasted with the far smaller numbers habitually taking the drug in India. The concentration of criticism on the export trade to China was to be expected. For, it was this country which absorbed not less than twelve times the quantity consumed internally. These seem to be the reason why the East India Company shelved their plans for reducing the internal consumption of the narcotic. But certain steps, to some

of which reference has been made previously, its agents took and these were primarily taken in the interests of the export trade but they had their natural repercussions on the internal consumption of the drug.

II

Opium Consumption 1858-1893—After the Mutiny it took some time to pacify the country and to restore normal conditions. The poppy-growing areas in Bihar and in the North-West Provinces had seen much fighting, many of the peasants had left their villages, returning only when confidence had been restored. This explains why the opium agencies in these provinces began functioning something like normally about two years after the suppression of the Mutiny and, even then, some time had to elapse before the production of opium reached pre-Mutiny quantities. That the estimate that the largest quantity of opium consumed internally had never exceeded 1,000 chests during the days of the East India Company, was absolutely incorrect and that the needs of Indian addicts were mainly supplied from illicit sources, were clearly proved as soon as India came under the Crown and when, with production approaching normal quantities, more stringent supervision was exercised on the manufacture and distribution of the narcotic. The amount of licit opium consumed internally as shown below was quadrupled in almost no time. The first official mention in regard to the above matter will be found in the fifth paragraph of Despatch No. 312 of 1881, dated the 19th December, 1881, addressed by the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce, to Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India, stating that in the previous twenty years (1860-1880)—'In addition to the quantity exported, about 4,000 chests of Bengal opium (were) consumed in India'. This, of course, gives the average internal consumption for the twenty years 1860-1880 and, as such, is of no assistance in any enquiry regarding the increase from year to year. That there was a gradual increase is proved from information supplied towards the end of 1891, by the Secretary of State for India, a matter referred to below. The present writer has failed to secure any information concerning the quantities used inside British India for the period 1881-1889, but in Revenue Despatch No. 94, dated the 17th December, 1891, from Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India, to the India Government we are told that—'The quantity of licit opium consumed

in British India, though it has fluctuated, has not increased greatly during the last 10 years'. The total quantity consumed in India and Burma taken together, in 1892-93, was 9,39,067 pounds which is roughly 7,636 chests.

Indo-British Condemnation of Increased Consumption—The gradual increase in both the export trade, a matter dealt with elsewhere, as well as in the internal consumption, was regarded with such disfavour that, by the end of 1892, the organised churches in Great Britain petitioned the Parliament more than once to instruct its agents in India to take steps to suppress the traffic. During the days of the East India Company, missionaries did not enjoy much freedom in giving expression to their views in regard to matters pertaining to its administration. Things, however, had changed and they awoke to the evils implied in the increased internal consumption of the drug. It also seems probable that they felt that they had greater chances of success when their appeal was addressed to Parliament which, unlike the Company, was not financially interested in the opium traffic and was therefore likely to give it sympathetic consideration. Indian missionaries engaged in Christian propaganda in India, had also signed and forwarded to the House of Commons their protest.

Opium Policy, 1858-1893—The increase in the amount of opium consumed internally had not failed to attract the attention of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. In November, 1892, this organisation presented a memorial to Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, praying among other things that instructions should be issued to the India Government to produce opium just sufficient for India's medical and scientific needs and that, in view of the large number of petitions and memorials addressed by Indian organisations condemning the gradual increase in the internal production, steps should be taken to ensure that the narcotic should be supplied to the public on the prescriptions of qualified physicians and for the treatment of diseases only. The reply of Lord Kimberley was that—'While the tendency of the policy of the Government of India was towards restriction, they were not prepared to go as far in that direction as the Society no doubt desired'. What the opium policy of this period amounted to was a refusal to interfere with the internal consumption of the drug even when it was gradually on the increase. When cornered, the British administration had the ready explanation that growth of population accounted for larger consumption. That Indian public opinion had no voice in the influencing in any way the opium policy of the British administration during this period becomes clear when

we remember that legislation was entirely in the hands of British officials down to the Indian Councils Act of 1861.

Royal Commission on Opium and After—One of the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Opium appointed early in 1893, under circumstances mentioned elsewhere, was 'whether the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India (including Burma) should be prohibited except for medical purposes, etc.'

It was held in the Majority Report that 'the evil effects ascribed to the drug have been much exaggerated', that 'opium is harmful, harmless or even beneficial, according to the measure and discretion with which it is used', and lastly, that 'the obstacles, administrative, financial and political, to a system of prohibition', appeared to the signatories to be 'insurmountable'. As the arrangements for retail vend were regarded as, on the whole, 'sufficiently restrictive', the Commissioners recommended the continuance of the system then in force. As the existing policy was supported by the British Government which accepted the Majority Report, the British administration in India saw no reason for taking any drastic steps to curtail the internal consumption. The result was that there was no reduction in the internal consumption of the drug.

Opium Consumption and Opium Policy, 1909-1914—Before dealing with the internal consumption of opium during the above period, it is necessary to state that at this time Great Britain thought it expedient, for reasons which need not be referred to here, to grant India a small instalment of political power. In actual practice, what happened was that, though the non-official members were given the right of moving resolutions and asking supplementary questions, 'the argument of numbers', in the language of the Simon Commission Report (Vol. I, paragraph 136), 'remained with the Central Government'. This retention of power by the Central Government, with revenue as its first preoccupation, accounts for the maintenance of the old policy. This tendency was strengthened by the agreement with China referred to elsewhere, which had the effect, of course, indirectly, of increasing the importance of the revenue derived from opium consumed inside India.

The old policy was continued and, with it, the tendency towards increased consumption persisted.

Opium Consumption and Opium Policy, 1914-1920—The First World War started some time after the beginning of the official year 1914-15, and it did not affect India to any large extent immediately. This, so far as the drug is concerned, is reflected in

the amount of opium consumed internally. As the war assumed a gradually intenser form, and, with it, more and more extensive demands were made on India's material resources and man power, the British administration in India had to concentrate all its energies to meet them. The recruitment of very large numbers of people from practically every part of India, the congestion in railways and steamers, the constant going to and fro of people in abnormally large numbers greatly facilitated smuggling. This illicit opium was consumed not only by some of the smugglers themselves but was also supplied to many of the less scrupulous licensed vendors. The increased consumption of stimulants in the West during the First and Second World Wars justifies the view that, at least during this period, higher earnings, coupled with a strong inclination among the addicts to either enjoy themselves or to meet the strain due to war conditions with the assistance of the drug, must have stimulated its consumption.

Under the peace treaties of 1919-20, concluded after the First World War, the nations concerned had agreed to the ratification of the Hague Opium Convention. The first of its six chapters defines raw opium and contains pledges on the part of the signatory Powers for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium. Though the Hague Convention, by reason of the circumstances under which it came into existence, laid the principal emphasis on measures calculated to discourage the consumption of prepared, that is, smoking opium, the first article, when examined closely, makes it clear that it contemplated at some time, however distant, what has been called "the governance of the domestic traffic" of raw opium—a matter in which the India Government was interested in so far as the internal consumption of the narcotic was concerned.

III

Under the Montford Reforms of 1919, some measure of political power passed into the hands of Indians in the Provincial sphere in nine major provinces. In practically every province, the finance portfolio was placed in charge of a British official.

In this connection we should remember that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms led to important alterations in the financial relation between the Centre and the Provinces, certain heads of revenue being made wholly Provincial and others Imperial. It was rightly anticipated that one result of this would be a large deficit in the Central budget. This was met by Provincial con-

tributions which were gradually diminished and finally abolished in 1928-29. Under these circumstances, the British Finance Ministers had always to keep funds in hand for the Central Government.

Dyarchy was in operation from 1920 to 1936, and it did not have an easy time for there had been deficits from 1918-19 onwards. Unmistakable indications of a slump became apparent about the latter half of 1920-21, a little after dyarchy had come into operation. This deepened into what an English economist had characterised as 'unrelieved depression' in 1921-22, which showed little signs of recovery next year. What little progress towards recovery India was able to make in the course of 1926-27 and the next year, was more than nullified by what is known as the 'great depression' called so because of its great intensity and extraordinary persistence.

In view of the generally unsatisfactory financial conditions in India, the British officials were reluctant to be liberal with funds for they were only too well aware that if there was anything like a serious dislocation in the machinery of administration, they would be the first to be blamed and rightly so because of the large powers reserved to them under dyarchy.

Difficulties of Popular Ministers Under Dyarchy—Under the Devolution Rules, control of cultivation with manufacture and sale of opium for export was a Central subject while the distribution of the opium obtained from the Central Government became a Provincial matter under the charge of Indian Ministers. The real position in regard to excise, including opium, was that they had general control over the sale of licenses and over the drink and drug shops.

Anything like a radical departure such as the adoption of measures calculated to diminish the revenues at a time when the administration was faced with a financial crisis, would have been strenuously opposed by the British officials in the Provincial Governments. In addition, the all-powerful Central Government could hardly be expected to view with equanimity proposals which would have the effect of reducing the amounts of opium supplied to the Provinces, for a reduction in the revenue consequent on their adoption, would compel the Provinces to reduce their contribution to the Centre.

The Indian Ministers were on trial. One of their principal preoccupations was to develop education and social services for which money had to be found. The sources of Provincial Governments were limited, the only one capable of expansion being the revenue from excise including the revenue from the distribution

of opium. Naturally enough, they felt great hesitation in suggesting the adoption of any measure calculated to reduce revenue.

The facts stated above show that while theoretically, the Indian Ministers in the Provinces were free to implement a policy of restriction or even of prohibition of the internal consumption of opium, there were certain grave difficulties which stood in the way of their adoption of a bold policy in the matter. All the above factors had the effect of making the Indian Ministers extremely cautious in the matter of introducing changes in the existing revenue system.

But even then, pressure on the administration, specially in the Provinces, in regard to reduction in internal consumption was applied from time to time, but to no effect. An English observer who visited India and the Far East in 1927-28, said in 1930—'When Provincial Councils have voted for reduction of opium or drink licenses, such proposals have been vetoed because of their anticipated effect on finance.'

Contradictory Policy Under Dyarchy 1920-1935—The generally difficult financial situation all through the period when dyarchy was in operation, explains the wavering policy followed in most of the Provinces.

An instance of the paradox of satisfaction over an expanding revenue with descriptions of propaganda levelled against the immoderate consumption of stimulants and narcotics will be found in the *Excise Report* for Bihar and Orissa for the year 1935-36. Here we are told that in Orissa, notorious for its excessive use of opium, the excise revenue increased to the extent of 23 lakhs within the four years 1931-35, and that the consumption in certain areas in it went up in 1936 by reason of 'competition among vendors' who presumably vigorously pushed the sale of alcoholic beverages and habit-forming drugs. At the same time, the Department concerned took credit because: 'Excise officers continued to explain the evil effects of purchasing opium for children.'

Opium Consumption and Opium Policy 1920-22—Gandhiji toured through different parts of India to organise Non-co-operation movement with only one phase of which, the campaign for temperance, we are concerned here. Some idea of the measure of success achieved may be formed by a consideration of the improvements which appeared in one particular area, Assam, long notorious for its excessive consumption of drink and drugs. Hundreds of enthusiastic young men picketed drink and drug shops imploring people to refrain from patronising them.

The effects of the good work were large drop in consumption between 1920-22. It was the direct result of the anti-opium preaching of Congressmen. The Assam Government ascribed it to large supplies available from contraband sources.

It would be stated here that the most remarkable outcome of this anti-opium drive was that the figure for consumption in Assam have not gone up since that time.

The anti-drink and anti-drug phase of the Non-co-operation movement may be said to be the first expression of a large scale organised Indian opinion against the opium policy of the administration which, however, was able to considerably minimise its importance as a genuine indication of public feeling by drawing attention to its revenue reducing possibilities and then emphasising that its adoption had embarrassing Government as its object. It may be that this was an honestly held conviction with most British officials.

The reduction in the internal consumption brought once more to the fore the question of the possibility of limiting the production of opium to the quantity required for medical and scientific purposes and the British administration felt it necessary to make its position clear to their principals. It may be that this was done because it was assumed that the internal consumption would tend to return to normal quantities when the Non-co-operation movement was properly controlled to which end vigorous measures had already been taken and in case they proved unsatisfactory, others still more drastic were under consideration.

The India Government, therefore, explained its opium policy in a despatch dated the 21st March, 1921, addressed to the Secretary of State for India. Here, Lord Reading observed that as in India opium eating was 'largely prevalent for the prevention, cure and alleviation of disease, as a prophylactic and as an anodyne, as a solace, a tonic and a restorative to avert and lessen fatigue and as when moderately used it is relatively innocuous . . .

. . . . any attempt to eradicate by law the use of opium would be open to all the objections involved in bureaucratic interference with popular custom.'

The India Office Pamphlet of 1922—It has been held that the British administration felt that it must do something to explain to the world at large its attitude in regard to the question of the internal consumption of opium. It was aware that it could take credit for the change in its opium export policy as proved by the stoppage of the China trade and the limitation of opium exports to non-China countries in the Far East. What remained for it was to convince international public opinion that

its opium policy in regard to internal consumption was justified by conditions peculiar to India. This took the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Truth About Indian Opium* published by the India Office in 1922. This pamphlet stated (p. 28) that Indian opium was not ordinarily used for the manufacture of morphine, thus clearing the India Government from any suspicion that this derivative of opium smuggled into countries, eastern and western, which prohibited its entry, had been manufactured in India. It also referred to the new opium export policy pointing out, in the second edition, the adoption of the import certificate system.

In dealing with the question of the consumption of opium inside India it stated, 'that the opium habit as a vice scarcely exists in India, that opium is extensively used for non-medical and semi-medical purposes, in some cases with benefit, and for the most part without serious consequences; that it would not be practicable to draw a distinction between them in the distribution and the sale of the drug; and that it is not necessary that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes.'

Much had been expected from the India office pamphlet justifying the supplying of opium to Indians. That it failed to carry conviction among people not financially interested in the opium traffic became clear when the First Opium Conference met at Geneva in 1924, where one of those present felt compelled to state that—'Great Britain in passing her Dangerous Drugs Act expressed England's agreement with the policy of suppressing drugs in the British Empire, but did not extend the strictures of that Act to her dominions in India.'

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AHIMSA AND THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY

Admirers and followers of Mahatma Gandhi hold that by his technique of *ahimsa,* very inadequately expressed by the word non-violence, he has provided the world with a satisfactory method of creating an atmosphere favourable to the solution of differences in a peaceful and, may I add, Christian way. This new method is based on the recognition of the fundamental fact that man is pre-eminently a moral being and that though he undoubtedly does possess the war instinct, it is in the fitness of things that his war instincts should find their expression not on the physical but on the moral plane where naturally the weapons he will use will be moral weapons.

The aim in this method to meet brute force by moral weapons is two-fold. One of these is to arouse, according to circumstances, the conscience of society or of the world against the aggressor in such a way as to make him realise very clearly that his physical success is actually turned into a moral defeat. The other aim is to expose the evil by the oppression in such a way as to compel the world to regard it as a wrong done to humanity, until the whole world through its sympathy sides with the oppressed. Once this object is achieved, the oppressor finds that his so-called victory resembles the dead sea fruit which turns to ashes in the mouth. Gandhiji also holds that when used properly, *ahimsa* has the power to change the heart of the aggressor, to win him over and to establish goodwill among men thus nipping in the bud the multiplication of evil called forth by repressions on the one hand and reprisals on the other.

Mahatma Gandhi's method aims at transferring our admiration from the weilder of physical force to the weilder of the moral. The man who follows this technique must forget his natural inclination for retaliation and train himself to feel respect for the very much nobler Christian method of refusal to retaliate. Two principles must guide such a man. He has to be truthful and non-violent in thought, word and deed. Along with this, he must refuse to offer any assistance to the oppressor until aggression in all its varied aspects is withdrawn. This would be moral action in its purest form in which the followers of *ahimsa* will cheerfully suffer oppression in its extremest form for the sake of the truth and even to die if necessary. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that moral resistance of this type is an impossibility without

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a very high degree of discipline, courage and endurance. If, therefore, the slightest weakness or flaw is detected in the method followed and if the resistance offered is not from the purest of motives, the verdict of the world can never be expected to be favourable. Under these circumstances, it need hardly be stated that in recommending this method, Mahatma Gandhi relies for the success *ahimsa* might achieve on the ultimate response of human nature to genuine goodness and self-sacrifice.

The genuine adherent of the doctrine of *ahimsa* holds that in it is to be found a striking example of the progressive though necessarily slow, march of humanity towards perfection—a perfection which can be earned only by the sacrifices and sufferings of idealists. *Ahimsa* in its application to the solution of such problems as social injustice, economic exploitation and political subjection may be likened to that spirit of co-operation where the advantage of society at large is secured at the expense of individual interests. The feature common to all such efforts to improve the lot of humanity is that the beneficial effects are secured by the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of society at large.

Looking through the history of ages, we find that this unselfish devotion to the cause of humanity has been responsible for whatever improvements have been made in the lot of mankind. It is this which has made organised society with all its obvious drawbacks easy of attainment. And it is equally true that the same method for effecting further improvements will have to be adopted in order to remove those defects and injustices which characterise modern life and modern civilisation. History also teaches the lesson that this innate urge of man to sacrifice his individual interests for the sake of others operates feebly and tentatively at the beginning but that it calls forth response from successive idealists so that with every age that passes the number of self-sacrificing individuals increases and, with them, the beneficial effects they produce in hastening with an ever-quickening pace, the amelioration of man's lot.

National India does not consider pacifism as identical with or as having the same moral appeal as *ahimsa* unless the former is prepared to carry on the struggle whatever its nature as a constructive force against evil. It does not consider the resolve to merely abstain from taking part in a physical struggle as sufficient, a programme for which men and women would cheerfully sacrifice their all including life itself in the firm belief that the adoption of such a course of action must inevitably bring to an end the wrong complained of. Besides, the sphere of pacifism

is confined to the solution of the war problem only. As practised in the West in its best from, it has not yet received that wide application which Mahatma Gandhi has given to *ahimsa* in the form of *satyagraha* in India. The latter finds its field of work in all aspects and in all spheres of human life. Unlike western pacifism, it is neither negative nor passive.

This probably is the reason why Mahatma Gandhi has given up the use of the term 'passive resistance' as a correct description for his own technique of attacking evils on the moral plane. He has repeatedly told us that while he holds fast to the principle of non-violence, he has always qualified this statement by adding that he is no believer in that type of passivity which leads merely to feeble and cowardly inaction. The view held seems to be that only the strong are fit to tread the pathway of suffering which will appeal to the conscience of the world and thus lead to the removal of the particular evil against which the struggle is being carried on. Moral resistance arising out of weakness cannot, according to him, have the same effect on mankind at large as when it springs from strength.

It has been said that non-violence has been successful in India mainly because the British are considerate and humane. It may be so, but we should remember that hate and enmity can be conquered only by love. Again is it not true that the only rational and successful way to deal with an enemy is to convert him to a friend? History does not record a single case where an enemy has been converted to a friend by being treated as an enemy. I know of no other struggle in history for national freedom which has been conducted in so truly a Christian spirit. It is not unlikely that the East will once again teach this new and much-needed lesson to the West.

The followers of *ahimsa* who, in my opinion, will bring about a radical change of heart in mankind will all be inspired not so much by humanitarian feelings as by faith in a God of love, the Father of all, and their influence will be such that a majority of the States will come to recognise the value of *ahimsa* and will adopt it as their ruling principle. There might be a small and comparatively insignificant number of men who will persist in clinging to the doctrine of force as a satisfactory means of settling differences but they will come to be regarded as semi-lunatics. In time, these will get disgusted with selfishness and bloodshed specially when they will be countered by unwearying patience, in the face of repeated provocations and, in their turn, they will undergo a change of heart. It is then that the prophecy of the

Lord and Master will be fulfilled—'Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.'

It may no doubt be argued that what has been said above is an ideal which, under existing world conditions, appears impossible of fulfilment even in remote futurity. Nonetheless it has to be admitted that in any attempt at a long vision of the future evolution of the world towards an ideal, we have to take into account not only the worst but also the best of which humanity at large is capable. Just as on the one hand it is possible that the present war which is spread over the whole world may have the effect of making it reel back to barbarism so, on the other hand, it is no less likely that, with the passage of time with setbacks here and there, the principle of *ahimsa* will slowly but nonetheless surely gather increasing momentum and some day, however distant, we shall have the reign of justice and peace. While it is true that human nature uninspired by these ideals is desparately wicked, it is equally true that it is moving forward though with slow and faltering steps towards the abolition of conflict between man and man and of war between nation and nation.

If the spirit of *ahimsa* is imbibed and given effect to today and if this spirit is, through its natural human appeal, imbibed in a larger and still larger measure by each generation, there is not the slightest doubt that the pace of man's progress will quicken from more to more and must lead to but one result, the establishment of the Kingdom of God in this world.

Mahatma Gandhi is a moral genius of the highest order for he faced the risk of being regarded as a theorist or rather as a crank when he preached *ahimsa* as the only satisfactory solution for our troubles. Events, however, have proved that he had not erred in his estimate of the fundamental goodness of human nature. The fact that in spite of the very high spiritual demands it makes on humanity, he has been able to command the loyalty of so many and, on the whole, such faithful followers is sufficient proof that the lesson he has been teaching India and through her the world at large, is a latent truth inherent in the nature of humanity, that with an example before it this truth is not beyond its understanding and lastly that, given the right lead, it is possible of adoption by very large masses of men for the attainment of definitely worthy aims.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S INTERPRETATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF *SATYA-AHIMSA*

At a time when Europe was getting ready for the suicidal conflict in which we see her engaged to-day and to which practically every nation in the West has been gradually drawn, India, distracted by social and religious dissensions, found nevertheless true leadership in a little, insignificant-looking man who has somehow succeeded in inspiring thousands of men and women drawn from every social stratum and every religious group to enlist themselves as soldiers in an army where the weapons used are *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (non-violence). The method Gandhiji and his followers have followed is to be found in the following pronouncement made by him in *Young India*, October 8, 1925: —

> I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is.

It seems, therefore, that while nearly all the so-called progressive nations of the world are relying on brute force as a means of settling differences and while the systems to which they are giving their allegiance represent the denial of justice and the principle of the brotherhood of man, our great national leader stands out as an isolated and therefore all the more impressive prophet of the gospel of *satya* and *ahimsa*. He relies for his influence over his followers on his appeal to the spiritual side of their nature. He shows them what he is convinced is the truth and leaves them to shape their conduct as they please. Gandhiji is the master of that spiritual authority in the light of which material values seem to lose all their importance.

When he founded his ashram of what he called soul-force, Mahatma Gandhi framed certain rules for its inmates the first and foremost of which is the vow of *satya* or truth. He does not uphold *satya* because 'honesty is the best policy', with the implication that if it is not expedient as the best policy, we may as well depart from it. In his own language, 'Truth as it is con-

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From *Calcutta Review*—May, 1941.

ceived means that we may have to rule our life by this law of truth at any cost.'

The first public work which Gandhiji took up after his return to India was a campaign for the amelioration of the tenants of the indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar. His interference in a matter which did not concern him was greatly resented not only by the planters but also by Government officials. In this connection, the Collector of Champaran wrote him an offensive letter which he later on wished to withdraw. The followers of Gandhiji began to make a copy of it but they were asked not to do so as he felt that the letter could not be said to have been truly withdrawn so long as they had a copy of it in their possession.

The same courteous procedure was followed on a similar occasion when, during the negotiations preceding the Gandhi-Irwin pact, the Home Secretary after writing an insulting letter decided to withdraw it. No copy of it was kept because our great national leader held that to keep a copy of a withdrawn letter means not only finding a place for it in the office files but also in the heart. Such a course of action characterised by untruth is bound to lead to violence. It is thus that Mahatma Gandhi explains the vital connection between *asatya* and *himsa* or *satya* and *ahimsa*.

There is, moreover, a positive side to his conception of *satya*. When non-violent Non-co-operation was launched in 1921, Mahatma Gandhi, who had made the *Khilafat* cause his own, joined forces with the Ali brothers and toured the country with them, addressing mass meetings of Hindus and Muslims and exhorted them to take part in the movement. The speeches of our great national leader were always characterised by moderation but it connot be said that the same was always true of the speeches made by his coadjutors. When this matter was put before Mahatma Gandhi by Lord Reading, his love of *satya* compelled him to admit the truth of this charge brought against the Ali brothers.

When the non-co-operation movement was stained time and again by acts of violence, he immediately called it off, prompted by the same love of *satya*. He took this step against the wishes, the entreaties and even the vehement opposition of many of his followers.

His love of *satya* (truth) which impelled him to acknowledge mistakes he had made was also responsible for his fearless denunciation of what he considered wrong. After the Punjab atrocities

of 1920 and the betrayal of the interests of the Khilafat in 1921, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his *Young India*:

> I consider that I would be less than truthful if I did not describe as satanic a Government which has been guilty of fraud, murder and wanton cruelty; which still remains unrepentant and resorts to untruth to cover its guilt. I really believe that I am performing the office of a friend by denouncing in precise language the pretensions of a Government which has nothing to commend itself to the people under its charge.

Here there is not the slightest attempt at toning down or whitewashing the wrongs for which Mahatma Gandhi held the British Government responsible. Mahatmaji did not hesitate to use the strongest language against the British administration because without it he saw he could not give full expression to his indignation

With all his uncompromising adherence to *satya* (truth), Mahatma Gandhi does not make the slightest claim to having achieved it. Writing in December, 1921, he said: 'I am but a seeker after truth. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny. I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I possess; it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations.'

In Mahatma Gandhi's view, there is such intimate connection between *ahimsa* ordinarily translated as non-violence and *satya* (truth) that these, in his own language, 'are inseparable and presuppose one another'. It is therefore that in his *ashram* the vow of *ahisma* stands next to the vow of *satya*. *Ahimsa* means non-violence in thought, word and deed and as such makes very exacting demands on man's spiritual nature. The people of the West do not find it easy to appreciate the reasons which have made *ahimsa* the most important principle of Gandhiji's religious life. This is because they are not all aware of the emphasis laid on this doctrine in Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism—the religions which have had such a large share in moulding the spiritual life of India.

If we accept Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of the doctrine of *ahimsa*, we have to admit that in addition to being a negative virtue, it has also a positive aspect and implies active goodness. It is therefore that Mahatmaji said—'*Ahimsa* means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved'. But how is this change to be brought about? It will be brought about not by *himsa*, or by retaliation but by putting

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up with suffering unresistingly at the hands of the evil-doer till such time as he is touched and his heart, in the language of the Scriptures, is changed. That was why Mahatma Gandhi said, 'India must conquer her so-called conqueror by love'. 'We must love our English administrators and pray to God that they may have wisdom to see what appears to us to be their error. I believe in the power of suffering to melt the stoniest heart. We must by our conduct demonstrate to every Englishman that he is as safe in the remotest corner of India as he proposes to feel behind his machine-gun.'

The question of questions is whether in its actual application the idealism behind *satya-ahimsa* was kept in mind. National India contends that, taking into account the very large numbers participating in the different movements carried on by believers of this principle, the spirit of *satya-ahimsa* was really and truly maintained. The British administration would point to cases where it is admitted that violence did break out and would emphasise the fact that where large numbers are concerned, there is always a very grave risk of *ahimsa* degenerating into *himsa*. While many among us would agree generally with the truth underlying this contention, there is little doubt that as this technique rescued from oblivion and put into practice these days for the removal of grievances of various types is fundamentally Indian. It should be recognised that the masses have at last awakened and that their patience under their real or fancied grievances has certain limits. Experience has shown that, in other parts of the world, grievances such as those from which India suffers have been redressed only as the result of the application of some kind of pressure. This pressure can take either a violent or a non-violent form. And it is to the credit of Mahatma Gandhi that he has forged for the use of India's millions a weapon which is calculated to give them their heart's desire without inflicting any appreciably extensive damage on their opponents. *Satya-ahimsa* with its ringing message of self-chosen suffering for fighting wrongs has not only appealed very widely to the disinherited millions of India but it has proved equally effective in the case of those others who generally form the pillars of conservatism in other countries and are the strongest defenders of vested interests and established institutions.

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GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF APPLIED CHRISTIANITY UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS

The disciples of Jesus are expected to have an implicit faith in the goodness of God and in His love for His children. They must identify themselves with man to the extent that they will meet wrong and oppression from all quarters with invincible patience and love. They have to take for granted that their success in winning over their opponents is certain provided they are prepared to suffer and die rather than meet violence by violence. Success is sure because in adopting this method, they are following God's way which is to change wicked into good men by the help of divine love. It is in this way only that they can realise the supreme aim of humanity—the winning of life eternal.

Most unfortunately very few of the followers of Jesus seem to have assimilated and acted on this precept. Many Christians are not aware that in the first three centuries the Christian Church did not countenance war. We are told that during this period, many Christians were put to death because they refused to join the army. The earlier race of the apologists of Christianity such as Justin, Martyr, Tertullian, Clement, Origen and Lactantius as well as others whose names I am unable to recollect held that taking part in fighting is inconsistent with professing the faith of the Prince of Peace. But this faithful following of the teaching of Jesus was gradually replaced by a compromise with the demands of secularism so that to-day we find a number of established Churches in the West which are divided among themselves on account of differences in their theological doctrines. But in spite of these differences, they are all or nearly all united in countenancing the use of force for the defence of what they consider right. But the fundamental fact which is of interest to us is that the use of force under these circumstances has obtained the official sanction of some, if not all, the organised Christian Churches.

Let us be fair and admit that there have been many men of God whom I would describe as His saints, who have practised what national India calls *ahimsa* in their daily lives but the glorious example they have set has not been followed to any appreciably large extent. These have been as voices crying in the wilderness either unheeded or misinterpreted when heard. It is, therefore, that Western organised Christianity has been described

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From *Calcutta Review*—June, 1941

by one of its critics as a religion 'smothered' by the vested interests which, like weeds, have checked its growth. And what was the attitude of Christ whom Mahatma Gandhi has called 'the Prince of Satyagrahis' in the matter of non-violence? In order to arrive at a correct view, we must turn to his own pronouncements and, particularly, to the Sermon on the Mount as recorded by his immediate disciples where the fundamental teachings of the Lord and Master are fully set forth. These words are as follows: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.'

Mahatma Gandhi referred to this aspect of the matter many years ago when in the *Young India* for October 8, 1925, he said: 'I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper-edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first puzzle him and at last compel recognition, which recognition would not humiliate, but would uplift him. It may be urged that this is an ideal state. And so it is.'

Where will one see to-day a more faithful follower of Christ than our national leader who has all along been true to the principles laid down by our Lord and Master? Has he not more than once called off the Civil Disobsdience movement and characterised it as a 'Himalayan' blunder when his followers departed from these Christian principles?

Mahatma Gandhi has caught the very spirit of Christ when he laid down the law for the true *satyagrahi* in the following terms: '*Ahimsa* means the largest love. It is the supreme law. By it alone can mankind be saved.' And again 'non-violence is the weapon of the strongest and the bravest. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it, knowing that every man is the image of God.' Here we have the highest and best example of *ahimsa* or active love resisting evil in the most effective of ways but without deviating from its ideals even to the slightest extent. It is, therefore, that a Christian thinker has given it as his considered opinion that 'the willingness to encounter opposition is the very breath of the Christian life. If the Cross means anything, it means that.'

That the non-violence of Christ was in a sense militant may be inferred from the fact that when the time came for ending his pilgrimage in this world, he went to Jerusalem in order to be present at the Passover though aware all the time that he was

going to his death. The risk involved in doing so was not only known to himself but also to his disciples, for St. Mark says, 'Jesus was going before them, and they were amazed ; and they that followed were afraid.' Here we have a picture of the Lord and Master going forward to meet a cruel, agonising death without the slightest hesitation. This is, in my view, was due to genuine fearlessness, absolute reliance on God coupled with a sense of duty. There is an echo of this in Mahatma Gandhi's dictum—'To the God-fearing death has no terror. Bravery on the battlefield is impossible for us. But fearlessness is absolutely necessary, the abandonment of all fear of bodily injury, of disease or death, of the loss of possession, of family, of reputation. Nothing in this world is ours. *Ahimsa* requires true humility, for it is reliance not on self, but on God alone'.

The conscious acceptance of a cruel death by Jesus which I regard as the supreme instance of *satyagraha*, carried along with it the whole-hearted and cheerful adoption of certain principles which may be regarded as forming the basis of *ahimsa* in thought and in action. The Lord and Master had faith in the guidance of God in every one of his acts and he regarded Him as the Controller of his fate. It was this faith in God which enabled him to submit to God's guidance.

The other equally fundamental fact on which the attention of the world is focussed by the example set by Christ is that the human heart must respond to sympathy and love. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers maintain that however cruel the oppressor, if *ahimsa* or love of the active variety contemplated in *satyagraha* is expressed in such a manner as to impress the opponent, it is a certainty that he must return that love. The nation to which he belongs will not make any difference, for even the cruellest of men can be conquered by love.

Under these circumstances, it has to be admitted that *ahimsa* or *satyagraha* is a definitely Christian method of settling differences and righting wrongs. While ordinarily, we attempt to achieve our purpose by attacking our opponent, in *satyagraha* we try to do the same thing by, so to say, attacking ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi has said, 'In *satyagraha*, we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering, that is by love.'

From a time when history as such was unknown, this method of overcoming evil was preached by the great teachers of mankind. After Christianity had come to be recognised as one of the world religions, the same lesson has been emphasised by many of the followers of Christ. Such a follower of Christ was St. Francis of Assisi who lived in this world in the 13th century,

James Naylor, who lived in the 17th century and also in the 18th century we have John Woolman

With such examples before us, we cannot but regard Christ as on the side of those who meet oppression by *ahimsa* and we also maintain that the following of this path is not an impossibility for man. In our own country, the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi may be regarded as a re-interpretation of this message of Christ once more bringing into prominence its importance in the present-day world. While it is not held that we have here an absolute identity of the methods and teachings of these teachers of mankind, I do maintain that there is sufficient resemblance between the two to warrant us in holding that the same love animates both with the spirit which we find in our All-Father who is equally kind to the virtuous and to the wicked. It was only the other day that Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged his indebtedness to the teachings of Christ in the following terms: 'Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence, which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal....Jesus lived and died in vain if He did not teach us to regulate whole of life by the eternal law of love.'

Everyone who had made a close study of the life and writings of Mahatma Gandhi is aware that the idea of self-sacrifice leading to self-purification is always present in them. In one memorable passage dealing with this aspect of his teaching he has said, 'God insists on purity of the cause and an adequate sacrifice therefor.' The adoption of this truly Christian principle was recognised in an article entitled '*The Significance of Gandhi*' which appeared in '*The Church Times*.' It is, therefore, that I am of opinion that *ahimsa-satyagraha* as evolved by Gandhiji is the method of the Cross adapted to the everyday problems of modern civilised existence and as such it is an extension in practical life of the teachings of the Lord and Master.

The message of Christ has gone forth but it has not been embodied or implemented in the way suggested and that is why we are witnessing that disintegration which is taking place before our eyes today. At such a time has appeared in India, herself torn asunder by social and religious differences, a little frail 'half-naked fakir' who has devoted his life to make once again the fundamental teaching of Christianity—the conversation of man by self-chosen unresisting, uncomplaining suffering—a vital message for sinful humanity. A Hindu has shown himself to be far nearer the truth of Christ, the truth of the Cross,

than Christians who are known after the name of the Man of Sorrows. Before our eyes, the Cross has come to a new life and its creative triumph is brone testimony to by thousands of men and women who are not familiar with the teachings of our Lord and Master.

In conclusion, let us hear what Mahatma Gandhi has to say about the fundamental teaching of Christianity and the effects which its adoption in actual practice will lead to if we are convinced about its utility, and adopt it as the future principle of our conduct and life. This is what he says,—'I have an implicit faith—a faith that today burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence, that mankind can only be saved through non-violence which is the central teaching of the Bible, as I have understood the Bible.'

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD (A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR*)

(A Review)

This very readable book not only gives information not generally known to the public on the life and activities of the President of the Indian National Congress but also throws a flood of light on those elements in his religious, intellectual and political make-up which have placed him in the unique position he occupies to-day in the public life of India. Written in simple straightforward Anglo-Saxon, which always characterises the literary productions of Shree Mahadev Desai and which the present writer ascribes to the clearness of his ideas as well as to his intimate association with Mahatma Gandhi whose style has wrung praises from meticulous scholars and writers of English, the book does not contain a single dull page.

One of the friends of the present writer with whom he was talking some time ago, seemed to hold the opinion that the motive which has impelled the author to write this book was to introduce his hero to the public of the West already familiar with the life and work of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal. One reason for the popularity of these two great leaders there is that they have written autobiographies which possess an entrancing interest on account of the very frank way in which they have expressed themselves. Something of the same service has been done here for the Maulana by Shree Mahadev who has reported the substance of various intimate talks he has had with him and has also enriched his book with extracts from Urdu speeches, statements, etc., issued by him from time to time and which are not available to those who do not understand this language. It is therefore evident that this volume will be helpful not only to non-Indian but also to a very large maojrity of Indian readers.

The first four chapters give an account of the rich heritage to which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born and the way in which he developed his inborn powers. There is next a quick transition to the social, economic and political education the Maulana sought to impart to his brothers in faith by starting his deservedly known *Al Hilal*. Uncompromising in his views

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* By Shree Mahadev Desai. Mahatma Gandhi contributed a Foreword to this book and Mr. Horace G. Alexander, M.A., of Selly Oak, Birmingham, England, a Preface. (Published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London).

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and outspoken in giving utterance to them, the Maulana was interned but his activities did not in any way suffer from this cause.

The chapters which will probably have the greatest appeal for the reader are those headed 'A Declaration of Faith,' 'Views on Religion' and 'Another Campaign.' A large part of the first of these consists of an English translation of the statement made by the Maulana in that polished Urdu of which he is such a great master, when he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the prominent part he had taken in the Non-co-operation movement when Congress declared a boycott of all functions arranged to give a reception to the Prince of Wales and Government in that connection declared Congress volunteers to be illegal. This statement lays down clearly and in the most eloquent of terms those eternal and immutable principles on which freedom has based itself everywhere and at all times. Part of it quoted below has a significance all its own even to-day, two decades after the ideas found expression from the eloqent pen of the Maulana:

> It is my belief that liberty is the natural and God-given right of man. No man and no bureaucracy consisting of men has got the right to make the servants of God its own slaves. However attractive be the euphemisms invented for 'subjugation' and 'slavery' still slavery is slavery, and it is opposed to the will and the canons of God. I therefore consider it a bounden duty to liberate my country from its yoke. The notorious fallacies of 'reform' and 'gradual transference of power' can produce no illusions and pitfalls in my unequivocal and definite faith. Liberty being the primary right of men, it is nobody's personal privilege to prescribe limits or apportion shares in the distribution of it. To say that a nation should get its liberty in graduated stages is the same as saying that an owner should by right receive his property only in bits and a creditor his dues by instalments . . . . Whatever philanthropic acts might be performed by a man who has usurped our property, his usurpation would still continue to be utterly illegal.
>
> Evil cannot be classified into good and bad. All that is in fairness possible is to differentiate the varying degree. For instance, we can say very heinous robbery and less heinous robbery, but who can speak of good robbery and bad robbery? I cannot, therefore, at all conceive of any justification for such domination because by its very nature it is an act of iniquity.

The chapter headed 'Views on Religion' contains a number of very significant quotations from the Maulana's exposition of the basic principles of Islam which make most refreshing reading against the existing background of atheism, religious indifference or fanatical orthodoxy. Any one who has made even a cursory study of the Gospel of St. John as interpreted by the father of the Most Revered Dr. Foss Wescott, the Metropolitan of India, will be surprised to find a remarkable similarity between the views of divines separated by differences of race, culture and religion, which proves beyond any dispute the fundamental unity of religion whatever the forms under which it manifests itself in different ages and different countries.

Commenting on certain verses quoted from the Quran, the Maulana says: 'The Quran also says that God created all men as human beings but they adopted varying names and labels and broke the unity of mankind to pieces. As you were born of various stocks, you bore different names and were divided from one another. You were born in different countries, and therefore people of one country are fighting those of another. You belong to different races, and therefore you war with one another. You were born with different colours, and so there have been colour-wars springing from mutual hate. Language again became one more cause of division. There are countless other divisions —rich and poor, master and servant, high-born and low-born, strong and weak, and so on. All these divisions cannot but make for discord and strife. What then is the silken string that can thread these scattered beads and make of divided mankind one united brotherhood? That silken string, that sacred link, is the Worship of One God. How-much-so-over divided you may be, you cannot have different Gods. You are the servants of One Lord, and your prayers and worships are before the One Sacred Throne. No matter what your race, tribe or country, the moment you surrender yourselves to one Father, He will put an end to all your earthly quarrels and unite your hearts together. You will then realize that the world is your country and mankind is one family and you are children of the same Father.'

The Quran says: 'To each among you (*i.e.*, for the follower of every religion) I have prescribed a particular law and a way. If God had so willed He would have made you alike (*i.e.*, there would have been no difference of ritual or ceremonial). But He made you different to test you in (the observance of) the commands He has given you: So strive, as in a race, in virtuous conduct (not in emphasizing these differences) (5·48). When the Quran was given, the followers of various religions were engaged

in emphasizing the external forms of religion and mistaking them for the essence of religion. Everyone thought that the adherents of religions other than his had no salvation before him, for their ceremonials and rituals were not the same as his own. The Quran declares that this is a denial of religion. The essence of religion is the Worship of One God and Right Conduct. This cannot be the exclusive patrimony of an individual or a people . . . . Ceremonials and rituals will vary and will continue to vary with the age and the country. . . . The text goes further and says that God in His omniscience deliberately created this diversity. The text declares that different rules and ways were prescribed for different people; it does not say that different religions were prescribed for different people. For Religion for all is one; there cannot be more than one or different religions. The Quran declares that human nature is so constituted that these outward forms will differ, and everyone thinks that his way is superior to that of others, he cannot look at his own way from the point of view of his opponents. But even as your way is excellent in your own eye, even so in other people's eyes their way is excellent. Toleration, therefore, is the only way.'

When one casts his eyes abroad and sees the many crimes, the injustices and the mischiefs committed in our motherland under the plea of religion, and here all religious groups are equally guilty though it has been our habit to concentrate our attack on one particular community, perhaps because it is more vocal and militant than others, it must seem to the Indian patriot that the only way left open for the restoration of peace and amity is for the leaders of every community to place before their brothers and sisters in faith, the basic facts of their religion and to drive home into their heart by precept and example that God is not served by hating or injuring His children who may happen to profess a different faith.

The reviewer very often feels that emphasising the identity of economic interests alone as a means of abolishing communalism is not sufficient. It has to be reinforced by an appeal to the spiritual instincts of man. It is probable that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the first among the famous Muslim divines to adopt this method for his own community in just the same way that Mahatma Gandhi has been doing the same service for the Hindu community. Shree Mahadev Desai has rendered a very valuable service to the cause of communal harmony at least so far as the intellectuals, the natural leaders of the masses, are concerned by making these statements easily available to them.

One naturally expects that a man who is capable of entertain-

ing such lofty sentiments and of giving them expression in such eloquent terms would exert himself to do something practical to give effect to them. Nor is there any disappointment in store for the reader so far as this matter is concerned.

When during the Non-co-operation movement, the Khilafat grievances were included among those for which redress was sought and when there was Hindu-Muslim unity, the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi to our Muslim brethren to respect the prejudices of our Hindu brethren went straight home. The present writer who was keeping himself in touch with the movement through newspapers in various parts of India was surprised to find that many leaders among our Mussalman brethren not only refrained from cow-slaughter during Id and the consumption of beef but also exhorted their less educated co-religionists to follow the example they were setting.

But the time came when this fellow-feeling disappeared and was replaced by misunderstandings which, fanned by selfish men, manifested themselves in bloody riots. By that time, Gandhiji had been released from imprisonment by the British administration mainly on account of health reasons and what he heard and saw broke his heart. He imposed on himself a fast of twenty-one days. We have, among others, an eloquent account of this event from the pen of Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews from which we learn what a shudder of anxiety passed through the whole country when it came to learn the decision of Mahatma Gandhi. Details of what followed are so widely known that it does not seem necessary to repeat them. But what is not so well known is the part played by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in bringing about an understanding between the contending parties. Shree Mahadev has quoted the words of a Hindu leader which are given below:

> The appeal which he (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad) made to both communities was the turning point of the discussion. He asked his co-religionists to remember that cow-slaughter even for purposes of sacrifice was not a fundamental part of their religion, and he assured his Hindu friends that there were not a few Mussalman leaders who had not only never tasted beef themselves, but were endeavouring to reduce the use of it among Mussalmans, if only to show their spirit of brotherliness with the Hindus.

Shree Mahadev then goes on to describe how the problem was ultimately solved:

> That moved the Mussalmans, but they were not prepapred to accept the final clause. It seemed to be a matter of touch and go. The President adjourned the meeting and

appealed both to the Hindus and Muslims to hold consultations again and make up their minds as to what was possible. The prospect appeared gloomy for a time, until at last the Maulana's appeal touched a responsive chord in Pandit Malaviyaji's heart. He got up and in a tense atmosphere announced that the Hindus did not mind the words about complete sotppage of cow-slaughter being deleted. The whole conference was for the first time swept by a wave of enthusiasm and made the rest of the work absolutely easy. The earlier drafts of resolutions had taken largely the form of rights ; now a realisation came that there were no rights without responsibilities, and that the solution of the trouble lay in each being ready to fulfil one's obligations rather than to assert one's rights.

The lesson taught by the Maulana in those days that rights carry responsibilities along with them has been forgotten to-day. We shall have to learn it again before we can expect peace and amity in our motherland. It seems a great pity that we should not have thousands of leaders of every community all through India ceaselessly preaching communal amity on the basis of accommodating one another and it is here that the constructive programme of the Congress comes in, but that is another story.

Shree Mahadev has proved that, with all his learning and scholarship, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is intensely practical. This rare combination of qualities is probably responsible for the position he occupies in what even the most uncharitable of critics must admit as our largest, most influential, non-communal organisation, the doors of which are wide open to admit members of every religious, social and economic group. The reader should be thankful to Shree Mahadev for the exceedingly lucid way in which he has explained this great qualification of the President of the Indian National Congress.

The first instance of the Maulana's grasp of practical affairs which should be mentioned is that when there was difference of opinion as regards Council-entry after the stoppage of the Non-co-operation movement ; one section of the Congress under the leadership of Sri C. Rajagopalacharia, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad was in favour of concentrating on the four-fold boycott and another led by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Desbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das and Vithalbhai Patel felt that Congress should seek election, capture as many seats as possible and demonstrate the unsatisfactory nature, if not the hollowness, of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after his release from imprison-

ment weighed the pros and cons dispassionately and then he issued a statement the central idea of which may be summed up in two sentences quoted from it here. He said that 'no political programme could be held as sacrosanct. It has to be judged on its own merits.' Taking a realistic view of the situation as a whole, his conclusion was that the work of the country would suffer so long as these two parties, both consisting of Congressmen, continued to fight and quarrel among themselves. Enjoying the love and respect of both, he threw himself into the task of bringing about some kind of understanding between them so that they might not stultify one another's efforts.

Shree Mahadev tells us that to this end, he undertook long and exhausting tours for consultations and discussions with different leaders, another proof of the Maulana's practical patriotism and his concern for the welfare of our country. His exertions bore fruit in the special session of the Congress which met at Delhi in September, 1923, of which he was elected President. In his address, he recommended a compromise which found universal acceptance. Under it, absolute freedom was left to each and every one to serve the country in his own way—by Council entry or by carrying out the constructive programme recommended by Gandhiji. Shree Mahadev who probably knows as much about the inner working of the Congress as any one else tells us why this compromise formula had been suggested by the Maulana in the latter's own words: 'I knew that the Council-entry programme would not carry us very far but I had my eye on the future. Since the Parliamentary mentality had taken hold of a considerable and influential section of Congressmen and Congress leaders, I felt that in the absence of any programme of direct action, the Parliamentary programme might serve a useful purpose'.

Still another instance of the realistic way in which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad faces problems and solves them is referred to by the author towards the end of his book. The episode is too long to be given in any detail. In brief, it is concerned with inducing the zemindars of Bihar to materially reduce the rents they were charging from their tenants. The account given by Shree Mahadev is an engrossing one. We are informed that it was the persuasive eloquence of the Maulana, the infinite patience and the unfailing courtesy of Babu Rajendra Prasad which induced the landlords as a class to reduce the rents by about 25 per cent on the average though, in some cases, these reductions ranged between 40 and 50 per cent.

Then again, the Maulana acted as a peace-maker when the

Congress ministry of Bihar contemplated the imposition of an agricultural income tax on landlords. Here too, he discussed the whole problem with them and induced them to come to some sort of understanding with Government which, in its turn, based legislation on it and thus very important laws were passed with little, if any, friction.

It is with a sense of regret that one comes to the last page of such a singularly fascinating book which gives a vivid account of events which have an important bearing on the history and evolution of nationalism in India and which happened such a short time ago. Biographies there are which present the hero amid his daily surroundings and the reader is told about his preferences in the matter of food, clothing, accommodation, and so forth. But these merely give us a picture of the outward man. In Shree Mahadev's biography, we are given an opportunity of entering into the Maulana's inner sanctum. We get a picture of the man as he is, his religious beliefs, his outlook on the very interesting and important political problems of our motherland and his deep and abiding patriotism which has kept him in the service of our motherland in adversity and prosperity and, most of all, which has enabled him to meet with unflinching courage uncharitable criticism and even downright obloquy. One feels as one goes through the book that India need not despair so long as she has, as her children, men of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The services he has already rendered to us and which we are certain he will continue to render so long as the breath of life is in him rightly entitle him to be called as he has actually been called by Shree Mahadev 'The First Servant of the Nation'.

As for the work itself, one may characterise it in one sentence by saying that it is great work well done.

If one may offer a suggestion to Shree Mahadev, it is that he should, if he can spare the time, write similar memoirs of the other great leaders of the national movement for it is certain that he is the possessor of not only a larger amount but more intimate knowledge about them than a majority of Congressmen.

The present writer recommends the perusal of this book to every one interested in the remarkable personality of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and in the part he has played and is still playing in the Congress.

THE GRAND OLD MAN OF BIHAR

Born in November, 1871, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha joined the Middle Temple in 1890 and was called to the bar in 1893 in which year he commenced his practice at the Calcutta High Court whence he transferred his activities to Allahabad three years later. It was after a successful career as a lawyer for two decades here that he made Patna his home where too he created a unique reputation for himself as an advocate. Dr. Sinha did not allow himself to become pre-occupied with his profession to the exclusion of other interests. Master of a vigorous and clear style in English, with an enviable command over a large and expressive vocabulary, Dr. Sinha has not, inspite of all his admiration for it, been content to confine his studies to books written in this language only. We have the evidence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, an old friend of his, who has contributed a personal note that Dr. Sinha has a deep and abiding interest in Hindi and Urdu also, which is proved by the fact that their masterpieces occupy an honoured position in an open bookcase near his bed to which he turns again and again for relaxation. But his appreciation and admiration for Hindi and Urdu literature have not blinded Dr. Sinha to their limitations as regards their utility as *lingua francas*. That the views he holds are more or less public property is proved by the fact that the Hindusthani Academy elected him its President in its third session which met at Allahabad early in January, 1936. He was asked to occupy this onerous position as the organisers were aware that the views he held as regards the suitability of Hindusthani for popular use would find acceptance from the champions of both Hindi and Urdu, as it was well-known that he is an admirer of the two vernaculars on which Hindusthani is based.

It is the breadth of his culture which has made Dr. Sinha take interest in Indian music and the Ayurveda system of medical treatment, on which he has set forth his views. This same factor had also the effect of not only making him a believer in social reform but also a pioneer of it in two of its aspects in Bihar at a time when heterodoxy entailed heavy pains and penalties. After his return from England, he had to face the hostility of the Kayastha community of which he is a member, but he remained firm. He married a Kayastha lady of a distinguished family of Lahore but belonging to a different sub-

From *Calcutta Review*—September, 1943

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19 *Lying-in-State*

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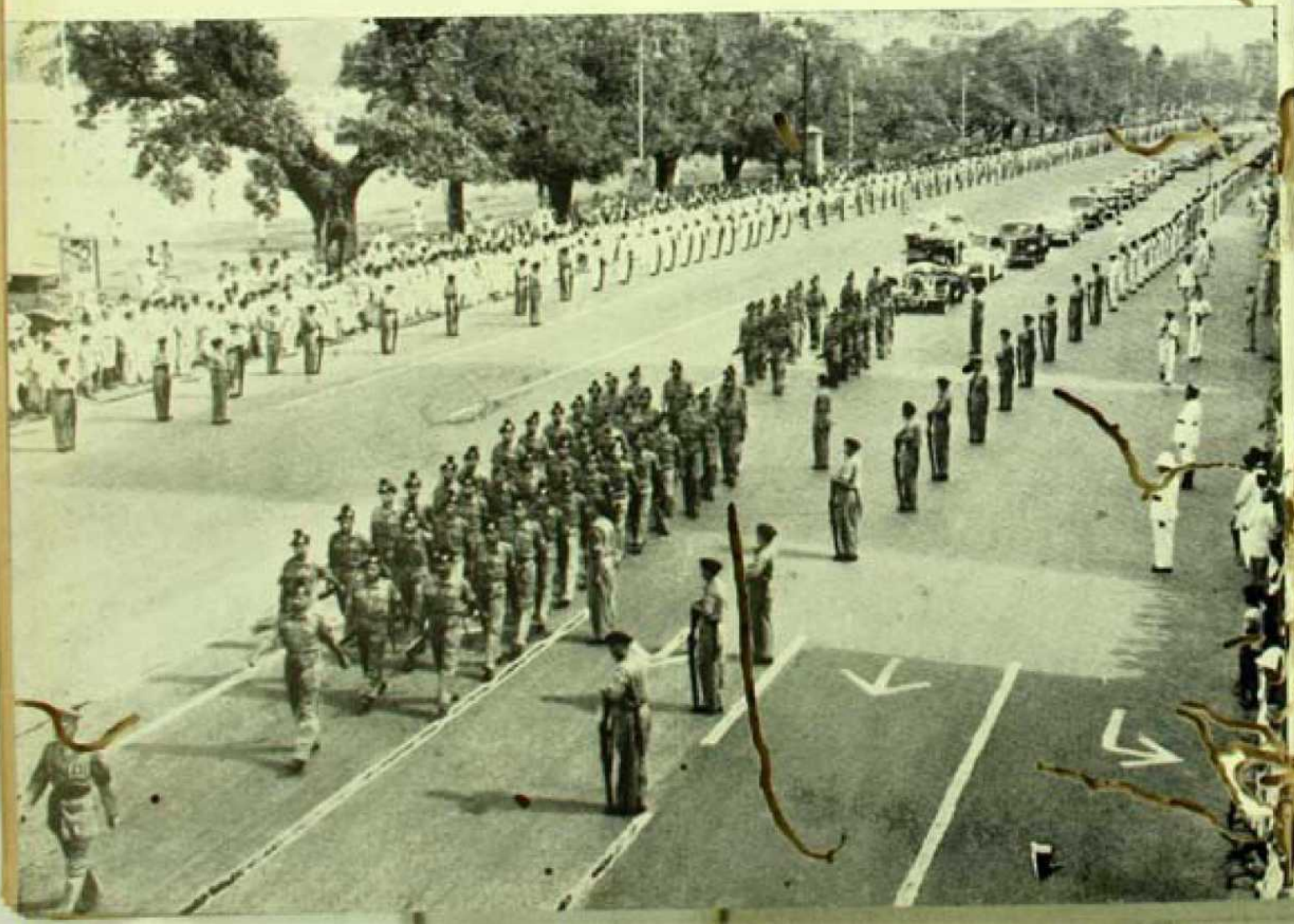
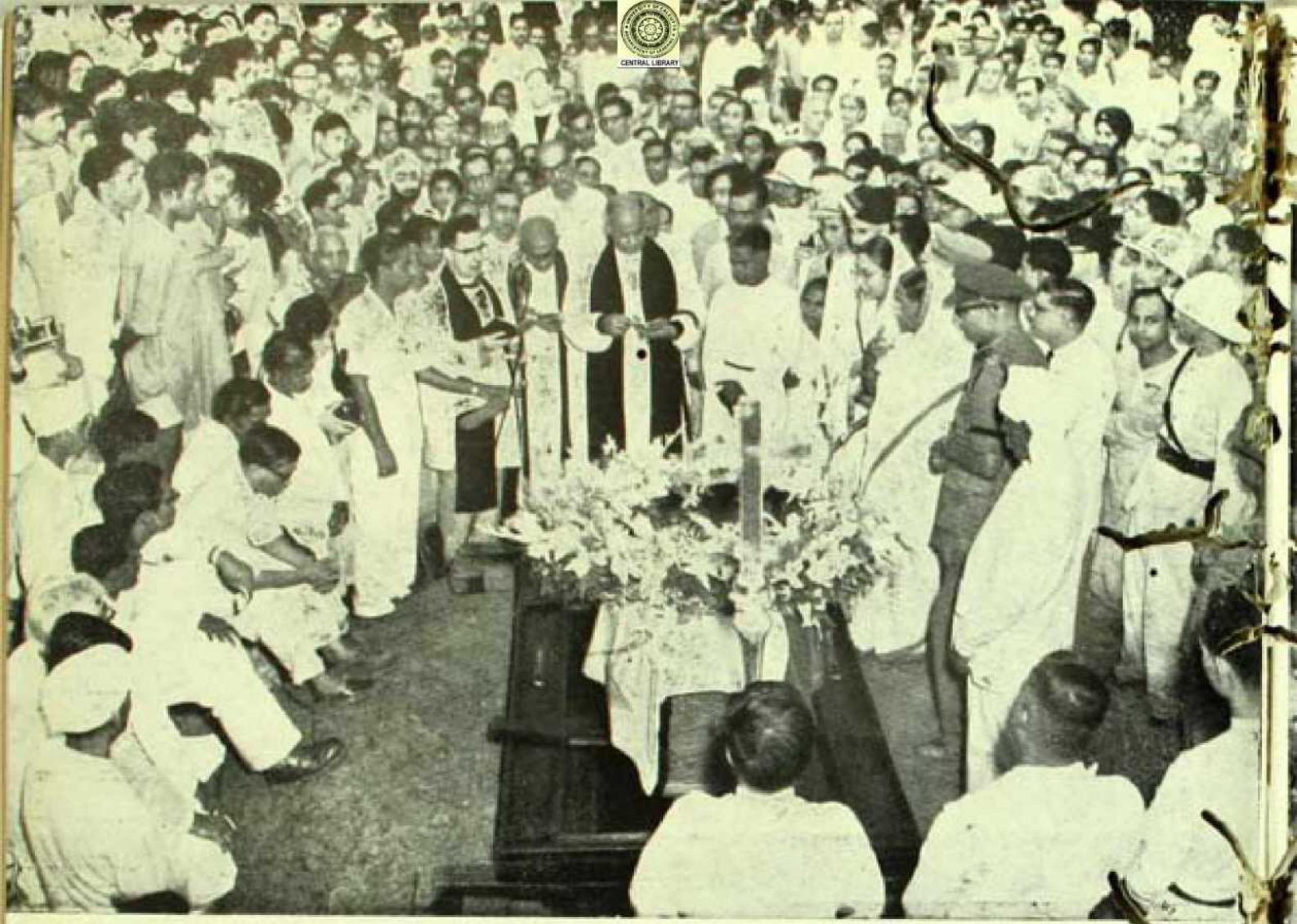
20 *Funeral Procession*

21 *Funeral Procession*
another view



22 *At the Cemetery*
Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy conducting
Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee



23 *The Burial*

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24 *The Burial*
another view

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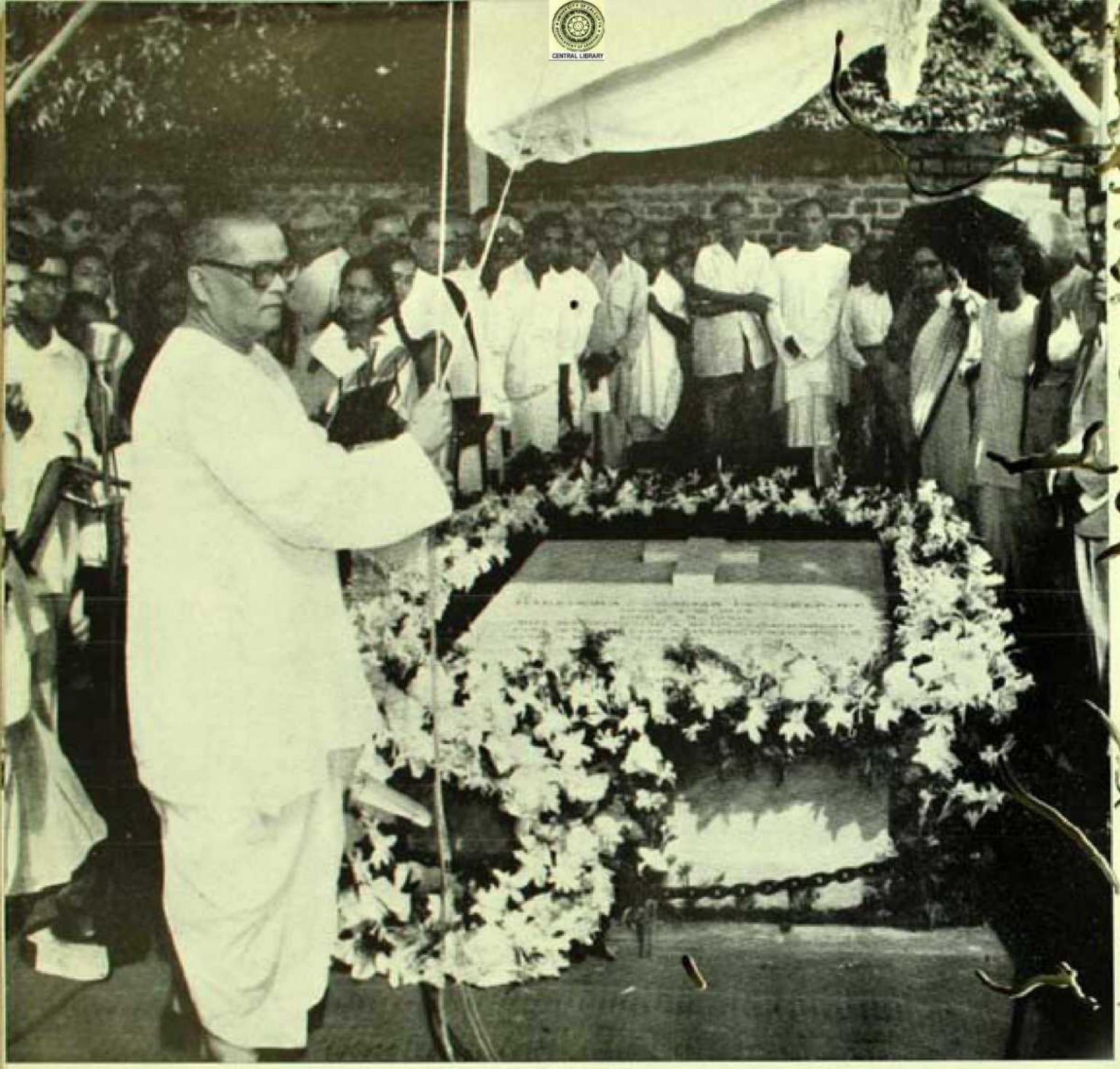

25 *Prof. Nirmal Kumar Sidhanta, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, opening the Memorial, 1957.*

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"Assembly House," Calcutta.

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~~[illegible]~~.

The following excerpts from the Official publication entitled "India in 1924-25" shows: ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to what extent commissions in the Indian army were made available to educated Indians. "Ten vacancies ~~[illegible]~~ Sandhurst for Indian cadets". ~~In~~ A military college with ~~the~~ maximum residential accommodation for seventy boys was established in order to secure a suitable supply of recruits for these vacancies. Dr. V. H. Rutherford ~~[illegible]~~ in his comments on these steps has said on pag 166 of his "Modern India" that "able mathematicians have calculated ~~[illegible]~~ that the Indian army may be nationalised (~~[illegible]~~ by ~~[illegible]~~ providing of Indian officers ~~[illegible]~~ only) in 800 years' time".

section, a thing unheard of in those days. Once again, he horrified orthodoxy, but refused to yield. His firmness in sticking to his convictions led to the result that today what at one time had been considered revolutionary has found acceptance and formal sanction from the Kayastha community . In 1920, Dr. Sinha supported the motion of Mr. V. J. Patel at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council for referring his Hindu Marriage Validity Bill to a Select Committee. While he did not hesitate to state that Bihar and Orissa which he was representing were against the proposed piece of legislation and that the support he was giving was in his personal capacity, Dr. Sinha stated that he was doing so as he believed that 'it is the bounden duty of every human being to try to improve his conditions and surroundings, whether political or social or moral, and to advance further and further to higher ideals.'

Dr. Sinha lived to see the day when he came to be recognised as an All-India leader of his community and was accorded the honour of being elected the President of the All-India Kayastha Conference at its Thirty-fifth session which met at Delhi in 1929. In his Presidential address he delivered at this gathering, he not only dealt with the special problems of his community, but pointed out that Indians must depend not on an alien administration but on themselves for the removal of social defects. Drawing attention to the necessity of the removal of *purdah* and similar disabilities, he pleaded for the fusion of the sub-sections of his community by marriage as a satisfactory method for the establishment of a larger unit, the merging of such units in their turn leading ultimately to the development of a United India. One particular aspect of Dr. Sinha's zeal as a social reformer in the matter of raising the status of Indian women is found in the emphasis he has laid on their education. In the presidential address delivered by him at the Delhi All-India Kayastha Conference, he drew the attention of his hearers to the imperative necessity of the physical and intellectual emancipation of our women.

Dr. Sinha's interest in the sphere of education is not, however, confined to merely pointing out its necessity for women only. When he was elected President of the Secondary School Teachers' Conference, Bihar in February, 1941, he, while dealing with the problems of secondary education in his own province and pointing out the disabilities from which it suffered, did not fail to refer to the wider aspects of education. This address is remarkable for the frankness with which Dr. Sinha gave expression to his views on a matter, the Act of 1935, which at that time

was exercising the mind of the Indian public greatly. He did not fail to point out that, in his view, it was desirable that Indians should work it in such a way as to enlarge their powers. Referring to the greatest weakness in our public life, communalism, Dr. Sinha drew the pointed attention of his hearers to the responsibility of the British administration for its recognition in legislative measures and showed what educated men and women could do for its removal.

The Bihar Government, recognising his interest in education and desirous of utilising his abilities for the spread of higher education in that province, appointed Dr. Sinha Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University in 1936. He was re-appointed in 1939 and again in 1941. The authorities of the Allahabad University showed their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Dr. Sinha to the cause of education as well as his services as a public man, by conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature on him in 1937.

Journalism attracted Dr. Sinha from almost the beginning of his career. He founded the *Kayastha Samachar* about 1899 when he was practising at Allahabad. The name of the periodical was changed to *Hindusthan Review* in 1903. He has been editing this journal continuously up to the present except for an interval of five years when he was a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

That Dr. Sinha has won recognition as a journalist is proved by the fact that at the first International Press Conference organised by the League of Nations in 1927, he was invited to represent the newspapers of India. We also find that he was invited by the profession to open the Press Exhibition at Allahabad in 1935.

As editor of the *Hindusthan Review*, Dr. Sinha supplies regularly a thoughtful survey of the events of the month which most of its readers regard as one of its most valuable features. From time to time he also contributes signed articles, some of which appear in his collected speeches and writings. Another noteworthy set of contributions are concerned with reviews of books on India from the pen of such Englishmen as are opposed to the conceding of larger political powers to Indians, an attitude greatly resented by Dr. Sinha. Attention may be called to the criticisms, strong and yet in perfect good taste, of books like Al Carthill's *Lost Dominion and Garden of Adonis* and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's *Memoirs*. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that Dr. Sinha is incapable of gliding easily from 'grave to gay', for many of his signed articles in the *Hindusthan*

Review are humorous in character, as for instance his survey in prose and verse of the Sapru-Samuel Hoare controversy which appeared in 1932.

This brings us to the question of the kindly and yet telling humour of which Dr. Sinha is a perfect master. The curious thing is that those who come in contact with him casually would not dream that he possesses the rare gift of poking good-natured fun at all including himself. This faculty of laughing at himself is shown in a very humorous contribution from his pen entitled *The Woes of the Imperial Councillors*, which appeared in the *Leader* of Allahabad in 1910.

The only thing which should be observed is that, whether as a Congressman or, since 1920, as a constitutionalist, he has always stood for the enlargement of India's political rights and that in doing so he has never departed from or compromised with the ideals which have always guided his activities as a public man.

SHREE RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE—EDUCATOR OF PUBLIC OPINION

The brilliant academic career of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and the contributions he made to the cause of Indian education as a teacher, as the head of a large and popular college and as a member of the Allahabad University are so well known that a reference and no more is necessary to remind every one of the unrivalled reputation he enjoyed as an educationist. These facts also explain the keen interest he always took in educational problems, his insight into them and the authority with which he was entitled to pronounce his views on them.

High however as his reputation as an educationist must stand specially among the older generation in Bengal and the United Provinces where many of his former pupils are filling eminent positions as officials and also as leaders in politics, the generations to come will remember him as one of the doyens of Indian journalism—a position he shared, till he passed away the other day, with his friends, Mr. G. A. Natesan of the *Indian Review* and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha of the *Hisdusthan Review*.

It is curious to remember that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee did not choose journalism as his life's work but drifted into it accidentally through his passion for social service. His first journalistic venture was the Bengali *Dasi*, the organ of Dasasram, an organisation of the type of the Little Sisters of the Poor, with which the present writer had a very subordinate and humble connection as a student member. And well does he remember the journalistic ability which characterised the then unknown editor and the popularity enjoyed by this periodical.

This led Shree Ramananda Chatterjee to the idea of starting the first Bengali illustrated monthly magazine under the name of *Pradip*. It is few who can fully realise today the immense difficulties the editor had to surmount due to inadequate technical facilities for the manufacture of the blocks as well as the immense labour involved in the regularity with which in spite of them the periodical made its appearance. The popularity of *Dasi* proved that he had diagnosed a great need and had supplied it.

When Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went to Allahabad, he had not even then been able to shake off his predilections for a career as an educationist, journalism being then more or less like a hobby with him. With the foundation of the *Prabasi* at the beginning of the twentieth century, he at last found his vocation.

From *Modern Review*—September, 1944

The unremitting calls it made on his time and energy due to the ideal he had set before himself to make this periodical representative of all that is valuable in Bengali and later on in Indian life, culture and politics, compelled him to give up his position as the Principal of the Kayastha College and to transfer his activities to Calcutta. In this great and unique work, his Sanskrit scholarship which was in his very blood and which had been reinforced by his study of all that is best and most valuable in English literature was a most valuable asset.

It was not long before Shree Ramananda Chatterjee realised that his work would be incomplete if he merely contented himself with handing out to his readers monthly doles of Bengali literature and culture only. The old call to be an educator in its widest sense was too strong to be resisted. This explains how, almost insensibly, this great Indian gradually extended the ambit of the subjects dealt with in this most popular of Bengali monthlies so as to include All-India art, culture and literature and next to deal with economic and still later with political matters. The result was that very soon the *Prabasi* began to deal with all varieties of subjects including even the most intricate and technical in such a manner as to interest even those who ordinarily do not care for them. Under his skilful editorship, the contributions in every issue were so well-balanced that every one found something interesting and worth reading.

This new technique also tended to encourage the study of various subjects among the writers most of whom Shree Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to discover and the first to encourage to write. The treatment of subjects hitherto neglected in Bengali journalism, enriched our vernacular literature by importing into it new ideas, sometimes new words and created a new body of trained writers almost every one among whom specialised in some department of knowledge. It will be some time before Bengal will be able to arrive at a just and accurate estimate of the contributions made to her thought, life, art and literature through Shree Ramananda Chatterjee's *Prabasi*.

So immense was the fund of energy at the disposal of this eminent son of Bengal, so industrious his nature and so intense his love for his new-found vocation to educate public opinion through the medium of the press, that he started *The Modern Review* within a year or so after the success of the *Prabasi* as a journalistic venture had been assured. The present writer had it from Shree Ramananda Chatterjee himself that this periodical was founded primarily because he felt that his usefulness as a servant of his people would be greatly increased if he could

reach a larger number of readers, something which would be possible only with a journal conducted in English. The profit motive never counted with him and was never the compelling factor at any time. Witness the way in which he often put forward his opinions though aware that by doing so he was courting the antagonism of powerful vested interests.

Happily the desire to serve his country and to educate Indian public opinion in those directions which he considered necessary was accompanied by the capacity to ensure the financal success of his new venture in journalism. Fulfilling a great need which many had recognised but the responsibility for shouldering which none had so far shown any inclination, Shree Ramananda Chatterjee won fortune and fame from his conection with *The Modern Review*.

It was rarely that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee contributed signed articles to his own periodical but when he did so they were never long but always full of "meat". The editorial notes he contributed to which most of his readers looked forward, revealed the unerring correctness of his judgment, the immense courage of their writer and his refusal to compromise with anything he regarded as wrong. Above all, they were so balanced in nature, so patently devoid of malice and so permeated with the desire to give what he considered the right to public opinion, that they were considered by almost all his readers as the most valuable and acutest of comments on current affairs.

The Modern Review has enjoyed not only a wide circulation in our motherland but also outside India, a fact which can be vouched for by the present writer who has been surprised to receive communications from friends in England, Scotland, New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco referring in appreciative terms to its contents. If the appearance of non-Indian contributors on various subjects had the effect of enlarging the knowledge of Indian readers, the publication of articles from the pen of Indian writers whose only merit was their knowledge of the matters dealt with was equally valuable in keeping non-Indian readers posted with regard to our feelings and opinions. It was thus that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went on educating public opinion in and outside India on the current problems of the day, and from this point of view, it may be urged that he remained an educationist in the widest sense of the term to the very end of his life.

No reference to the *Vishal Bharat* also founded by the same great man is made here only because this tribute to his memory was intended for that journal.

There cannot be any doubt that Indian journalism is the poorer by the death of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and Bengal poorer still by his disappearance from our public life. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Jagadish Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Shree Ramananda Chatterjee have in recent times kept up the reputation of Bengal in various walks of life.

Those of us who have found intellectual pabulum in the pages of *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* and others who have tried to help their work by their contributions have only one wish—that the Ramananda tradition may be not only maintained but, if possible, extended still further through both these periodicals and that the high standard he created in the sphere of journalism may be imitated by every Indian periodical.

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LETTERS

I

2, Dehi Serampore Road,
Entally P.O., Calcutta.
The 14th November 1932.

To
The Vice-Chancellor,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Sir,

I desire to create an endowment in memory of my late lamented father, Mr. Lalchand Mookerjee, for sending properly qualified Bengalee Protestant Christian students abroad for a course of theoretical and practical training in technical, industrial, mechanical, agricultural and allied subjects.

The endowment is to be called *Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment* and will consist of 3½ per cent. G.P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000. My proposal is that from the interest accruing to the fund a number of scholarships should be created, the largest of which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 250 per month. The object of these scholarships is to encourage the proper type of young men of my community who may not be in affluent circumstances to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered to acquire up to date scientific training and be in a position thereby to serve their community and their country as leaders of indusutry.

I shall be obliged if you kindly move the University to accept the terms and conditions outlined below.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

I propose to make over to the University of Calcutta 3½ per cent Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 on the following terms and conditions: —

1. Notwithstanding that the University shall, after formal acceptance of my proposal become the custodian of the Govern-

ment Securities and hold the same in deposit for the creation of scholarships out of its interest only as laid down below, only the interest shall belong absolutely to me during my life-time and after my death it shall belong absolutely to my wife, Srimati Bangabala Mookerjee, during her lifetime and the said interest periodically accruing shall be realised by the Registrar of the Calcutta University for the time being and made over to me and after my death to my wife, unless I in my life-time or my wife after my death give or gives notice in advance to the Registrar of the Calcutta University of re-investing the interest in approved Government Securities, in which case it shall be added to the corpus of the endowment. After the death of both of us any portion of the interest which is not spent on scholarships shall be added to the corpus of the endowment.

2. That after my death and the death of my wife, whichever shall happen later, monthly scholarships payable out of the interest shall be created and their number shall be determined. They shall be styled 'The Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians'.

3. That these scholarships shall be tenable for not more than five years outside the territorial limits of India and the amount of each scholarship shall not ordinarily be more than Rs. 250 per month and that the minimum amount of each scholarship which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof shall be determined by a Committee of Management or Governing Body mentioned below after consideration of the subject or subjects selected for study and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the study is to be pursued.

4. The subject or subjects for the scholarships will be selected from among the following technical subjects:—

Spinning, weaving, dye-making, mechanical and electrical engineering, aviation and applied aeronautics, film-making, manufacture of photographic plates and materials, mining and colliery work, soap-making, pottery, enamel, glassware, leather and leather goods, celluloid work, fruit preserving, biscuit-making, sugar-refining, manufacture of drugs and medicines from indigenous products, manufacture of cheap building materials, motor car parts, carpet-making, hosiery, scientific agriculture, scientific horticulture or floriculture, cultivation of medicinal plants, dairy and poultry farming. The present list of subjects is by no means exhaustive, the Committee of Management mentioned below having the power to add to them from time to time.

5. That for the purpose of general management, control and more specially for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects, the institutions and the places of study, for fixing the amount and the period for which each scholarship is tenable and the like a Committee of Management shall be formed the personnel of which shall be determined by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University provided, however, that the majority of the members shall be Indians and the Vice-Chancellor shall be its Chairman, *ex-officio* and it shall contain at least two Protestant Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from among the Principals and Teachers of colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta and provided also that my pupils Messrs. Ramaprasad Mookerjee and Syamaprasad Mookerjee, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Mr. Susilkumar Lahiri, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, shall be life-members of the said Committee. The proceedings of the Managing Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate.

6. Every applicant of 'The Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship' will be required strictly to conform to the following conditions: —

(a) He shall be a Protestant Christian and a native of Bengal and born of Bengalee parents and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are or were both Bengalees by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali language as their mother tongue and furthermore that both of them are or were Protestant Christians at the time of his birth.

(b) He shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 20 and 26 years of age.

(c) He shall be a graduate in Science or Engineering preferably of the Calcutta University or shall have passed an examination which will be regarded by the Committee of Management as equivalent thereto and shall produce satisfactory evidence of previous practical training in workshops in the subject of his study, or in any other allied subjects. Poverty of the applicants and their guardians must be taken into account in awarding the scholarships.

(d) He shall be required to submit once a year or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management a certificate of good conduct, satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the head of the institution where he studies and failure to produce this certificate will entail discontinuance of his scholarship. The said certificate shall also contain details of attendance at lectures and practical classes, examination results if any

and reports from the teachers or engineers or other officers under whom the scholar is undergoing training.

7. If at any time the Committee of Management are satisfied that no applicant for scholarship possesses the minimum qualifications as laid down above generally, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and adding the unexpended amount or amounts to the corpus of the endowment.

8. That in conformity with the aims and objects of the endowment as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, of subjects of study, of places where such study is to be prosecuted as well as regarding the amount of the several scholarships.

9. The University shall permit me to make such further additions to the corpus of the Trust Fund as I may be able to add from time to time.

10. That the Committee of Management will keep themselves in touch with the student on return after completion of his study and assist him in being apprenticed to any factory or industrial concern if he so desires wtih a view to his acquiring experience of Indian conditions of the particular industry in which he has specialised.

11. That in case interest accumulates to such an extent that a larger number of candidates may be trained on the above terms and conditions, the Committee of Management will, if practicable, send more candidates for study abroad or continue the scholarship to any selected student for a further year.

12. That the University acting as Trustees will forthwith deposit the G.P. Notes in safe custody with the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and will open an account in the name of the above fund to be termed 'Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship Fund' and also realise the interest of the said G.P. Notes for credit in the account of the aforesaid fund.

While I have no desire to bind down any one who might in future be benefited by this endowment, I think it desirable to record that it would please me much if scholars returning from abroad live in the Indian style and, if possible, try to help some other poor and deserving student.

II

2, Dehi Serampore Road,
Entally, Calcutta,
the 13th December, 1933.

To
The Vice-Chancellor,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Sir,

With a view to supplement and more effectively to facilitate in the light of future experience, the aims and objects already set forth in the 'Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment' which you have been pleased to accept I am now desirous of creating a second endowment in memory of my beloved and revered mother, now deceased, *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Devi*.

The two endowments were conceived as counterparts to each other and intended to be worked on lines of harmony as sister agencies seeking in close co-operation to achieve kindred inter-dependent and mutually complementary objects. It seems to me that it is after all bare justice to the scholars who will benefit by my first endowment that some provision ought to be made for the proper utilisation of those opportunities which may be secured through their efforts.

I feel also that to be blessed with any amount of success in my humble hope of serving my countrymen and my brothers in faith, it is not enough to offer stipends for vocational training, for the field thereby created may still remain unfruitful in the absence of another class of workers equipped with knowledge of market organisation, commercial economics and practical business finance. If, therefore, my first endowment seeks to provide a band of well-trained Indian youths who can develop the industrial and agricultural resources of our country, it is the object of the proposed second endowment to train side by side with them another band equally, well qualified in order to take charge of the outturn of the former's labour and dispose of the same with efficiency and profit. It appears to me that the businessman should step in to relieve the practical worker and manufacturer from the strain of hostile competition and from the difficulty of securing a market of their products.

My humble hope, therefore, in submitting for favour of acceptance by the University of the 'Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment' is to see more of such businessman in our country

than we now claim to have. I may have leave to submit in this connection that I do not place a very high premium upon mere theoretical excellence of academic proficiency. As other qualities are called for in the race of life, I have come to value *doing* more than *knowing*, and this endowment is intended to train up a body of traders and not teachers, of businessmen and not speculative economists and financiers. The young men helped by this endowment are expected to take their part in the industrial and agricultural development of our country: (1) by finding, creating or organising proper markets for the raw materials of India like jute, cotton, rice, wheat, tea, coffee, etc.; (2) by providing banking and financial facilities to sound, well-managed Indian concerns engaged in promoting the economic welfare of the country; (3) by selling, distributing or otherwise profitably disposing of, without detriment however to the interest of poor consumers, finished products made out of Indian raw materials by Indian labour with Indian capital and under the direction of Indian experts: (4) by establishing commercial houses, banks, insurance companies, financial syndicates, building societies, investment trusts, co-operative societies, industrial bureaus, museums and exhibitions, etc., with the primary object of stimulating interest and enterprise on rational and well-directed lines in respect of Indian product; (5) by adopting other ways and means to help on India's economic regeneration which is of vital importance for the future of our country.

The endowment is to be called 'Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment' and will consist of 3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,00,000. Out of the interest of this capital sum at least two scholarships shall be created, one tenable in India and the other tenable outside India and valued respectively at not more than Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 per month. As has been sufficiently indicated, the object of these scholarships is to encourage the proper type of young men of any community who may not be in affluent circumstances to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered to acquire a thorough, practical and specialised training on modern lines and thus to qualify themselves to serve our country as businessmen, financiers, organisers, and pioneers of indigenous activity and enterprise in the spheres of trade, commerce and industry.

In submitting for favour of acceptance the undermentioned terms and conditions I beg leave to point out that these terms and conditions are closely akin to and sometimes identical with the provisions of the 'Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment' which has been kindly accepted by the University.

While I have no desire to impose the Indian style of living upon candidates who may benefit by this endowment, I may still be permitted to appeal for its acceptance as an ideal now unhappily neglected. I would, if I may, ask them to cling firmly to India's ancient ideal of quiet contentment because it enables us unostentatiously to give something to our motherland in return for the gift of life received from her and specially to bear in mind that one way of serving her is to serve her children, our brethren, I would therefore most earnestly request every young man who benefits from this endowment to devote some part, however small, of his means to help at least one other struggling and meritorious student to acquire some kind of training which will enable him to earn his bread by his own exertions so as not to become a burden on society.

It would defeat my object if on account of the fact that the first and the present endowments are for Protestant Bengalee Christians only, scholarship-holders are led to think that I believe in what is now being characterised as 'communalism'. My community had not made as much progress as I would like to see and this is the only reason for limiting the sphere of these humble and inadequate attempts to be of use to my country. I would ask all my young friends to bear in mind that after all India is greater than her children, that Christians and non-Christians all belong to her and not to us, and that God's kingdom will not come with peace on earth and good-will towards men until and unless we learn to live in peace and amity with all.

1. Notwithstanding that the University shall, after formal acceptance of my present proposal, become the custodian of the aforesaid Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,00,000 and hold the same in deposit for creation of scholarships hereafter out of the interest thereof as laid down below the said interest shall belong absolutely to me during my life-time provided however it shall be incumbent on the Registrar for the time being of the Calcutta University to collect the said interest and make over the same to me if and when I so require or to invest the same in approved Government Securities from time to time subject always to my discretion in this behalf. The Securities so purchased together with all interest not demanded or withdrawn by me shall on my death be added to and form part of the above Endowment.

2. That after my death the interest accruing to the said Endowment shall be divided equally among the following persons during their life-time, namely, (1) Rev. Lal Gopal Mookerjee, son of my brother the late Akshaykumar Mookerjee, (2) Mrs.

May Loveday Mookerjee, wife of Rev. Lal Gopal Mookerjee, (3) Mr. Nabagopal Mookerjee, son of my brother late Akshaykumar Mookerjee, (4) Sm. Matimala Gupta, wife of Babu Sasikumar Gupta and daughter of my brother the late Akshaykumar Mookerjee, (5) Mr. Nanigopal Mookerjee, son of my brother the late Akshaykumar Mookerjee provided however that in the event of the death of one or more of the aforesaid persons the amount or amounts thus set free shall be suitably invested, or in the alternative, shall be formed into scholarships to be awarded to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management hereinafter mentioned.

2 (a). That out of the income of the entire endowment not less than two sholarships shall be created entitled respectively, (1) *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship in Applied Commerce and Business Education* and (2) *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Indian Scholarship in Applied Commerce and Business Education*, and the amount of each shall not ordinarily exceed Rs. 200 and Rs. 50 per month respectively.

3. That the said Foreign Scholarship shall ordinarily be tenable for not more than three years outside the territorial limits of India, and the said Indian Scholarship shall be tenable for not more than three years within the territorial limits of India, it being clearly understood that the minimum amount of each scholarship which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof shall be determined by the Committee of Management mentioned below after due consideration of the subject or subjects selected for training and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the training is to be acquired.

4. That the said subject or subjects shall be selected from among the following provided however the Committee of Management shall have the power, in conformation with the aims and objects of the endowment, to suggest and add thereto other and more subjects from time to time: —

(a) Practical Banking and Finance in all aspects both in and outside India.

(b) Modern methods of market organisation and control including marketing of raw materials and manufactured commodities.

(c) Bailing, Sampling, Branding and Identification of Cotton, Jute, Tea and other Indian products including Blending of Teas.

(d) Modern Salesmanship.

(e) Commission Agency and Scientific Advertisement.

(f) Agricultural and Industrial Organisation on co-operative basis.

(g) Banking in aid of small industries, farming, agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, etc.

(h) Insurance business of all kinds.

(i) Business Management and Industrial Organisation.

(j) Higher Accountancy.

(k) Traffic Management.

(l) Problems of Export and Import in relation to actual trade and commerce between India and other countries.

(m) Training of labour and labour-supply including stevedoring, etc.

(n) Study of unemployment and the remedies therefor including the establishment of small self-contained industrial or agricultural colonies.

(o) Rural organisation and formation of self-contained village communities.

(p) Practical application of any of the subjects studied in the Bachelor's and Master's courses in Commerce of the Calcutta University.

(q) Problems of Exchange and their practical application to Indian business.

(r) Organisation and Management of Building Societies and Investment Trusts.

5. That for purposes of general management and control and more especially for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects of training and the firms, institutions, business-houses and places, etc., where such training is to be acquired, for fixing the amount and the period of each scholarship, and for finally disposing of all matters connected with this Endowment, a Committee of Management shall be formed, the personnel of which shall be selected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, provided however that the majority of the members shall be Indians and the Vice-Chancellor shall be its Chairman, *ex-offitio,* and it shall contain at least two Protestant Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from among the Principals and the Teachers of colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta and provided also that my pupils, Messrs Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., and Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Mr. Susilkumar Lahiri, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, son of the late Sasibhushan Lahiri, shall be life-members of the said Committee. The Proceedings of the Managing Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate.

6. Every candidate for the 'Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Scholarship' shall be required strictly to conform to the following conditions: —

(a) He shall be a Protestant Christian and a native of Bengal and born of Bengalee parents, and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are or were both Bengalees by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali language as their mother-tongue, and furthermore that both of them are or were Protestant Christians, at the time of his birth.

(b) He shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 20 and 26 years of age.

(c) Every candidate of a 'Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship' shall be at least an M.A. in Commerce and every candidate for a 'Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Indian Scholarship' shall be at least a B.Com. preferably of the Calcutta University. If a candidate does not possess the M.A. or B.Com. Degree as aforesaid, he must have passed an examination or test approved by the Committee of Management and deemed as equivalent thereto. Each candidate shall also produce satisfactory evidence of previous practical experience in mercantile firms or business-houses in the subject or subjects of training selected by him or in some other allied subjects. The poverty of the applicant and of his guardian may be taken into account in awarding the scholarship, provided however such an applicant is in every respect as highly qualified as other rival candidates.

(d) He shall be required to submit once a year or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management a certificate of good conduct and satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the head of the firm or institution or business concern where he undergoes his training and failure to produce this certificate may entail discontinuance of the Scholarship.

(e) He shall have freedom in suggesting for approval the subject or subjects of training in which he desires to specialise, provided however that before final sanction thereof the Committee of Management shall be satisfied that there are ample facilities for specialising therein and also that such specialisation is or will in the near future be conducive to the interests of our country.

7. If at any time the Committee of Management are convinced that no candidate for Scholarship possesses the minimum qualification as laid down above or that the subjects selected by the candidates do not warrant any grant of scholarship in view of the absence of proper facilities therein, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and of adding the unexpended amount or amounts or any part thereof rateably or

in any other proportion to the corpus of this endowment or to the corpus of the 'Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment' or to the corpus of a third endowment which I intend hereafter to create to be named after my son, the late Sudhircoomar Mookerjee.

8. That in conformity with the aims and objects of this endowment as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, subjects of training and places of study where the same is to be prosecuted and the amounts and the number of scholarships.

9. That the University shall permit me to make such further additions to the corpus of the endowment as I may be able to make from time to time.

10. That the Committee of Management shall keep themselves in touch with the Scholars notwithstanding completion of training and expiration of Scholarship and help them in any suitable or convenient manner to become apprentice to commercial firms or industrial concerns if they so desire with a view to their acquiring local experience of the particular lines of work in which they have specialised.

11. That in case the interest of this endowment accumulates to such an extent that a larger number of candidates may be trained on the above terms and conditions, the Committee of Management will, if practicable, select more candidates for study and business-training or may continue grant of Scholarship in favour of a selected candidate for a further year.

12. That the University acting as Trustees will forthwith deposit the G.P. Notes in safe custody with the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and will open an account in the name of the above fund to be termed 'Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Scholarship Fund' and also realise the interest of the said G.P. Notes for credit in the account of the aforesaid fund.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

III

2, Dehi Serampore Road,
Entally, Calcutta.
The 9th February, 1935.

To
S. P. Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.C.,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta.

My Dear Mr. Mookerjee,

With a view to provide facilities for the better fulfilment of my aims and objects in creating the two endowments which the University has already been pleased to accept and which have respectively been named after my father and my mother, I beg leave to submit herewith for the acceptance of the University of Calcutta the scheme for a third endowment also to be named after my father in whose memory my first endowment was created.

It is perhaps needless to point out that my first and second endowments and this proposed third endowment are all inspired by the same humble desire of helping my community and, through it, my country in those fields of activity where the progressive nations of the world have achieved their economic welfare. Unfortunately India has avoided the arena of the struggle and it will yet take some time for my country to realise that the mediaeval legacy of placid pathetic contentment is but a clog and a handicap in the modern world, that our ancient attitude of a serene, passionless spiritual detachment lit up with radiant hopes of the hereafter and unaffected by the stir and ferment of the modern world must now be supplemented with scientific and industrial activity to prevent the threatened national calamity of economic stagnation.

The danger arises not merely from inaction, but from a fatally wrong placing of things. The working man of the present age standing on the lowest step of the industrial ladder is the real dynamic force which, transmitted upwards, creates and sustains the commercial and manufacturing structure of the modern society. Yet how seldom is he allowed to come to his own. I have noticed with regret that far less fortunate and far more hard-working as he is than most of us he does not receive proper consideration in many cases, from his immediate superiors. After all many of the latter have the scientific training and, on the top of this the road of preferment and official recognition for them lies only too often through the sweated labour of their subordinates. Our first endeavour therefore ought to be to make these overseers and super-

visors what they ought to be both from the standpoint of their personal fitness as well as from the standpoint of their relation to the working-men whom they control. The unschooled overseer of to-day knows only what he has done or seen in factories and workshops and naturally enough, improved methods, conducive to economy, efficiency, increase in output and the improvement of its quality are beyond his reach. He is not a thinking or progressive force but a part of the machinery, and the human element in him functions but feebly in consequence.

I seek therefore in the present endowment by which I propose to transfer to the University of Calcutta Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 50,000 and the terms and conditions of which are set forth in Annexure A, to improve the officer in direct charge of labour, to encourage the growth of a different and, as I hope, a higher type of men who may be the immediate captains of industry. My ideal is to have the vigorous intellect of the University man combined with the health and strength of the normal labour in them. Their academic qualifications supplemented by thorough practical experience will enable them to stand midway between the expert and the working-man, to interpret the one to the other and, at the same time, to bring into play these qualities of foresight, forbearance and sympathy which find little place in modern industrial organisation. Men of this type will be neither too high, if need be, to render personal labour nor too low to take the leader's part in matters of general direction and management.

I can well appreciate that the question of capital will come up as soon as their training has been completed and capital in India up to the present has been rather shy. Still I hold that finance follows the man of skill as surely as trade follows the flag and that 'the vineyards of God will not turn into wilderness as the true labourer appears before the gates'. Mills and workshops will absorb a good many of them and for the rest it would be a splendid service to our people if they would endeavour in all earnestness to revive the dying cottage industries of India.

I may here be permitted to appeal to future scholarship-holders who may benefit by this or my other endowments to maintain unimpaired the plain and homely Indian style of living. To my young friends destined to inherit the earth in the coming year which I shall not live to see my advice is—'Live even as your sires lived in homely simplicity. It will make you happy with the modest income that your work will fetch you and it will enable you, with your unostentatious mode of living, to spare part of your earnings to set up in the world a poorer brother with a sympathetic heart and kindly feelings.'

Lastly, I should much regret if these inadequate offerings of mine are interpreted as in any way sectarian or communal. I have, it is true, restricted the benefit of my three Endowments to Bengalee Protestant Christians. As a Bengalee Protestant myself I feel that my brothers in faith require some special encouragement to fall in line with the rest of my countrymen, and I am convinced that if they get it, the progress of my country as a whole will be more effectively secured. I love them not only because they are Protestant Christians but also because they are men of Bengal. It is only to facilitate the general and harmonious progress of my motherland that these endowments have been set apart for the members of my own community.

Yours Sincerely,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

ANNEXTURE-A

(1) That notwithstanding that the University of Calcutta shall, after formal acceptance of my present proposal, become the custodian of the three per cent Government Securities of the face value of Rs.. 50,000 and hold the same in deposit for creation of scholarships hereafter out of the interest thereof as laid down below, the said interest shall belong absolutely to me during my life-time provided however that it shall be incumbent on the Registrar for the time being of the Calcutta University to collect the said interest and to make over the same to me if and when I so require or to invest the same in approved Government securities from time to time subject always to my directions in this behalf. The securities so purchased together with the interest not demanded or withdrawn by me shall on my death be added to and form part of the above endowment which shall be called the *Lalchand Mookerjee Second Endowment*.

(2) That after my death a personal allowance of Rs. 50 per month out of the interest accruing to the said Endowment shall be paid during her life-time to each of my two nieces, named Sm. Ratnamala and to Sm. Muktamala, both daughters of my brother, the late Akshoy Coomar Mookerjee provided however that in the event of the death of any one or both of them the amount or amounts thus set free together with the balance of the income of the Endowment shall be formed into Scholarships to be styled 'Lalchand Mookerjee Indian scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians,' to be awarded to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management hereinafter

mentioned. The amount of each scholarship should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 50 per month.

(3) That if any one or both of my said nieces predecease me, the income of the said securities which was to have been paid to her or to them as personal allowance under Clause (2) together with the balance of the income of the endowment shall, on my death, be formed into scholarships of not more than Rs. 50, each ordinarily to be styled 'Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians' to be awarded as in Clause (2) to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management.

(4) That the said Scholarships shall be tenable for not more than three years within the territorial limits of India, it being clearly understood that the minimum amount of each scholarship, which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof, shall be determined by the Committee of Management mentioned below after due consideration of the subject or subjects in which training is to be received by the selected scholarship-holder and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the training is to be received.

(5) That the subject or subjects shall be selected from amongst the following, provided however that the Committee of Management shall have the power, in conformity with the aims and objects of this endowment, to suggest and add thereto other subjects from time to time: —

Spinning, weaving, dye-making, mechanical, railway and electrical engineering, aviation and applied aeronautics, film-making, manufacture of photographic plates and materials, mining and colliery work, soap-making, pottery, enamel, glassware, manufacture of leather and leather goods, celluloid work, fruit-preserving, biscuit-making, sugar-refining, manufacture of drugs and medicines from indigenous products, manufacture of cheap building materials, motor-car parts, carpet-making, hosiery, scientific agriculture, scientific horticulture or floriculture, cultivation of medicinal plants, dairy and poultry farming, paper manufacture, manufacture of stationery goods, preparation of patent foods, condiments as non-secret pharmaceuticals and other subjects.

(6) That for purposes of general management and control of the endowment and more especially for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects in which training is to be received by them and approving the firms, institutions, factories, mills, etc., where such training is to be received, for fixing the amount and the period for which a scholarship is to be tenable and for finally disposing of all matters connected with this endow-

ment a Committee of Management shall be formed, the personnel of which shall be selected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, provided however that the majority of its members shall be Indians, and the Vice-Chancellor shall be its Chairman *ex-officio*, and it shall contain at least two Protestant Christian members nominated by the Syndicate amongst the Principals and Teachers of Colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta and provided also that my pupils, Messrs. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L. and Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Susilkumar Lahiri, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, son of the late Susibhushan Lahiri, shall be life members of the said Committee. The Proceedings of the Committee of Management shall be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate. The said Committee of Management constituted as above shall administer this as well as all the other endowments already created or to be created by the present donor in favour of the Protestant Bengalee Christians.

(7) That every candidate for the 'Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships for Protestant Bengalee Christians' shall be required strictly to conform to the following conditions: —

(a) That he shall be a Protestant Christian and native of Bengal and born of Bengalee parents, and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are or were both Bengalees by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali language as their mother tongue, and furthermore that both of them are or were Protestant Christians at the time of his birth.

(b) That he shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 18 and 23 years of age.

(c) That every candidate for the Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship shall be a B.Sc. or B.E. preferably of the University of Calcutta or shall have passed an examination or test equivalent to the B.Sc. or B.E. Examination of an Indian University. The poverty of an applicant or of his guardian may also be sympathetically considered in sanctioning a scholarship in cases where such an applicant is in every respect as highly qualified as the other applicants.

(d) That he shall be required to submit once a year or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management, a certificate of good conduct and satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the head of the workshop, school or factory where he receives his training and failure to produce this certificate may entail forfeiture of his scholarship.

(e) That he shall be bound to receive training in the subject or subjects approved or sanctioned by the Committee provided,

however that before final sanction thereof the Committee of Management shall take into consideration his suggestion about the subject or subjects and be satisfied that there are ample facilities in India for specialising in the subject or subjects proposed by it and also that such specialisation is or will in the near future be conducive to the best interests of our country.

(8) That inasmuch as the Committee of Management herein proposed, shall administer this and my previous endowments and other endowments that might be subsequently created by me for Bengalee Protestant Christians and nominate scholarship-holders, under the terms and conditions therein respectively set forth or to be set forth, the Committee shall be entitled while making such nomination to give preference to candidates who on grounds of qualifications and attainments and after completion of their training under this endowment, are likely to compete also for the 'Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship' and for other foreign scholarships which might hereafter be created by me with distinct advantage to themselves and to this country.

(9) That if at any time the Committee of Management is convinced that no candidate for scholarship possesses the minimum qualifications as laid down above or that the subjects selected by the candidate do not warrant any grant of scholarship in view of the absence in India of proper facilities for training therein, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and of adding the unexpended amount or amounts or any part thereof ratably or in any other proportion to the corpus of this endowment and to the corpus of any one or both of my other two endowments or to the corpus of any subsequent endowments that I may create for Protestant Bengalee Christians.

(10) That in conformity with the aims and objects of this endowment as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, subjects of training, or places where the same is to be received and the amounts and the number of scholarships.

(11) That I shall be entitled to make such further additions to the corpus of this endowment as I may be able to make from time to time.

(12) That the Committee of Management shall keep itself in touch with the scholarship-holders notwithstanding completion of their training and expiration of the term of the scholarship and help them in being apprenticed to any factory or industrial concern or to become usefully employed in the line of work in which they have been trained.

(13) That in case the interest of this endowment accumulates to such an extent that a larger number of candidates may be trained on the above terms and conditions, the Committee of Management will, if practicable, select additional candidates for training or may continue the grant of scholarship in favour of a selected candidate for a further period not exceeding one year.

(14) That the University acting as Trustees, shall forthwith, deposit the G. P. Notes in safe custody with the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and shall open an account in the name of a fund to be styled 'Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund' and shall also realise the interest of the said G. P. Notes for credit to the account of the aforesaid Fund.

IV

16, Windsor Place,
New Delhi,
6th October, 1949.

To
The Registrar,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

What little experience I have been able to gather has convinced me that one of the methods to encourage the prosperity of our motherland is to have a body of properly trained men qualified to organize the production and distribution of goods and services—a matter in which members of the small religious group to which I have the honour to belong, have so far been utterly indifferent.

It is the purpose of the *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Second Endowment* consisting of Rupees one lakh in 3 per cent non-terminable Government securities already forwarded to you to afford financial assistance to poor and deserving Christian Indians, Catholic and Protestant, born in that part of Bengal which is included in the Indian Republic to enable them to acquire this training and thus to partially fill the existing gap.

While the subjects in which training, theoretical and practical, are indicated below, it is open to the Committee of Management to add or to alter them in any manner whatsoever always attaching more importance to the practical side and keeping in mind the object for which the endowment is created. It is also

suggested that the Committee of Management will determine the institutions where it is to be taken keeping in view its suitability for the purpose as also that same sort of control should be exercised on the holders of these scholarships and that if their work is not satisfactory, they should be deprived of it after warning.

I shall be grieved if inspite of my past record there is any misunderstanding of the motives responsible for the limitation of the above facilities to the members of my own religious group.

Yours truly,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE SREEMATI PRASANNAMOYEE MOOKERJEE SECOND ENDOWMENT

(1) Notwithstanding that the University shall become the custodian of 3 per cent Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,00,000 and hold the same in deposit for creation of scholarships hereafter out of the interest thereof as laid down below, the said interest shall belong absolutely to me during my lifetime, provided, however, it shall be incumbent on the Registrar for the time being of the Calcutta University to collect the said interest and make over the same to me if and when I so require or to invest the same in approved Government Securities from time to time subject always to my discretion in this behalf. The Securities so purchased together with all interest, demanded or withdrawn by me, shall on my death be added to and form part of the above endowment.

(2) That after my death the interest accruing to the said endowment shall be divided equally among the following persons during their lifetime, namely, Shri Nabagopal Mookerjee and Shri Nanigopal Mookerjee, sons of my brother, the late Akshay Coomar Mookerjee ; Sreemutti Matimala Gupta, Sreemutti Ratnamala Chakrabarti, Sreemutti Muktamala Aley and Sreemutti Kanthamala Burnes, daughters of my brother, the late Akshay Coomar Mookerjee ; provided, however, that in the event of the death of one or more of the aforesaid persons, the amount or amounts thus set free shall be suitably invested or in the alternative shall be formed into scholarships to be awarded to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management hereafter mentioned.

(3) That the scholarships in question shall be tenable for not more than three years within the territorial limits of India, it being clearly understood that the minimum amount of each

scholarship which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof shall be determined by the Committee of Management mentioned below after due consideration of the subject or subjects selected for training and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the training is to be acquired.

(4) That the said subject or subjects shall be selected from among the following provided, however, that the Committee of Management shall have the power in conformity with the aims and objects of the endowment to suggest and add thereto other and more subjects from time to time:—

(a) Practical banking and finance, Indian and Foreign;

(b) Modern methods of market organization and control including marketing of raw materials and manufactured commodities produced in the Indian Republic;

(c) Practical training in preparing cotton, jute, coffee, oil-seeds and other Indian products for the market;

(d) Modern salesmanship;

(e) Agricultural and industrial organization on Co-operative basis, financing of small industries, farming, agriculture, pisciculture, horticulture etc.;

(f) Insurance business in all its aspects;

(g) Higher Accountancy;

(h) Training of labour and labour subjects;

(i) Rural organization and formation of self-sufficient village communities;

(j) Organisation and management of building societies and investment trusts.

(5) That for the purpose of general management and control and, more especially, for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects of training and the firms, institutions, business houses and places, etc., where such training is to be acquired, for fixing the amount and the period for each scholarship and for finally disposing of all matters connected with the endowment a Committee of Management shall be formed, the personnel for which shall be selected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, provided, however, that the majority of the members shall be Indians and the Vice-Chancellor shall be the Chairman, *ex-officio*, and it shall contain at least two Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from among the Principals and Teachers of colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and provided also that my old pupils, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee, the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law shall be life-mem-

bers of the said Committee. The Proceedings of the Managing Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate.

(6) Every candidate for these scholarships shall be required to strictly conform to the following conditions: —

(a) that he shall be an Indian Christian and a native of that part of Bengal which belongs to the Indian Republic and born of Bengalee parents and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are, or were both Bengalee by birth and speak or spoke the Bengalee language as their mother tongue and further that both of them are, or were Christian at the time of his birth ;

(b) that he shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 18 and 25 years of age ;

(c) that every candidate for these scholarships shall be a B.A. or B.Com., preferably of the University of Calcutta or shall have passed any examination or test equivalent to the B.A. with Economics or the B.Com. of an Indian University. The poverty of an applicant or of his guardian may also be sympathetically considered in sanctioning a scholarship in case where such an applicant is in every respect as highly qualified as the other applicants.

(d) That he shall be required to submit once a year, or more frequently, if so desired by the Committee of Management, a certificate of good conduct and satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the Head of the institution where he received his training and failure to produce this certificate may entail forfeiture of his scholarship.

(7) That if at any time the Committee of Management is convinced that no candidate for scholarship possesses the minimum qualifications as laid down above or that the subjects selected by the candidate do not warrant any grant of scholarship in view of the absence in our motherland of proper facilities for training therein, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and of adding the unexpended amount or amounts or any part thereof to the corpus of this Endowment.

(8) That in conformity with the aims and objects of this endowment, as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, subjects of training or places where the same is to be received and the amounts and the number of scholarships.

(9) That the Committee of Management shall keep itself in touch with the scholarship-holders notwithstanding completion of their training and expiration of the term of the scholarship

and help them in being apprenticed to any concern or to become usefully employed in the line of work in which they have been trained.

V

16, Windsor Place,
New Delhi,
October 6, 1949.

To
The Registrar,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I have already deposited with the University 3 per cent non-terminable Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,00,000 and beg to forward herewith the conditions for the *Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee Endowment*.

In doing so I beg to state that the purpose of this endowment is to afford financial assistance to poor and deserving female graduates in Medicine, irrespective of caste and creed, who are natives of that part of Bengal which forms part and parcel of the Indian Republic, to enable them to acquire further training in the science and art of healing in all their branches.

It is open to the Committee of Management, the composition of which is given below, to exercise its discretion in regard to the particular branch of medicine to be studied by the scholarship-holders, always keeping in mind the needs of our motherland.

I shall be obliged if you kindly place this communication before the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate and let me know whether they are prepared to accept the terms and conditions laid down by me.

Yours truly,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE SREEMATI BANGABALA MOOKERJEE ENDOWMENT

(1) Notwithstanding that the University shall become the custodian of 3 per cent Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,00,000, and hold the same in deposit for creation of

scholarships hereafter out of the interest thereof as laid down below, the said interest shall belong absolutely to me during my lifetime, provided, however, that it shall be incumbent on the Registrar for the time being of the Calcutta University to collect the said interest and make over the same to me if and when I so require or to invest the same in approved Government Securities from time to time subject always to my discretion in this behalf. The Securities so purchased together with all interest, demanded or withdrawn by me, shall on my death be added to and form part of the above endowment.

(2) That after my death the interest accruing to the said endowment shall be made over to my wife Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee during her lifetime and that after her death the amount thus set free shall be formed into one or more scholarships to be awarded to desirable candidates according to the discretion of the Committee of Management hereafter mentioned subject to approval by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Calcutta University.

(3) That the scholarships in question shall be tenable for not more than three years outside the territorial limits of India, it being clearly understood that the minimum amount of each scholarship which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof shall be determined by the Committee of Management mentioned below after due consideration of the subject or subjects selected for training and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the training is to be acquired.

(4) That the subject or subjects for study or research shall be some branch of the Art and Science of healing, preventive medicine and public health and that the Committee of Management shall have the power in general conformity with the aims and objejcts of this endowment to specify these subjects from time to time keeping in mind the needs of our motherland.

(5) That for the purposes of general management and control, and more especially, for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects for training and research and the institutions and places, etc., where such training is to be acquired, for fixing the amount and the period of each scholarship and for finally disposing of all matters connected with the endowment, a Committee of Management shall be formed, the personnel of which shall be selected by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, provided, however, that the majority of the members shall be Indians and the Vice-Chancellor shall be the Chairman, *ex-officio*, and it shall contain at least two Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from among the Principals and

Teachers of colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta and provided also that my old pupils, Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., the Hon'ble Sri Syamaprasad Mookerjee, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, D.Litt., M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, shall be life-members of the said Committee. The Proceedings of the Committee of Management will be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate.

(6) Every candidate for these scholarships shall be required to strictly conform to the following conditions: —

(a) That she shall be a spinster and a native of that part of Bengal which belongs to the Indian Republic and born of Bengalee parents and she shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that her father and mother are or were, both Bengalee by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali language as their mother tongue.

(b) That she shall be of sound health and ordinarily not more than 25 years of age.

(c) That every candidate for these scholarships shall be a Bachelor in Medicine preferably of the Calcutta University or shall have passed any examination or test equivalent to the M.B.B.S. of an Indian University. The poverty of a candidate or that of her guardians may also be sympathetically considered in sanctioning a scholarship in case where such an applicant is in every respect as highly qualified as the other applicants.

(d) That she shall be required to submit once a year, or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management, a certificate of good conduct regarding attendance and satisfactory progress from the head of the institution where she pursues her studies or her research work and failure to produce this certificate may entail forfeiture of her Scholarship.

(7) If at any time in the future the system of communal separatism for election to either the Central or Provincial Legislatures or of selecting candidates for filling vacancies in Government offices is re-introduced the scholarships created under this Endowment shall be continued to Christians of that part of Bengal which is included in the Indian Republic.

VI

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta.
The 1st May, 1952.

Dear Mr. Banerjee,

I enclose herewith the terms and conditions of the *Sudhircoomar Mookerjee Trust Fund No. 1* created in the name of my late son whom it pleased God to take away prematurely.

I shall be obliged if you kindly move the Syndicate and the Senate to accept them at an early date so that effect can be given to them without avoidable loss of time.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. N. Banerjee,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Senate House, Calcutta.

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUDHIRCOOMAR MOOKERJEE TRUST FUND NO. 1 FOR THE PROMOTION OF MILITARY EDUCATION AMONG THE YOUTHS OF WEST BENGAL

(1) The Fund shall be called *The Sudhircoomar Mookerjee First Endowment.*

(2) The object of the endowment shall be the creation of a scholarship to be paid out of the income of the Fund for the promotion of Military education among the youths of West Bengal.

(3) The Fund shall be administered by the same Committee of Management as that laid down for the administration of the endowments noted below: —

(a) Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund.
(b) Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship Fund.
(c) Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship Fund.
(d) Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund.
(e) Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee First Trust Fund.

(4) The corpus of the Fund already lodged with the Calcutta University consists of 3% (1896-97 non-terminable) Government

securities of the face value of Rupees one lakh, to which addition may be made from time to time under conditions and circumstances stated below:

(5) It shall be open to the Committee referred to in paragraph 3 to realise the investments and re-invest the proceeds in other trust securities as and when they shall consider it to the benefit of the Endowment to do so. Every such transaction shall have to be sanctioned by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University.

(6) One scholarship of Rs. 1,000 per annum and tenable for the duration of the course is to be awarded every alternate year by the Committee of Management to candidates who are admitted into the Prince of Wales's Military College, Dehra Dun or any other college with comparable facilities for Military Training that may be set up by the Government of India, for the terms commencing in January and August respectively.

The scholarship shall be open, without any distinction of caste, creed or religion to citizens of India, as defined in part II of the Constitution of India, with Bengali as their mother tongue. No candidate will ordinarily be eligible for the scholarship if the total annual income of his family or joint family exceeds Rs. 12,000 a year. The Committee of Management, however, shall have the power to award a scholarship if they are satisfied that a candidate is in need of financial assistance from the Fund for the prosecution of his studies in the college.

In the absence of suitable candidates, the Committee of Management shall not be bound to award the scholarship.

(7) If in any year the total amount of the income from the Fund or such other receipts as may accrue exceed for any reason the sum sufficient to meet the financial requirements of the above scholarship, such excess shall be accumulated and added to the corpus of the fund and the income when sufficient applied to the creation of new scholarships to be awarded under the same conditions as laid down in the preceding paragraphs.

(8) The selection for scholarships from among the candidates who fulfil the necessary conditions will be made by the Committee of Management, after due advertisement with the help and advice of the G.O.C., Eastern Command or an officer deputed by him not below the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

(9) A person holding a scholarship out of this Fund may combine it with any other scholarship or stipend provided that the value of the combined scholarship does not exceed the total amount of the estimated annual expenditure of the scholar at the college. The Committee of Management, at their discretion,

may make a reduction in the value of the scholarship corresponding to any such excess.

(10) No scholarship will be awarded unless the candidate's parent/guardian executes a bond agreeing to keep him at the college for the whole course, and to send him thereafter for further training to such institution as may be determined by the Government of India with a view to his admission to the Armed Forces, or in default to refund to this Fund the amount of scholarship actually drawn by him.

(11) The payment of the scholarship will be made in advance to a scholar through the Principal or the Head of the college in two equal instalments of Rs. 500 each, one at the beginning of each term. A scholar shall continue to enjoy the benefit of the scholarship for the duration of his course in the college, unless the Principal or the Head of the college recommends otherwise.

(12) The above rules may from time to time be amended or altered at the discretion of the Committee of Management, subject, however, to approval by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University provided that the aims and the objects of the scholarships as embodied in paragraphs 1 to 6 are not interfered with.

(13) In the event of the Prince of Wales' Military College at Dehra Dun or similar institutions ceasing to exist, the Fund may be utilised by the Committee of Management, with the approval of the Syndicate, in such other manner as will foster the development of military education among scholars as defined in paragraph 6 above, with a view to their admission to the Armed Forces.

VII

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta.
The 10th July, 1953.

Dear Dr. Banerjee,

I am forwarding herewith the terms and conditions of the *Bangabala Mookerjee Second Trust Fund* for the higher training of Nurses.

I may state in this connection that the corpus of this endowment amounting to Rs. 2,10,700 in 3% 1896-97 (non-terminable)

Government Securities has already been deposited with the University.

I shall be obliged if you move the Syndicate and the Senate to accept my proposals.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Dr. S. N. Banerjee,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University,
Senate House, Calcutta.

RULES FOR THE BANGABALA MOOKERJEE ENDOWMENT FUND FOR HIGHER TRAINING IN NURSING

1. The fund shall be called *'The Bangabala Mookerjee Endowment Fund for Higher Training in Nursery.*

2. The object of the Endowment shall be the creation of a Scholarship or Scholarships to be paid out of the income of the Fund for the promotion of higher training in nursing among the young women of West Bengal.

3. The Fund shall vest in the University of Calcutta. It shall be administered by the same Committee of Management as that appointed for the administration of the Endowments noted below: —

(i) Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund.
(ii) Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment.
(iii) Srimati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment.
(iv) Srimati Bangabala Mookerjee Endowment.

4. The corpus of the Fund already lodged with the University of Calcutta consists of 3% (1896-97) non-terminable) Government Securities of the face value of Rupees two lakhs ten thousand and seven hundred to which addition may be made from time to time in the circumstances stated below.

5. It shall be open to the Committee of Management to realise the investment and re-invest the proceeds in securities referred to in clauses (a), (b), (bb), (c) or (d) of section 20 of the Indian Trusts Act, 1882, as and when they shall consider it to the benefit of the endowment to do so. Every such transaction shall have to be sanctioned by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta.

6. The Scholarship or Scholarships shall be open, without any distinction of caste, creed or religion, to women, who are citizens of India, as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India

and whose mother tongue is Bengali. No candidate shall ordinarily be above the age of 25 years, but in special circumstances the Committee of Management may relax this condition, provided that such relaxation shall not be made in favour of any candidate whose age exceeds 30 years.

7. Selection for any Scholarship from among the candidates who fulfil the necessary conditions shall be made by the Committee of Management after due advertisement and with the help and advice of the Director of Health Services, West Bengal, or an officer to be deputed by him not being below the rank of a Deputy Director of Health Services.

8. One scholarship of Rs. 1,200 per annum and tenable for four years is to be awarded annually out of the Fund, by the Committee of Management to a selected candidate for study for B.Sc. (Nursing) in the College of Nursing, Delhi, under the University of Delhi or in any other college of equivalent standard if opened elsewhere in India.

No candidate shall ordinarily be eligible for such scholarship if the total annual income of the family or the joint family to which she belongs exceeds Rs. 6,000 a year. A declaration regarding fulfilment of this condition duly countersigned by a Gazetted Officer of Government shall be submitted by the candidate. The Committee of Management, however, shall have the power to award such scholarship if they are satisfied that a candidate is otherwise in need of financial assistance from the Fund for the prosecution of her studies as aforesaid. In the absence of suitable candidates the Committee of Management shall not be bound to award such scholarship.

9. If in any year the total income from the Fund or accretions thereto exceed for any reason the financial requirements of the scholarship referred to in Rule 8, such excess shall be accumulated, and as often as such accumulations are sufficient, they shall be applied for the creation of one scholarship of such sum not exceeding Rs. 400 per annum (or an equivalent amount in any other foreign exchange, depending on the country where the scholar is required to undergo her training) to be awarded for Post-Graduate study or training in nursing in the U.K., U.S.A., or any other foreign country as may be approved by the Committee of Management after consultation with the High Commissioner for India or the Indian Embassy in the foreign country concerned. Such scholarship shall be tenable for two years but in special circumstances at the discretion of the Committee of Management for three years.

No candidate shall ordinarily be eligible for the scholarship referred to in this rule if the total annual income of the family or the joint family to which she belongs exceeds Rs. 12,000 a year. A declaration regarding fulfilment of this condition duly countersigned by a Gazetted Officer of Government shall be submitted by the candidate. The Committee of Management, however, shall have the power to award such scholarship if they are satisfied that a candidate is otherwise in need of financial assistance from the Fund for the prosecution of her studies or training in nursing as aforesaid. In the absence of suitable candidates, the Committee of Management shall not be bound to award such scholarships.

10. A person holding a scholarship under these rules may combine it with another scholarship or stipend provided that the aggregate value does not exceed the total amount of the estimated annual expenditure of the scholar at the college or the institution where she is prosecuting her studies or receiving her training. The Committee of Management, at their discretion, may make a reduction in the value of her scholarship out of this Fund corresponding to any such excess.

11. No scholarship shall be awarded unless the father, the mother or the guardian of the candidate or any other person interested in her welfare execute a bond in favour of the University of Calcutta undertaking to keep her at the institution for the whole course of training or studies and in default to refund to the Fund the amount of scholarship actually drawn by her. In exceptional circumstances, the Committee of Management may not enforce this rule.

12. The payment of the scholarship tenable in India shall be made in advance, in such instalments as the Committee of Management may decide, through the Principal of the College of Nursing concerned, and shall be subject to regular attendance, satisfactory progress and good conduct. Such scholarship may be terminated at any time if a scholar fails to maintain proper standards of health and conduct or does not make satisfactory progress.

13. The payment of the scholarship tenable abroad shall be made in advance to the scholar through the High Commissioner for India, or through the appropriate Indian Embassy in two equal instalments and shall be subject to regular attendance, satisfactory progress and good conduct. Such scholarship may be terminated at any time if a scholar fails to maintain proper standards of health and conduct or does not make satisfactory progress.

14. A scholar selected for training abroad shall be required to execute a bond in favour of the University of Calcutta undertaking to repay the amount of the scholarship received if she gives up her studies or training before completing the course of studies or training or fails to return to India after the completion of her course of studies or training when instructed to do so by the High Commissioner or the appropriate Indian Embassy.

15. A scholar shall also give an undertaking in favour of the University of Calcutta that after the completion of her studies or training, whether in India or abroad, she shall adopt nursing as her profession for a period of at least three years in any State in the Indian Union and shall also, if so required by the Committee of Management, serve a public institution as nurse during such period, top priority being given to the claim of the State of West Bengal in this regard.

16. A scholar prosecuting her studies or undergoing training abroad shall be under the supervision of and subject to the control of the High Commissioner for India or the appropriate Indian Embassy in the foreign country concerned during the tenure of the scholarship.

17. A scholar selected for study or training abroad shall, on reaching England or U.S.A. or the foreign country concerned, immediately report herself at the Office of the High Commissioner or the Indian Embassy as the case may be.

18. The above rules may from time to time be amended or altered at the discretion of the Committee of Management with the approval of the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta provided that the aims and the objects of the scholarships as embodied in rules 1 to 9 are not interfered with.

19. If any doubt arises as to the interpretation of these rules, the matter shall be referred to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and the decision of the Vice-Chancellor shall be final and conclusive.

VIII

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta.
The 18th Sept., 1954.

To
The Registrar,
University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I beg to invite a reference to the following Endowment Funds which have been created out of my humble offerings made from time to time to afford financial assistance to poor and deserving students of the Calcutta University: —

I. Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment for study outside India.
II. Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment for study outside India.
III. Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund.
IV. Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund.
V. Sreemati Bangabala Mookerjee Scholarship Fund.
VI. The Sudhircoomar Mookerjee First Endowment.

I have since given my careful consideration to the terms and conditions for the award of Scholarships or financial assistance out of these funds, in the light of present day circumstances and have decided to make certain amendments in the terms and conditions of the Funds noted below: —

I. *Lalchand Mookerjee Endowment for study outside India*—

(1) The Scholarships should be styled as "The Lalchand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarships."

(2) The following may be substituted for Clause 6(a) of the terms and conditions:

"He shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India, with Bengali as his mother tongue and born of Bengalee parents."

II. *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment for study outside India*—

The following may be substituted for Clause 6(a) of the terms and conditions:

"He shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India, with Bengali as his mother tongue and born of Bengalee parents."

III. *Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarship Fund*—

(1) The Scholarships should be styled "Lalchand Mookerjee Indian Scholarships" and necessary changes be made where necessary.

(2) In Clause (6) of the terms and conditions the words, "in favour of the Protestant Bengalee Christians" be deleted.

(3) In Clause (7) the words "for Protestant Bengalee Christians" be deleted.

(4) The following may be substituted for Clause 7(a)—

"That he shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India with Bengali as his mother tongue and born of Bengali parents."

(5) In Clause (9) the words "for Protestant Bengalee Christians" be deleted.

IV. *Sreemati Prasannamoyee Mookerjee Endowment Fund (Second Endowment)*—

The following may be substituted for Clause 6(a) of the terms and conditions:

"That he shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India with Bengali as his mother tongue and born of Bengali parents."

V. *Bangabala Mookerjee Scholarship Fund*—

The following may be substituted for Clause 6(a) of the terms and conditions:

(1) "That she shall be a citizen of India as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India with Bengali as her mother tongue and born of Bengalee parents."

(2) Clause (7) of the terms and conditions be deleted.

VI. *The Sadhircoomar Mookerjee First Endowment*—

The words "and born of Bengalee parents" be inserted after the word "mother tongue" in second paragraph of Clause (6) of the terms and conditions.

2. I request that you will be good enough to request the University in my behalf to accept the amendments stated above."

Yours faithfully,
H. C. MOOKERJEE.

APPENDIX

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF

HARENDRA COOMAR MOOKERJEE

This is the last Will and Testament of me Harendra Coomar Mookerjee son of Lal Chand Mookerjee deceased by faith Christian by occupation Pensioner of 2B, Dehi Serampore Road P.S. Beniapukur, Calcutta I do hereby revoke all my previous Wills and Testamentary dispositions and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

1. I do hereby devise, give and bequeath to the University of Calcutta the Municipal premises Nos. 1, 1/1, 2A, 2B and 2C, Dehi Serampore Road in the town of Calcutta and also my house and lands called "Swastika" at Madhupore in the District of Santhal Parganas, Bihar subject to the conditions and limitations mentioned in paragraphs 11 and 12 below and subject to the right of my wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee to use, occupy and enjoy free of rent, Municipal taxes etc. the first floor of premises No. 2B, Dehi Serampore Road in the town of Calcutta as well as my house and lands called "Swastika" at Madhupore so long as she lives and after her death the said first floor of premises No. 2B, Dehi Serampore Road and my house and lands called "Swastika" at Madhupore shall revert to my estate and vest in the University of Calcutta. If my immoveable properties be sold by my hereinafter named Executors at any time I direct that the premises No. 2B, Dehi Serampore Road shall not be sold without the written consent of my said wife and in that case the University of Calcutta shall pay her a house allowance of Rs. 100/- per month so long as she lives, I also direct my Executors not to sell the said Madhupore property without the written consent of my wife.

2. I do hereby give and bequeath to the University of Calcutta all the 3% Government Securities (1896-97) absolutely save and except those referred in paragraph No. 13 of this Last Will and Testament.

3. I do hereby give and bequeath the accounts lying in fixed deposit with the Comilla Union Bank (Calcutta) to my said wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee absolutely.

4. I do hereby give and bequeath the amount lying to my credit in the Postal Savings Bank a/c. No. 783718 with Entally Post Office to my said wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee absolutely.

5. I do hereby give and bequeath the amount lying to my credit in Current A/c. No. nil with the Comilla Union Bank (Calcutta) to my said wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee absolutely.

6. I do hereby give and bequeath my outstanding pension to my said wife Mr. Bangabala Mookerjee absolutely.

7. I do hereby direct my hereinafter named Executors to sell my shares in (a) Kata Khal-Lalbazar Railway Co. Ltd., (b) Comilla Union Bank Ltd. and (c) East India Insurance Co. Ltd. with the help of Dr. S. B. Dutt, Managing Director of the Comilla Union Bank if he be alive and without his help if he be dead and to give one half of the sale proceeds thereof to my said wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee and to divide the remaining half equally among the sons and daughters of my predeceased elder brother Akshay Coomar Mookerjee who servive me.

8. I do hereby give and bequeath all my books to the University of Calcutta preferably for incorporation in the Calcutta University Central Library.

* * * *

9. I do hereby give and bequeath to my wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee all other moveables to be possessed and enjoyed by her absolutely.

10. I do hereby direct that my wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee, my former pupils Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ramaprosad Mookerjee, Dr. Shyamaprosad Mookerjee and Mr. Umaprosad Mookerjee sons of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee deceased of 77, Ashutosh Mukherji Road, Bhowanipore, Mr. Sailandra Nath Guha Roy son of the late Jotindra Nath Guha Roy, of 26, Hazra Lane, P.O. Rash Behari Avenue, P.S. Tollygunj, Calcutta and Mr. Daniel Gomes M.L.A. son of the late Antony Gomes of 44A, Syed Amir Ali Avenue, P.O. Circus, P.S. Ballygunge, Calcutta shall be Executrix and Executors of this my last Will and Testament and shall be entitled to take out probate and to perform all necessary acts to carry out the provisions of this Will and Testament and I direct that all legal and other necessary expenses of administration of my estate shall be borne out of the income of my properties.

11. I do hereby direct that my Executrix and Executors shall realise the rents, issues and profits of all my immoveable properties and shall pay all Municipal taxes and other outgoings and also all expenses for the preservation, improvement and repairs of the said immoveable properties till such time as the said Executrix and Executors can sell them either entirely or in parts and shall pay to my wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee the sum of Rs. 100/- (Rupees one hundred) per month as house allowance if the said premises No. 2B, Dehi Serampore Road be sold in her life time with her written consent or be acquired or requisitioned by the Government or any Railway Company or any other public body under the provisions of law at the time in force for compulsory acquisition or requisition of lands and/or buildings. It is my desire but not a direction that the University of Calcutta will not sell my house and lands called "Swastika" at Madhupore after the death of my wife, but will keep the same for the use of the subordinate non-Muslim

staff of the said University drawing less than Rs. 200 (Rupees two hundred only) per month as salary as a place of change without any payment of rent for a maximum period of three months but it should not be given to persons suffering from infectious diseases and whose presence may infect the house and lands.

12. I do hereby direct my said Executrix and Executors that after the sale of my immovable properties in Calcutta and Madhupore, they shall hand over the sum of Rs. 25,000/- (Rupees Twenty five thousand) out of the sale proceeds to the authorities of the Serampore College, Bengal, for incorporating in the "Lal Chand Mookerjee Trust Fund" towards which I have already made some contributions and in case I am in a position to complete the maximum amount of this endowment, namely Rs. 25,000/- (Rupees Twenty five thousand) in my life time no such payment shall be made. Thereafter the said Executrix and Executors shall divide the balance of sale proceeds of my immoveable properties among the different endowments already created by me for the University of Calcutta so that none of them shall be less than one lakh in face value of 3 p.c. Govt. Securities and should there be any balance left, the same should be equally divided among the said endowments.

The proceeds of the sale of all immoveable properties either in small lots or in entirety shall be forthwith invested in Govt. securities pending application of the same to different endowments.

13. I do hereby place on record that I have deposited with the Comilla Union Bank (Calcutta) 3 p.c. Govt. Securities of the face value of Rs. 14,500/- (Rupees Fourteen thousand five hundred)—belonging to my said wife Mrs. Bangabala Mookerjee having been purchased by her out of her own earnings and they were deposited with the said Bank for facility of getting interest and as a cover for any overdraft on my own account with the said Bank and I do hereby declare that the said securities are her own property and do not form part of my estate. My said wife has also got certain shares in the said Comilla Union Bank (Calcutta) in her own name and I also hereby declare that they are her own property and they do not form part of my estate. All of them should be made over to her by my said Executrix and Executors after my death. If any other property or properties, moveable or immoveable, be found out after my death which do not form the subject matter of this my last Will and Testament through error, inadvertence or mistake, then it will be taken that they form part of my said wife's estate and I never had nor have any right, title or interest in any of them, and if I had, the same, rest and residue are hereby devised given and bequeathed to my said wife absolutely.

(Sd.) Harendra Coomar Mookerjee,
25th September, 1950,
at 2B, Dehi Serampore Road,
Calcutta - 14.

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